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THE IMPACT OF THE EXPLORATIONS AND LONG SEA  
VOYAGES ON SHAKESPEARE WITH PRIMARY  
EMPHASIS ON AMERICA.

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1976  
Theater

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THE IMPACT OF THE EXPLORATIONS AND LONG SEA VOYAGES  
ON SHAKESPEARE WITH PRIMARY EMPHASIS  
ON AMERICA

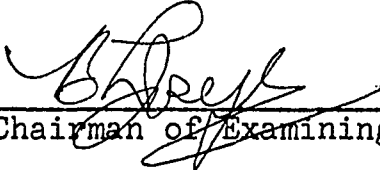
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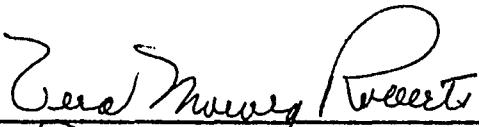
A dissertation submitted to the Graduate  
Faculty in Theatre in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University  
of New York

1976

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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date                                      Chairman of Examining Committee

"                                      Stanley G. Warr  
date                                      Executive Officer

  
Stanley G. Warr  
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE IMPACT OF THE EXPLORATIONS AND LONG SEA VOYAGES  
ON SHAKESPEARE WITH PRIMARY EMPHASIS  
ON AMERICA

by

E. Jimmee Stein

Adviser: Professor Bertram Joseph

The purpose of this study is to present evidence that Shakespeare was interested in the voyages of exploration and in the colonizing of new lands. That his thinking was in some measure influenced by this interest can be seen in the numerous allusions in the plays to the people who ventured on these voyages, to the people who invested in these voyages, to the strange new sights that were seen in the new lands, and to the dangers encountered on the sea by the men who sailed forth on these explorations. In setting forth these many allusions to the exciting events of the sixteenth century, special emphasis has been placed on those passages in the plays which reflect Shakespeare's interest in the discovery and colonization of America.

My very deep and grateful thanks to those who gave so generously of their knowledge, experience, and intelligence in helping me to put this work together:

Professor Bertram Joseph  
Professor Vera Mowry Roberts  
Professor Stanley A. Waren

And a special thank you to

Frank Marcogliese

and

Norris Sullivant

of

New York University's Elmer Holmes Bobst Library

In Memory of  
my mother

LENA TUCKER SELTZER

and my father

LOUIS SELTZER

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## INTRODUCTION

While researching an aspect of the Shakespeare Canon not related to this study I came across the following:

Speaking of theatrical folks brings to my mind a recent conversation between Edwin Booth and Edwin F. Thorne that disclosed a somewhat surprising fact about Shakespeare's plays. It was new to Mr. Booth, and I guess it will be new to all of you. Thorne, who is thoroughly well versed in Shakespeare, began the conversation somewhat in this way: "Mr. Booth, I have made what to me is a surprising discovery about Shakespeare. He died in 1616. He was at the zenith of his fame in 1600, when he wrote 'Hamlet.' Now, in what year did Columbus discover America?"

"Why, in 1492," responded Mr. Booth, in some surprise at the sudden turn of conversation.

"Exactly," said Thorne, pounding the table with his muscular fist. "In 1492, which was more than a century prior to the time when Shakespeare flourished, and yet you cannot find, in all his plays, one reference to the newly discovered continent, the wonders of which were in every one's mouth in those days. Why, you would think he would have selected it as the theme for a play, but not only did he not do that, but nowhere does he make the slightest allusion to what must have been the most startling sensation of those times. Did you ever think of that before?"

"I never did," said Booth, musingly, "and yet I can't recall a reference to America in any of Shakespeare's productions. I never heard the omission commented upon before."

It is surprising isn't it?--Phila. Daily News.<sup>1</sup>

Thorne's words stuck like a burr in my brain, demanding my attention. To eliminate the distraction of this nagging tease I decided to steal a bit of time from my re-

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<sup>1</sup>Reprinted in The Theatre, vol. 1., no. 9 (May 17, 1886), p. 262.

search and to go off on a quick tangent, just quick enough to answer the question "Why did Shakespeare not write about America?" I was determined to find something to explain this "oversight". "Indifference"? "Lack of knowledge"? I didn't know what to call it. However, I had a vague, though unsubstantiated, doubt about the veracity of Mr. Thorne's statement.

Someone once said to believe is comfortable, but to doubt is the beginning of an education. This was the beginning of an education in more ways than one for me. The further I explored Shakespeare's not mentioning America, the more evident it became that I must set aside my former research and continue on my "tangent" which was by now almost an obsession. There was evidence that Shakespeare had mentioned America, both directly and indirectly, numerous times.

From this initial beginning, my interest gradually broadened to include the entire story of the discovery of America as it is reflected in Shakespeare's plays. In searching for a starting point for the beginning of the story of the discovery of America, my route went backwards. The Anglo-Saxon development of North America might never have happened if the claims to new territories on that continent by the Spanish had not been successfully challenged by English explorers. These claims might not have been challenged if English explorers had not first tested the strength of the Portuguese in Africa and found it lacking. Africa might never

have been approached if the advantages of foreign trade had not been tasted in the first daring explorations to Russia by way of a northeastern route through the Norwegian Sea. These explorations might not have started without the pressing need for English merchants to find new markets for trade after the Mediterranean was closed to them. The northeast route might never have been explored if the Spanish objection to Cabot's voyages to America in 1497 and 1498 had not deterred English voyagers from coming to America. And Cabot's voyages might not have taken place if there had not been some indication by Columbus and Vespucci and the Newfoundland fishermen that there was a land mass that could be reached by sailing west. From this back-treading, I came to rest at the year 1490, and using this as a starting point, I then moved forward.

In telling this story the position of Spain can not be ignored. Nor can the men who invested their money in the voyages be overlooked. Without their backing there would have been no voyages. Cut of the entire mosaic of the events and people that contributed to the eventual establishment of English colonies on the American continent I have tried to include a variety of sample pieces of those that are mirrored in Shakespeare's plays.

On the whole, a historical view of Shakespeare's plays seems to have been given little attention, with the exception of the authors whose views on this aspect I will present in combination with my own. Most of the literature

on Shakespeare's plays is based on a psychological interpretation, with little regard to history.

My hypothesis is that Shakespeare made extensive use of the material and knowledge that were made available by the participants, investors, and chroniclers of the voyages of exploration in his characters, plots, allusions, imagery, direct references, and language. My method of research consisted of a close examination of the following:

1. Historical data
2. Theorists
3. Shakespeare's plays

and a probing for the possible relationships between these elements.

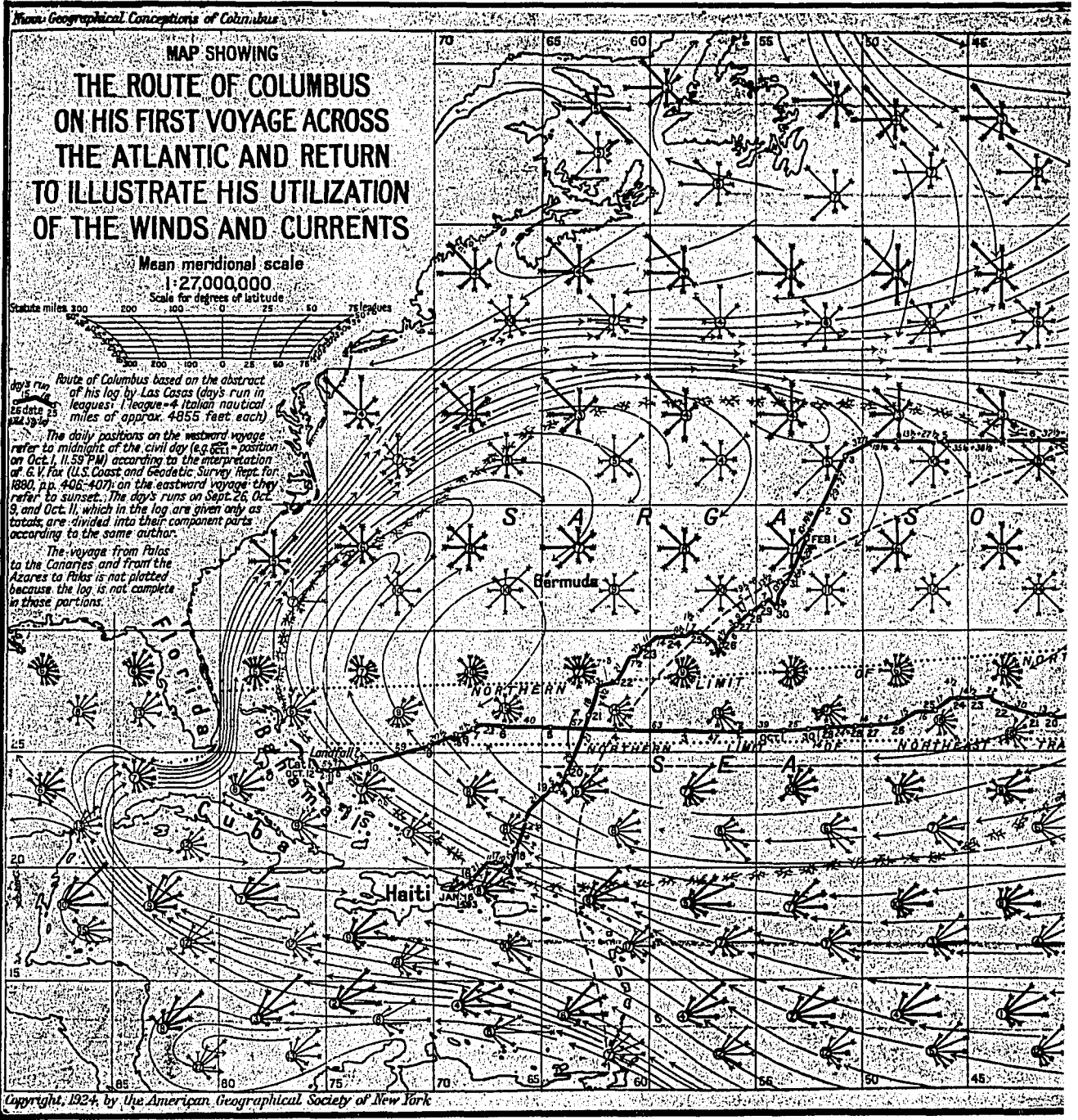
In examining the historical data, let us look at what was happening in the world before and during the years in which the plays were written.

1492, Oct. 12: Christopher Columbus lands first on the Bahamas, and then goes on to discover Cuba and Santo Domingo

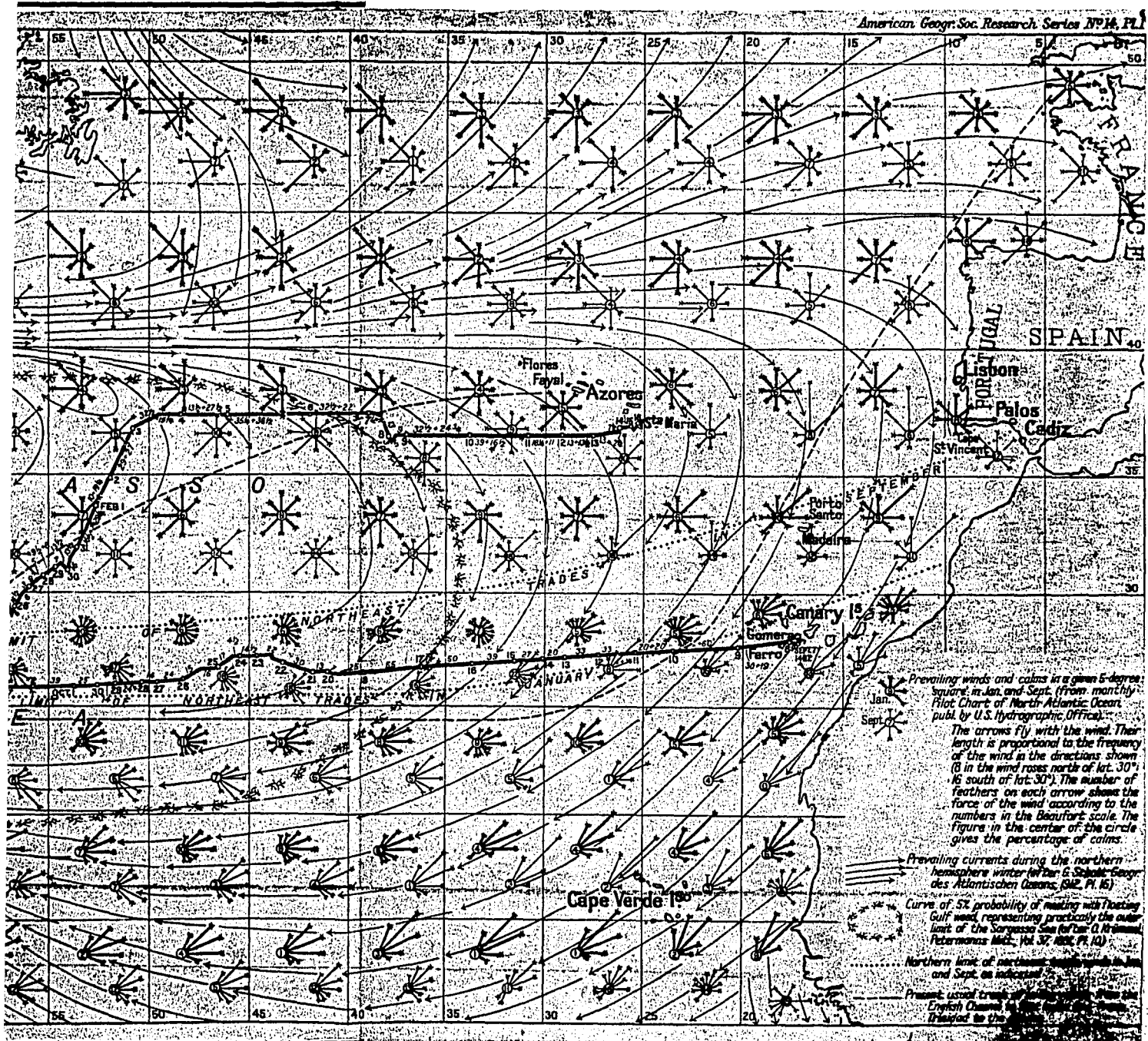
1493-1496: Columbus discovers Dominica, Puerto Rico, and some of the Caribbean Islands

1497: Amerigo Vespucci explores the coast of South America first called the New World

1497-1498: On two voyages, John Cabot and his son Sebastian land on either Newfoundland or Nova Scotia and sail along the coast possibly as far south as Delaware. This adventure gives



Map 1. From the "Geographical Conceptions of Columbus," by George E. Nunn. American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 14.



ons of Columbus,"  
graphical Society

England a claim to the mainland of North America and prepares the way for the founding of the English colonies in America.

1498-1500: Columbus, on his third voyage, discovers Trinidad and reaches the mouth of the Orinoco.

1501-1502: Vespucci explores the eastern coast of South America

1502-1504: Columbus, on his fourth voyage, reaches the South American mainland in Honduras

1513, Sept. 15: Vasco Núñez de Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Panama and discovers the Pacific Ocean

1513: Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida

1519-1522: First circumnavigation of the globe by an expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan

1523: Giovanni da Verranzano explores the New England coast

1534-1535: Jacques Cartier lands in Newfoundland, sails through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and explores the St. Lawrence River

1541: Cartier sails the St. Lawrence River again and spends the winter in the area that is now the city of Quebec

1549: First Jesuit missionaries in South America

1563: John Hawkins starts slave trade between Africa and South America. French attempt to colon-

ize Florida

1564: Second voyage of Hawkins to South America

1567-1568: Third voyage of Hawkins to the West  
Indies

1568: Spaniards defeat English off Mexico coast

1572: Francis Drake begins attacks on Spanish  
harbors in America

1573: Drake sees Pacific from the Isthmus of  
Panama

1575: Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Discourse is published  
in which he advocates English colonization

1576: Sir Martin Frobisher, searching for a north-  
west passage to India, rounds Greenland,  
visits Labrador and names a bay on Baffin  
Island after himself.

1577-1580: Sir Francis Drake circumnavigates the  
globe

1577: On his second trip to Newfoundland, Frobisher  
annexes the country to England; general patent  
of colonization is granted to Sir Humphrey Gil-  
bert

1578: Frobisher, with fifteen ships and forty-one  
miners, enters what is now known as the Hud-  
son Strait and starts a mining expedition

1578: Sir Humphrey Gilbert searches for a northwest  
passage across the American continent to the  
East Indies

- 1579: Drake claims New Albion (California) for England
- 1582: Richard Hakluyt's Voyages is published
- 1583: Gilbert lands in Newfoundland and takes possession in the Queen's name
- 1584: Expeditions sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>2</sup> land on the continent and name the territory, in honor of the virgin Queen, Virginia
- 1585: John Davis gives his name to the strait between Greenland and Baffin Island
- 1586-1588: Cavendish successfully circumnavigates the globe
- 1587: Sir Walter Raleigh lands in North Carolina
- 1587: Second English settlement in Virginia, fails in 1591
- 1587: Drake destroys the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz
- 1588: The Spanish Armada is defeated and England gains naval control of the seas; the colonization of the North American continent is thereby destined to be Anglo-Saxonized
- 1591: Henry May lands on the Bermudas
- 1592: Raleigh sails to South America
- 1598-1601: Fourth circumnavigation of the world by

---

<sup>2</sup>This spelling is taken from The Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press, 1963-1964, since 1917), xvi:629. In quotations, the spelling used by the author quoted will be used.

The names of certaine late traуay-  
*lers, both by sea and by lande, which*  
 also for the most part haue w ritten of  
 their owne traуayles and voyages.

The yere of  
 our Lorde,

- 1178 Benjamin Tudelensis a Iewe.  
 1270 Marcus Paulus a Venetian.  
 1300 Harton an Armenian.  
 1320 Iohn Mandeuile knight, englishman.  
 1380 Nicolaus and Antonius Zeni, venetians.  
 1444 Nicolaus Conti venetian,  
 1492 Christopher Columbus a Genoway.  
 1497 Sebastian Gabot, an englishman the sonne of a venetian.  
 1497 M. Thorne and Hugh Ekot of Bristowe, englishmen.  
 1497 Vasques de Gama a portingale.  
 1500 Gasper Corterealis a portingale.  
 1516 Edoardus Barbossa a portingale.  
 1519 Fernandus Magalianes a portingale.  
 1530 Iohn Barros a portingale.  
 1534 Iaques Cartier a Briton.  
 1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado Spaniarde.  
 1542 Iohn Gaetan Spaniarde.  
 1549 Francis Xauier a portingale.  
 1553 Hugh Willowbie knight, & Richard Chauncellor Eng.  
 1554 Francis Galuano a portingale.  
 1556 Stenen and William Burros Englishmen,  
 1562 Antonie Ienkinson Englishman.  
 1562 Iohn Ribault a Frenchman.  
 1565 Andrewe Theuer a Frenchman.  
 1576 Martin Frobisher Englishman.  
 1578 Francis Drake Englishman.  
 1580 Arthur Per, and Charles Lackma Englishmen.  
 1582 Edward Fenton, and Luke warde, Englishmen.  
 1582 Humfrey Gilbert knight, Edward Heyes, and Antonie  
 Brigham Englishmen.

Fig. 1. From Hakluyt's Divers Voyages

van Noort

1606: First Charter of Virginia for London and  
Plymouth Companies

1607: Captain John Smith founds the first perman-  
ent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia

1609: Henry Hudson explores the coast from New  
England to Virginia and sails up the Hudson  
River to Albany in search of the northwest  
passage

1609: New Charter of Virginia<sup>3</sup>

Into this exciting current of events was our author born; in this atmosphere of widening horizons did he spend his youth and grow to manhood, and later embark on his extraordinary writing career. As a result of all this starting activity in the world, the literature of these years, especially in the latter half of the century, was pervaded with accounts of the voyagers' discoveries. At first Englishmen learned of the new lands through translations of important foreign writers. Richard Eden was the pioneer in this field, translating first Sebastian Münster's Treatyse of the newe worlde of West India (1555). Le Challeux's Discourse was printed in English in 1566. André Thevet was translated in 1568 as The new founde worlde, or Antarctike; Nicolás Monardes as Joyfull Newes out of the newe founde

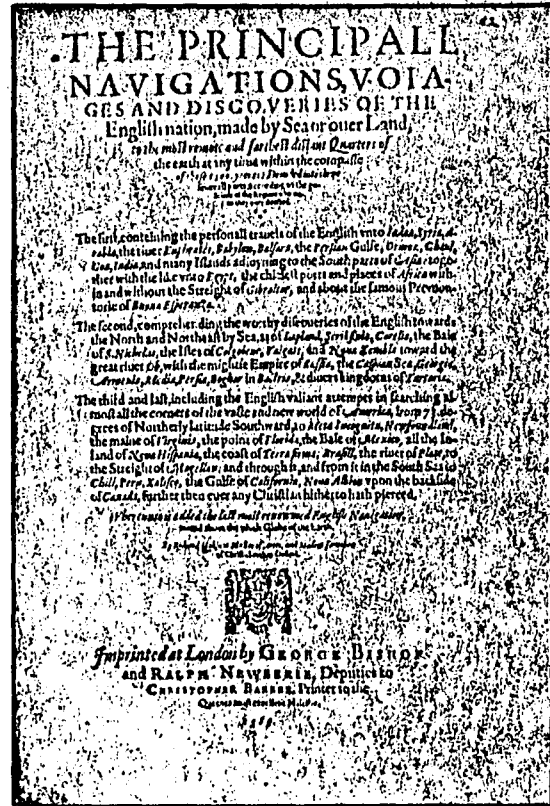
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<sup>3</sup>Sigfrid Henry Steinberg, Historical Tables 58 B.C.-A.D. 1965 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1966; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), pp. 104-134; and Random House Dictionary of the English Language (New York, 1966), pp. 1921-1922.

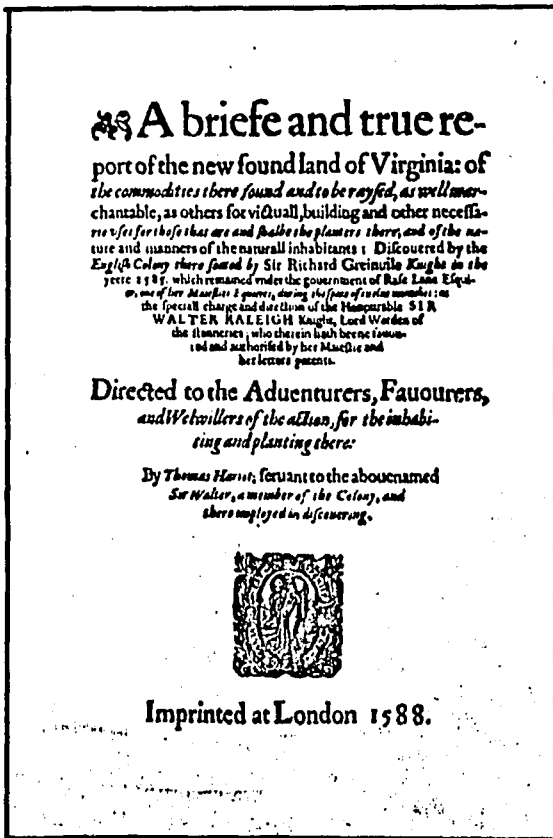
THE ORIGINAL TITLE PAGES OF THE NARRATIVES



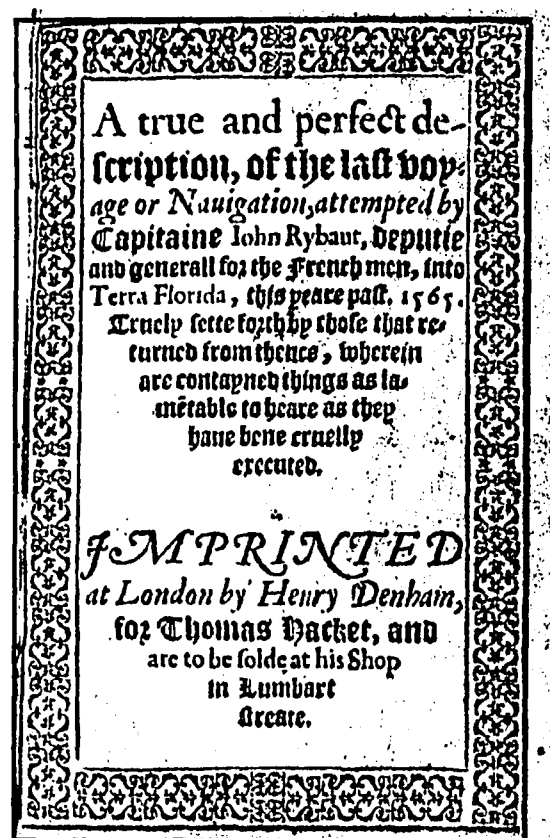
De Bry's Florida, published in 1591 in Frankfurt, prints Le Moyne's narrative in Latin.



Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, published in 1589, includes all the English narratives.



Harriot's Briefe and True Report, published in 1588, and reprinted by Theodore De Bry in 1590.



Le Challeux's Discourse was printed in English, in 1566, the same year of the French edition.

Fig. 2. From Stefan Lorant's The New World

world in 1577; Francisco López de Gómora as The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of The Weast [sic] India, now called new Spayne in 1578; and Thomas Nicholas in 1581 turned Agustín de Zárate's work into The Strange and delectable History of the discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, in the South Sea. An important work by Las Casas was put into English as The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniardes in the West Indies in 1583, and in 1587 Antonio de Espejo's book was translated by an author who signed himself "A.F." into New Mexico.

In the midst of these translations English works concerning a possible new passage began to appear. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's famous Discourse was published in 1576, in which he tried to prove the existence of the passage. There was A Prayse, and Reporte of Maister Martyne Fro-bishers Voyage to Meta Incognita in 1578. And Dionyse Settle's A true reporte of the laste voyage into the west and northwest regions was printed in 1577. George Best issued important documents on the subject and in 1595 John Davis published his Worldes Hydrographical Description to demonstrate that "there is a short and speedie passage into the south seas . . . by northerly navigation."

Besides Eden's Decades (1555), there was in 1582 Richard Hakluyt's outstanding Divers Voyages, Touching the Discoverie of America. The latter included accounts of John Hawkins' slave trading in the West Indies, stories of

Jacques Cartier's journey to New France and Laudonnière's to Florida, further material on Drake and Frobisher, and later, Harriot's A briefe and true Report of the new found Land of Virginia was published in 1588. In the records preserved for posterity by Hakluyt are inscribed the deeds "which for half a century excited wild emotions, kindled emulation in the young, provided strange food for the intellect, and gave strength and purpose to the activities of a nation."<sup>4</sup> Most of the authors, such as Eden, J. B. Ramusio, Hakluyt, and John Huyghen van Linschoten, accompanied their works with maps. These are some of the publications that would have been available to Englishmen of Shakespeare's time. Later historians, such as Stowe and Camden, will be noted as they are referred to.

As for the theorists, I have examined the comments of many Shakespearean scholars, going back to Theobald (1733) and Malone (1780) who were the first that I could find who made reference to the influence of the voyages of discovery on Shakespeare. After this beginning, there were many writers who, like Theobald and Malone, saw such an influence in The Tempest, but stopped there. In more recent years, several writers have found historical allusions in some of the other plays which refer to Elizabethan events. Among these writers are John Dover Wilson, Lillian Winstanley,

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<sup>4</sup>Walter Raleigh, The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century (Glasgow: J. MacLehose & Sons, 1906), p. 188. Prof. Raleigh is not to be confused with Sir Walter Raleigh.

Frank M. Bristol, Eva Turner Clark, and Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn. In many instances I have combined the impressions of one or more of these writers with my own, giving credit where credit is due in the footnotes.

Among the authors who saw the importance of the sea in Shakespeare's plays, as a result of the voyages, are John Bourke, Robert Ralston Cawley, Anne Treneer, W. B. Whall, and Harold Francis Watson, to name a few. I have also drawn material from these writers to add to my own interpretations.

What I have tried to do is to combine in one work as many as possible of the theories that I have found related to my study. No one author that I know of has touched on all the aspects relating to the influence of the discoveries on the Canon. Though my study still does not exhaust the subject, for if it did, it would be at least three times as long, I have tried to touch all bases. I have tried to bring together the ideas of others, combined with my own, on how the explorers, the investors in the voyages, the chroniclers of the expeditions, and the sea that the adventurers braved, influenced, directly or indirectly, Shakespeare's concepts, language, imagery, characters, incidents, and allusions.

As for the plays themselves, when I speak of the Shakespeare Canon, I am referring to the thirty-seven plays included in the Oxford University Press Edition of The Works of William Shakespeare Gathered into One Volume (New York: Oxford University Press, 1934). All of my play quotations

are from this edition.

In order to establish some guide lines, I formulated a list of specific questions that I hoped my study would answer:

1. Does Shakespeare mention America directly in any of the plays?
2. Are there indirect references to America and the other countries that were part of the discovery story?
3. Are any of the idiosyncrasies, products, or people of these countries mentioned?
4. Are there references to the men who made the voyages?
5. Are there references to the men who invested in the voyages?
6. Are there details in the plays that could have been suggested by the written records of the voyages?
7. Is there evidence that Shakespeare's language may have been influenced by the voyages?
8. Is there evidence that Shakespeare may have been familiar with the information revealed by the navigators about the sea?
9. Did the ocean on which the voyages were made enter into the plays?
10. Was Shakespeare's imagery affected by any of the elements involved in the discoveries?

11. Were there any forerunners in the mention of the New World in imaginative literature?

The material will be presented as follows:

Chapter I will discuss the voyages and the literature of the first half of the sixteenth century that begin the story of the discovery of America and how these may be reflected in Shakespeare's plays, with special attention to the similarities in the works of Vespucci, Sir Thomas More, and Shakespeare, who were all writing about America.

Chapter II will continue the story in which experience and sea knowledge were gained from the voyages to Russia, and in which Portugal's and Spain's sea strength was proven inadequate to withstand the English challenge in the voyages to Africa. The Russian and African allusions in the plays will be noted.

Chapter III will illustrate how strong the influence of the sea was on Shakespeare's writing and will discuss four forces related to the voyages which appear in the plays--distance, danger, dispersion, and deliverance.

Chapter IV will continue the theme of the sea, as it appears in Shakespeare's imagery with references to tempests, tars, trade, and treasure.

Chapter V will give a brief biography of some of the "gentlemen adventurers" and show their possible reflections in the plays.

Chapter VI will discuss the similarities between the life and character of Sir Francis Drake and Coriolanus.

Chapter VII will review some of the components of

Sir Walter Raleigh's life and his involvement in the colonization of Virginia as they seem to be reflected in The Winter's Tale.

Chapter VIII will review some of the various comments that have been made through the years on the influence of the Bermudas on The Tempest and will present a summary of my own impressions on the subject.

I do not profess that Shakespeare deliberately intended a realistic reproduction of definite historic events or people. It may be that the suggestions he received here and there for details in his work were used unconsciously. The work of a genius certainly springs from within and has its origin in the poet's soul, but in the process of creation, the poet certainly assimilates certain impressions from the world around him, either consciously or unconsciously.

Shakespeare lived in exciting times. Every new publication describing the adventures of the explorers and every new map showing the new discoveries was avidly devoured by minds hungry for more information. The atmosphere was saturated with thoughts of travel, financial gain, colonization, Christenizing the heathens, territorial conquests, and the building of empires. It seems that Shakespeare must have absorbed a great deal of the atmosphere he lived in. He could hardly have escaped being affected by the daring accomplishments of Drake, Frobisher, Gilbert, Raleigh, and the others. Frank M. Bristol says:

The discovery of America had much to do with the revival of English learning and literature, and aroused the Anglo-Saxon mind to that creative activity which produced her immortal drama.

Columbus, Cabot, Drake, Raleigh, and--America, made possible a Shakespeare. They lifted the horizon of the human mind no less than of the seas, and widened the intellectual view of man to a larger world. If the enlargement of the world furnished inspiration for a Bacon's mind and for the new philosophy, and the new science, much more did it awaken the new song and arouse the poetic genius of a Shakespeare. In none of its functions did the English mind of that age become more active and productive than in its imagination.

A "new world," with its revelations, its marvels, its riches, its promises and possibilities, helped to Shakespearize English thought and language, helped to give them imagination, poetry, dramatic character.<sup>5</sup>

We know that on the Elizabethan stage direct references to political matters or to living monarchs were strictly forbidden. Nevertheless, the English stage was continually and closely associated with politics and the authorities were enraged by at least two of Shakespeare's plays, Henry IV and Richard II, because they suspected there were topical references. To circumvent the close watch of the censor, then, topical references were generally masked. Shakespeare's audience would have known what Shakespeare was referring to in such instances, but many of today's readers are apt to accept the mask as the true substance of the play. I hope to lift this mask a little and show how closely related the plays were to the events of their time.

Since Shakespeare wrote for a definite audience at a definite time, an audience interested in its own history and in contemporary politics, we should be able to

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<sup>5</sup>Frank M. Bristol, Shakespeare and America (Chicago: William C. Hollister Bros., 1898), p. 6.

determine what some of Shakespeare's allusions were by a careful study of the history of his time. I propose to do just that--to view the plays in the light of the history of the time in which they were written.

In my study, my first step was to review the historical data as it was presented by the chroniclers of Shakespeare's time. This information I have used as one strand in the three-strand braid of this work. The second strand consists of a review of the writings of later historians and of Shakespearean scholars and critics, and the third strand is a collection of excerpts from the plays which tie in with the other two strands. The strand of historical data establishes the general order of the study; it is a presentation in chronological order of the important highlights that are relevant to my theme. The quotations from the chroniclers follow this order as they apply to the events under discussion, and the excerpts from the plays are taken from anywhere in any play to illustrate a point.

The matter of anachronisms should be given some consideration. Whether the anachronisms in the plays exist because Shakespeare was carried away with his enthusiasm about the achievements of the adventurers or because they were put there intentionally, we cannot know, but anachronisms there are. For example, the reference to clocks in Julius Caesar evidently was Shakespeare's own dramatic invention, as were the cannons in Macbeth, and the pistols

in Henry IV. But Shakespeare's plays were not written to take the place of formal history or as an accurate record of events. Therefore, he was never troubled by what we call anachronisms when they served his purpose. He was interested in vividness of detail and richness of local color. If the word "potato" described what he was after, as we shall see later, he used it. There was no "historical method" laid down for the playwright. There was no "historical realism" to guide an audience into shock if characters in one period referred to people or objects in another period. In 1808, Schlegel said, "I undertake to prove that Shakespeare's anachronisms are for the most part committed purposely and after great consideration."<sup>6</sup> Warner says it is possible that part of the everlasting greatness of these plays is due to this lack of concern for centuries.<sup>7</sup>

With respect to Coriolanus, the critics have pointed out that Cato was born 250 years after the death of Coriolanus, that Menenius in one passage talks of Alexander the Great, though that prince was not born until 130 years after Coriolanus's death, and that in another passage Galen is mentioned, whose birth was about 420 years later than that of Alexander. In Furness we find that G. G. Gervinus says:

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<sup>6</sup>August Wilhelm Schlegel, Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature (London: George Bell & Sons, 1900), p. 356.

<sup>7</sup>Beverley Ellison Warner, English History in Shakespeare's Plays (New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894), p. 261.

. . . it is doubtful whether, if the mistake had been pointed out to him, he would have corrected it, seeing it was so serviceable; nay, it is doubtful whether it was a mistake at all, and not rather a license like Goethe's when he made Faust mention Luther. There is a passage in Lear which ought to make us cautious--a passage where the observance of chronology constitutes a much greater license than the neglect of it--a passage which looks like a capital stroke of satire addressed to all self-opinionated and pedantic censors . . . the passage where the poet says: "This prophecy Merlin shall make; for I live before his time" [III, ii, 95].<sup>8</sup>

We can, therefore, look for Americanisms and references to the explorers throughout the plays regardless of when the play took place. If it served Shakespeare's purpose, he used it.

When we consider the Elizabethan's interest in history, we must look into what his sources were. His thirst for knowledge of what was happening in the world was as great as any man's in any other time in history, if not more so. He was living in one of the most important eras in all history, a time when new lands were being discovered. For the Englishman who could not read, alehouse and street-corner conversations were his main sources of information. And the theatre. The playhouse was not only a source of pleasure for him; it was his newspaper, his magazine, his geography book and his history book. Plays were indeed for him "the abstracts and chronicles of the time." It is little wonder then, that if we look at the plays closely we can find topical references. Most im-

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<sup>8</sup>A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Tragedie of Coriolanus, ed. Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1928), pp. 114-5.

portant to this study is the fact, already mentioned, that in the public performance of a play, any reference to politics or any representation of a living monarch was prohibited. Any individual who felt he had been criticized on stage could apply to the Court of Star Chamber for a Veto.<sup>9</sup> Thus it was essential that a play which presented any aspect of contemporary politics do so in an indirect manner. In some cases Shakespeare's method of disguise has presented insurmountable difficulties for modern psychological interpretations. For example, the character of Hamlet has never been fully explained. J. M. Robertson says:

There is no better illustration of the need for a study of the genesis of Shakespeare Plays than the endless discussion of the aesthetic problem of Hamlet. It has continued for two centuries, latterly with the constant preoccupation of finding a formula which shall reduce the play to aesthetic consistency; and every solution in its turn does but ignore some of the data which have motivated the others.<sup>10</sup>

Robertson shows how different and how mutually contradictory the psychological interpretations to date have been. He shows that no psychological interpretation ever has been found for Hamlet which does not contradict some interpretation that has facts which are equally as good. But when

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<sup>9</sup>Lilian Winstanley, Macbeth, King Lear and Contemporary History (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>John Mackinnon Robertson, The Problem of "Hamlet" (London: G. Allen, 1919; Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Press, 1970), p. 11.

we take into consideration the severe censorship of the Elizabethan period, and the audience's ability to recognize what was under the stage disguise, Winstanley's interpretation of Hamlet, based on historical data, seems to make more sense than many other interpretations. Her thesis is that part of the disguise consisted in drawing Hamlet from two sources--James I and Essex in his last years. There were no "dramatic rules" to prevent this kind of invention. She believes the possibility that Hamlet was drawn from two sources would explain many of the heretofore unexplainable contradictions in Hamlet. I mention Winstanley's theory only to illustrate the possibilities that may come to light if an interpreter of the plays recognizes that some of the clues are disguised.

A historic interpretation alone, however, is not enough. It is also necessary to remember that historical events are seen differently by contemporaries than by those who come centuries later. Contemporary reactions are more immediate, more passionate. Contemporary events affect the lives of those living at the time. Twentieth century viewers can be dispassionate about sixteenth century happenings, but sixteenth century men and women were not. We must try, therefore, to understand the historical interpretations of the plays from the view point of the sixteenth century audience. For instance, when Nell in The Comedy of Errors, is described by Dromio of Syracuse as "spherical, like a globe,"<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>3. 2. 112

this allusion was much more significant to a sixteenth century audience than it would be to a twentieth century audience. It was during Shakespeare's lifetime that globes were coming into general use for the first time and were, therefore, of great interest to everyone. The first globe, which is still preserved in the archives of the Behaim family in Nuremberg, had been created by Martin Behaim in 1492.

At the request of the wise and venerable magistrates of the noble imperial city of Nuremberg, who govern it at present . . . this globe was devised and executed, according to the discoveries and indications of the Knight Martin Behaim, who is well versed in the art of Cosmography, and has navigated around one third of the earth. The whole was borrowed with great care from the works of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, and Marco Polo, and brought together, both lands and seas, according to their configuration and position, in conformity with the order given by the aforesaid magistrates to George Halzscuer, who participated in making this globe; in 1492 . . . <sup>12</sup>

One of the "Americanisms" we find in the plays is the word "antipodes." It is probable that Behaim's globe had one of the first, if not the first, references to the existence of antipodes, a word used to designate the lands and people on the opposite side of the globe. Hakluyt called the Indians the "antipodes to the Spaniards." In his Decades, Martyr also used the word:

Therefore doubtless spayne hath deserued great prayse in these our dayes, in that it hath made knowen vnto vs so many thousandes of Antipodes which lay hid before, and unknown to our forefathers . . . <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Henry Harrisse, The Discovery of North America: a critical, documentary, and historic investigation, (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1961), p. 391.

<sup>13</sup>Peter Martyr, The Decades of the newe worlde or west India . . . in The First Three English Books on America [1511?-1555], ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham: n.p., 1885), p. 142.

The circumnavigation of the world and the production of globes brought the word into common use and it showed up several times in Shakespeare's plays. In King Henry the Sixth Part III, York says to Queen Margaret:

Thou art as opposite to every good  
As the Antipodes are unto us.  
Or as the south to the septentrion.<sup>14</sup>

And in Richard the Third, the King says:

Discomfortable cousin! know'st thou not  
That when the searching eye of heaven is his  
Behind the globe, that lights the lower world,  
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen,  
In murders and in outrage, boldly here;  
But when, from under this terrestrial ball,  
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines,  
And darts his light through every guilty hole,  
Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,  
The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their  
backs,  
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?  
So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke--  
Who all this while hath revell'd in the night,  
Whilst we were wandering with the Antipodes,--<sup>15</sup>

Even though York and Richard lived before the discovery of America, Shakespeare gives them words like "antipodes," "the globe," "lower world," and "terrestrial ball" to say. And Rumour in King Henry the Fourth Part II would not have said,

I, from the Orient to the drooping West,  
Making the wind my posthorse, still unfold  
I, from the Orient to the drooping West,  
Making the wind my posthorse, still unfold  
if d: The acts commenced on this ball of earth<sup>16</sup> concerned

<sup>14</sup>1. 4. 134-6

<sup>15</sup>3. 2. 37-50

<sup>16</sup>Induction, 1. 3-5

about "historical realism." This is one example of how the new thoughts that the discovery of America brought forth were integrated into the English language and hence into Shakespeare's plays. The Indians, Mexicans, Peruvians, Canibals, savages, and others that we shall meet, became known to the civilized world only after Columbus and his followers sailed forth. Only then was the word "antipode" commonly used. In A Midsummer-Night's Dream, Hermia says to Lysander:

I'll believe as soon  
This whole earth may be bored; and that the moon  
May through the centre creep, and so displease  
Her brother's noontide with th' Antipodes.<sup>17</sup>

In The Merchant of Venice, Bassanio says to Portia:

We should hold day with the Antipodes,  
If you would walk in absence of the sun.<sup>18</sup>

Further infiltration of the English language by new terms such as these will be pointed out in the text. As for interpretations of incidents and characters, it is not likely that all, or even any large majority, of the readers of Shakespeare's plays can have identical reactions to or identical interpretations of their contents. "Like all work of art," says Chambers, "that springs out of the vexed, and not out of a limpid mood, it lends itself to many and diverse interpretations."<sup>19</sup> What I write, therefore, is not written with the

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<sup>17</sup>3. 2. 51-55

<sup>18</sup>5. 1. 127-8

<sup>19</sup>Edmund Kerchever Chambers, Shakespeare: A Survey (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1925), p. 216.

intent of making any dogmatic, unchallengeable, irrefutable statements, but rather, for the purpose of presenting what I have seen.

My study is like a prism, catching the rays from Shakespeare's plays, from some of the critics' interpretations of the plays, from my own reactions to the plays, letting them pass through my evaluating centers, and then throwing off refracted rays to the reader's prism for his or her consideration. Some rays enlarge, some diminish, some bend, some fade. Some take on new angles and a new range of coloring. But they remain my own unique reflections of Shakespeare's plays just as the plays are reflections of the time in which they were written.

I join Lascelles Abercrombie in pleading for "that liberty of interpreting which must follow when Shakespeare is considered as an artist," that is, the liberty of presenting a possible way of understanding what is to be found in Shakespeare's art.

The play of an artist is not a play until it is taken in and understood, until it is understood by and experienced by an individual mind. Abercrombie says:

It will always be an individual experience; but at the same time it is an experience given to this individual mind by another mind, and wholly governed by the conditions under which it is given. Thus a play, like any other work of art, consists of a series of three items: the author, his medium or technique, and the recipient. Of these three terms, the first is the only one that can never change: and the fact that this term is always the same gives us the sense in which it is possible to say, that through all its existences, it is always the same play. But the third term, the recipi-

ent, changes every time the play comes into existence at all; and it is even possible for changes to occur in the middle term, the technique, provided the change conserves what the author committed to it.<sup>20</sup>

Every reader or spectator will interpret the play as he receives it because the play, as a work of art, has no other existence. As a work of art it does not exist in what it may have meant to someone else, but in what it means to me: that is the only way it can exist. Everything is excluded from that existence that is not given by the author's presentation. The work of art exists by the recipient's attention to what the author is saying to him. The connection between the mind of the poet and the mind of the recipient, then, is the essence of a poem.

But when there is that connexion, when the response of individual imagination is wholly governed by the poet's technique, then poetry comes into existence. And liberty of interpreting necessarily comes too; for that is simply another way of saying, that the response, though governed by the poet, cannot in the nature of things be anything but individual. The rule tolerates no exceptions. . . . To regard Shakespeare as an artist is our first and last duty. But so to regard him is to admit what would never be denied in the case of any other poet. Whenever it is his art that is being criticized, liberty of interpretation must be allowed.<sup>21</sup>

The word "interpretation" leads me to a word which will surely arise: "coincidence." I am certain that many readers will regard my parallels, echoes, and reflections, as mere "coincidence." The coincidence theory, however, used

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<sup>20</sup>Lascelles Abercrombie, "A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting," in Aspects of Shakespeare Being British Academy Lectures (London: H. Milford, 1933), p. 227.

<sup>21</sup>Abercrombie, p. 228.

to explain the hundreds of instances that I put forth, would seem to me to be far more startling and untenable as an explanation than the simple one that the plays were topical and did reflect the author's interest in the voyages of discovery and in the adventurers who invested in these expeditions.

In his introduction to Shakespeare and Chapman as Topical Dramatists (1929), Percy Allen discusses the matter of coincidence. When Ivor Brown in The Saturday Review, had reviewed Mr. Allen's previous book, he wrote, "Give me time enough and I can prove, by duly professorial methods of detection, that any play you choose to mention was written by Francis Bacon, Sam Rowley, John Webster, etc." Mr. Allen suggests that the critic try to prove that Every Man in His Humour was written by anyone else but Jonson, and see whether "by duly professorial methods" he can obtain a logical and coherent result. He continues, after noting several examples in which he found similarities:

If the coincidence theory be sound, I should expect to find parallels scattered indiscriminately throughout all the plays; which is certainly not the case . . . Cannot my severer critics . . . perceive, that, by denying any relation of my arguments to actual historic fact, they are crediting me, though unwittingly, with a degree of perversely inventive ingenuity, to which I make no claim. . . and which, did it exist, would make of these two volumes one of the most astonishing collections of literary coincidences that the world-of-letters has yet seen? My opponents cannot have it both ways; it is not open to them at once to deny merit to my arguments, and more than ordinary chance to the "coincidences."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Percy Allen, Shakespeare and Chapman as Topical Dramatists (London: C. Palmer, 1929), pp. 9-11.

Just as Mr. Allen does, so do I also challenge the "coincidence" theorists to take the plays of any other playwright in any period of theatre history and match them up to the discovery of new lands, especially America, as I have done. If this can be done, I'll agree that my echoes and reflections are "coincidences."

A close study of the Shakespeare Canon reveals that there are four strong forces which flow through the works, forces that surge and ebb and create a feeling of never-ending motion and space in the over-all beauty of the plays' poetry. These forces can be labeled "traveling vast distances," "the dangers encountered in traveling these vast distances," "the dispersion of families, lovers, friends, and even armies, by these distances and dangers," and "deliverance from dangers and dispersion." This observation is my own and I will elaborate on it in my chapter on the sea, in addition to making a few comments here.

Great distances are covered repeatedly, even if it is only a messenger who has come from a far-off country. Visitors come to Padua from distant lands, sons are sent from Verona to Milan to study, Princes come from Morocco and Arragon to woo a fair maiden in Venice, armies go back and forth between Rome and Alexandria. The movement between Britain and France and Italy enters the plays regularly. What is it that influenced the creation of these plays to such an extent that they could not be confined to a small area?

In going one step further we find that the "vast distances" usually involve some reference to the sea:

"wide sea" (TIM 1. 1. 47)

"vast sea" (TIM 4. 3. 437)

"a full sea" (JC 4. 3. 222)

"the empire of the sea" (ANT 1. 2. 185)

"a thousand furlong of sea" (TMP 1. 1. 65)

"as hugely as the sea" (AYL 2. 7. 72)

"mighty sea" (3H6 2. 5. 5)

"boundless as the sea" (ROM 2. 2. 133)

"large lengths of seas" (JN 1. 1. 105)

"wash'd with the farthest sea" (ROM 2. 1. 125)

The word "sea" is used 335 times in the Canon. It is a sea fraught with danger:

"a most dangerous sea" (MV 3. 2. 98)

"rough rude sea" (R2 3. 2. 54)

"ruthless sea" (3H6 5. 4. 25)

"wild sea" (H8 2. 4. 201)

"wilderness of the sea" (TIT 3. 1. 94)

"roaring sea" (ROM 5. 3. 39)

"violent sea" (MAC 4. 2. 21)

"a sea of troubles" (MAC 3. 1. 58)

"vex'd sea" (LR 4. 4. 2)

"dangerous sea" (OTH 2. 1. 26)

"wild watery seas" (ERR 2.1. 21)

"our terrible seas" (CYM 3. 1. 27)

These are but a few of the many.

In King Henry the Sixth Part III, Richard says to Queen Margaret:

Iron of Naples hid with English gilt,  
Whose father bears the title of a king,--  
As if a channel should be call'd a sea.<sup>23</sup>

Shakespeare does just this: he treats a channel as if it were a sea. For instance, Clarence, in the Tower, is oppressed by a nightmare he has had. He dreamed of drowning in the English Channel, with the noisy rush of water in his ears and debris of shipwrecks at the bottom of the sea.

Methought I saw a thousand fearful wracks,  
A thousand men that fishes gnawed upon,  
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,  
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,  
All scattered in the bottom of the sea . . .<sup>24</sup>

In another instance, King Richard has arrived from Ireland onto the coast of Wales after crossing the Irish Sea. The Duke of Aumerle asks:

How brooks your Grace the air,  
After your late tossing on the breaking seas?<sup>25</sup>

And when Cassio cries:

O, let the heavens  
Give me defence against the elements,  
For I have lost him on a dangerous sea!<sup>26</sup>

he is referring to the Mediterranean. Be it the English Channel, the Irish Sea, the Mediterranean or the Atlantic

<sup>23</sup>2. 2. 139-41

<sup>24</sup>Richard the Third 1. 4. 24-8

<sup>25</sup>Richard the Third 3. 2. 3-4

<sup>26</sup>Othello 2. 1. 44-6

Ocean, the sea images are always of vast expanses and always include the great dangers encountered on these huge watery stretches.

And these raging seas invariably separate. Two brothers, in infancy, are separated by a shipwreck; two brothers, in adulthood, are also separated by a sea; a sister and a brother are separated by a sea-storm; parents and children are separated by the sea; and a traveler, who has journeyed far from his home says, "When I was at home, I was in a better place,"<sup>27</sup> Armies also are "dispersed."<sup>28</sup>

The separations I will deal with occur in several of the comedies. They all end with reunions and reconciliations. In the tragedies and histories we cannot expect a happy ending, but there are, nevertheless, deliverances, such as, the deliverance of two families from their hatred for each other and the deliverance of a country from a tyrannical king.

The parallels between the four forces mentioned here and the four major aspects of the voyages of discovery are almost too obvious to need detailed elaboration. The vast sea, the separation of families, the dangers encountered in these separations, and the eventual reunions and reconciliations, were a part of every voyage; and, as in the plays, which are a mirror of life, there were happy endings and tragic endings, and all of it became history.

The impact of the voyages on Shakespeare's creations

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<sup>27</sup>As You Like It 2. 4. 17

<sup>28</sup>The Tempest 1. 2. 233

can be seen in his constant awareness of the ever-present sea, in his treatment of any body of water as part of the sea as a whole, and in his numerous images that depict the life of man as a voyage on a dangerous sea.

The overwhelming size of the sea masses, the unfathomable, unimaginable distances between Europe and America must have somehow influenced the structure of the overwhelming tragedies and unimaginable disasters that overtake the life voyages of Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello and Lear, to name a few. It is in the creation of "over-size" that the impact of Shakespeare's plays lies. Just as there is no way to measure the vastness of space, there is no way to measure the vastness of Lear's pain. There is a sense of "limitlessness" that attaches to Shakespeare's greatest creations. This "limitlessness" may not be felt today because the geographic and mathematical knowledge of our world makes our earth a "finite" entity. But do we have the same "finite" knowledge in reference to the voyages to the moon? Is it possible to visualize light-years? It would seem that an Elizabethan's mind would have been even more startled by the distance between Europe and America than our minds are by the distance between the earth and the moon, because he had no preliminary knowledge to prepare him for the shock of the discoveries, whereas our minds have become almost immune to this kind of shock.

The evidence that will be presented here should establish the basic fact that Shakespeare's imagination was in-

fluenced and nurtured by the voyages of discovery and the seas on which the voyages took place.

No one has to be reminded that England is an island, but it is possible that Englishmen in Shakespeare's day did not always have this thought in their conscious minds. People usually stayed in their own villages and towns, travel beyond was rare, and some never got to see the island's coasts in their entire lives. It was during Queen Elizabeth's reign that there was a beginning of a conscious national unity, an event stimulated by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Politically and religiously, England, after the Armada, became an independent unity, no longer subservient to the continental influences, direct or indirect. This ideological separation, which served to emphasize England's insular position, also served to emphasize the vastness and dangers of the surrounding waters, as if any bridges that might have been "felt" or "imagined" were now admittedly not there. England stood alone.

This awareness speaks to us in Shakespeare's words. The voyages of discovery enforced this realization that England is an island nation, a fact that we hear echoed throughout the plays. Much of Shakespeare's most beautiful and most moving poetry is based on this elementary fact--that England's greatness is a sea-greatness and that this greatness is surrounded by the terrors of the sea. Image after image describes the angry seas that toss about adventuring ships and these images are compared over and over again to the vicissitudes of human life.

The height of joy and the depth of tragic passion constantly find their most dramatic expression in sea metaphors. When Othello meets Desdemona at Cyprus, he cries:

O my soul's joy!  
 If after every tempest come such calms,  
 May the winds blow till they have waken'd death!  
 And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas  
 Olympus-high, and duck again as low  
 As hell's from heaven! If it were now to die,  
 'Twere now to be most happy.<sup>29</sup>

Then Othello replies to Iago's counsels of patience:

Never, Iago. Like to the Pontic sea,  
 Whose icy current and compulsive course  
 Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on  
 To the Propontic and the Hellespont;  
 Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,  
 Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,  
 Till that a capable and wide revenge  
 Swallow them up.<sup>30</sup>

In the greatness of Othello's passion there is the wild movement of the sea.

To sum up, the purpose of this study is to present a selective view of the events that led to the eventual colonization of America and of the information recorded by the chroniclers of these events and of quotations from Shakespeare's plays that reflect these events and writings. A by-product of this study may be, hopefully, that students of history will become interested in the Shakespeare plays, that readers of the plays will become interested in the history of the planting of English settlements in America, and that students of the theatre will see in the history of drama, the drama of history.

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<sup>29</sup>2. 1. 185-90

<sup>30</sup>3. 3. 453-60

PART I

THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY OF DISCOVERY  
AND SHAKESPEARE

## CHAPTER I

### THE VOYAGERS, THE MEN WHO WROTE ABOUT THE VOYAGES, AND SHAKESPEARE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### The First Rush of Enthusiasm--1497

In a close reading of Shakespeare's plays there come to light numerous references, both direct and indirect, to the voyages of exploration; to the discoveries in foreign lands, especially America; to the intrepid men who made these voyages and discoveries; to the merchants and noblemen who invested in these voyages, and to the men who wrote about these voyages. In order to understand how the various elements of the sixteenth century brought about these references in Shakespeare's writing and the readiness of his audiences to appreciate these references, it is necessary to review how the chain of historical events changed the indifference on the part of most Englishmen to overseas exploration into a very enthusiastic and supportive interest. It is also necessary to review the role played by the chroniclers of these events in bringing about this change.

The tributaries which fed the sixteenth century mainstream of historical development were varied in nature--some political, some economic, some religious, some social,

some intellectual, some scientific, some opportunistic-- all finally flowing together to create the atmosphere in which serious attempts at colonization were nurtured, the atmosphere in which The Tempest was eventually written.

The logical starting point for such a review is the year 1490 when most intellectual Englishmen had some vague knowledge that a newly-discovered land area existed somewhere across the sea to the north, but were not giving the matter serious thought. At first the knowledge was a mere trickle, a murmur, but as the sixteenth century started, books, pamphlets, maps, drawings, lectures, sermons, eye-witness reports, and coffee-house discussions about the voyages increased in number following the increase in the number of voyages made, and the trickle became a sweeping current which engulfed not only the intellectuals, but all Englishmen. By the end of the sixteenth century Shakespeare's plays were becoming popular and his audiences were generally familiar with the flood of information that had accumulated about the New World.

We are on reasonably sure ground when we say that at about 1490 English fishermen discovered the Newfoundland banks, long after the Norsemen had been there, and shortly before Columbus and Vespucci would sail west. Haul after haul of fish were being brought from that region into England. That land was there, was known, even though nothing as yet had been written on the subject, but there was no thought in the minds of the fishermen or of the early ex-

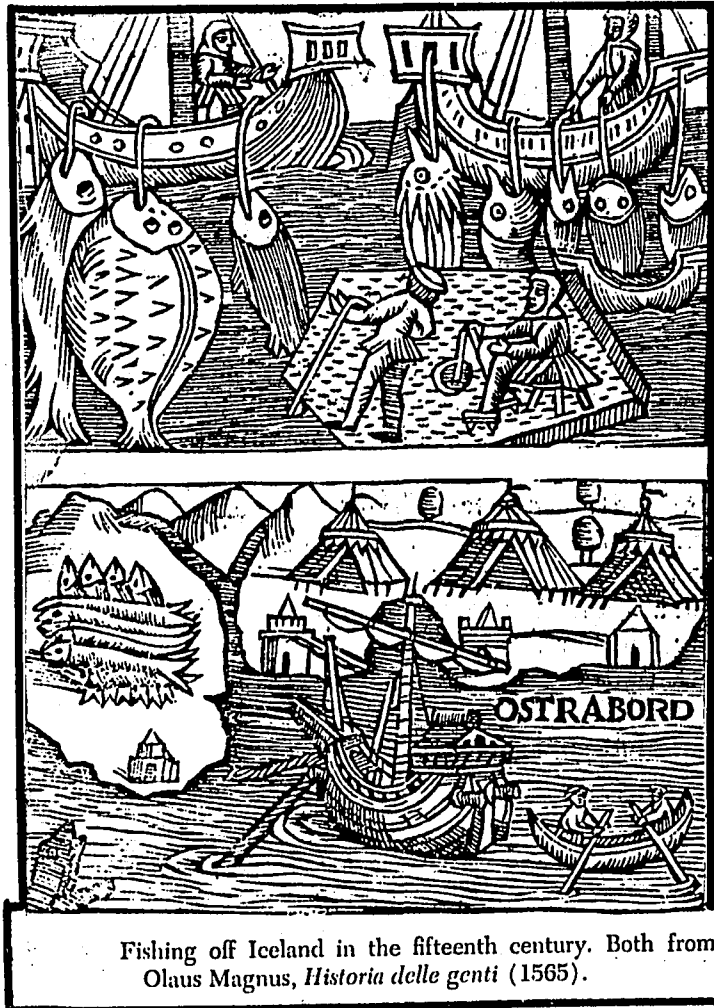


Fig. 3. Fishing off Iceland in the fifteenth century. Reprinted in Elaine W. Fowler's The English Sea Power in Early Tudor Period 1485-1558, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1965.

plorers to create permanent settlements in strange lands.<sup>1</sup> If Englishmen thought of the new land at all, they thought of it as a fishing station near Iceland, or later, as an obstacle on the way to Cathay.<sup>2</sup>

The early fishing expeditions took place during the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509), the period in which Englishmen were transformed from an agricultural and military people into an expeditionary and commercial nation.<sup>3</sup> This era was the beginning of a change, a change in which the English, who had for centuries tilled their fields and tended their cattle, suddenly found themselves, by virtue of their shipping, competitors for the dominion of the earth. But the change was just beginning during Henry VII's reign. This king was a very shrewd business man and was determined to use every means possible to further any mercantile enterprise of his people.<sup>4</sup>

On 13 February 1488 Bartholomew Columbus arrived in London to ask King Henry if he would finance his brother's voyage to discover a western route to the Indies. He pre-

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<sup>1</sup>David Bears Quinn, The New Found Land: The English Contribution to the Discovery of North America, The Associates of the John Carter Brown Library (Providence, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>George Bruner Parks, Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>James Alexander Williamson, Maritime Enterprise 1485-1558 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

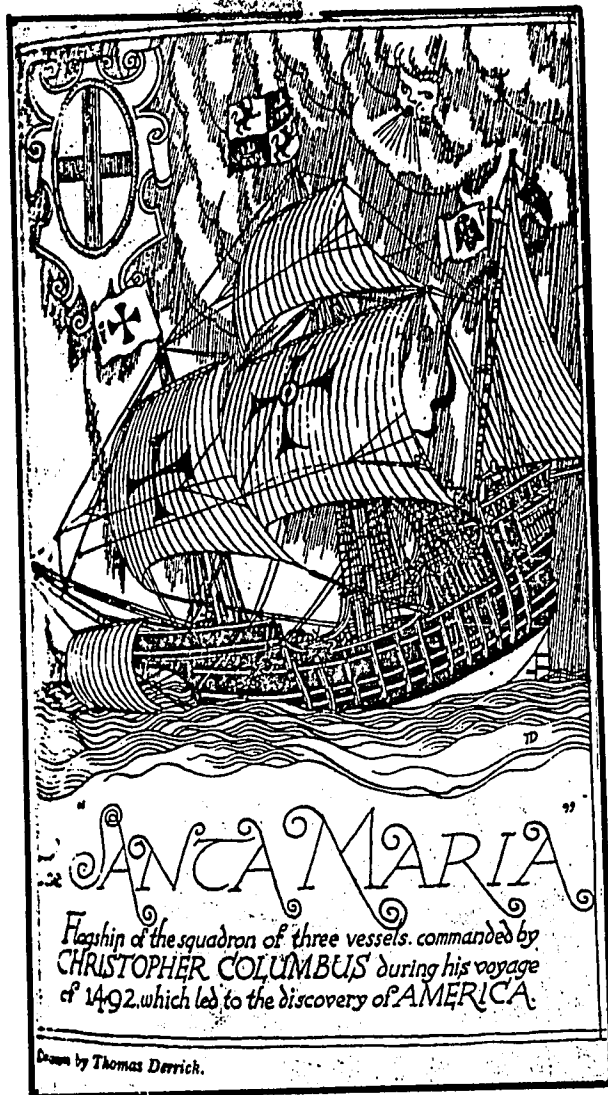


Fig. 4. The Santa Maria.  
From Hakluyt's Principal  
Navigations.

sented the King with a map of the world on which was written:

Thou which desirest easily the coasts of lands to know,  
This comely mappe right learnedly the same to thee will  
shew:

Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Isodore maintaine:  
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.  
Here also is set downe the late discovered burning zone  
By Portingals, unto the world which whilom was unknowen,  
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world  
is blowen.<sup>5</sup>

Henry "accepted the offer with joyfull countenance, and sent to call him into England." Unfortunately, Bartholomew had been delayed on his journey to Henry by "pirats . . . poverty and sickness,"<sup>6</sup> so that by the time he returned to Castile with Henry's acceptance, Columbus had already set sail from Palos under the service of King Ferdinand V and Queen Isabella I.<sup>7</sup> When news spread through Europe of the discovery of rich lands on the western route to Cathay, as all men supposed the land to be, Henry knew he had "missed the boat." Therefore, when John Cabot, a Venetian, petitioned him in 1496 for permission to make a similar discovery, Henry granted a patent without hesitation.

The king upon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gave licence to John Cabot to take sixe English ships in any haven or havens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or under, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the

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<sup>5</sup>Richard Hakluyt, The principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation (London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927-1928), 5:81.

<sup>6</sup>Hakluyt, 5:82.

<sup>7</sup>Maritime, p. 71.

said ships all such masters, mariners, and subjects of the king as willingly will go with him.<sup>8</sup>

Cabot, like Columbus, believed in the roundness of the earth and in the possibility of finding a route to India by sailing west. Sailing from Bristol, he made two voyages, one in 1497 and one in 1498. On the first voyage, he sailed with only a single vessel, not the six King Henry had authorized, and a crew of eighteen men. Bristol merchants would do no more for him. On this voyage he planted the flags of England and Venice on the coast of Newfoundland.<sup>9</sup> This is part of his description of what he saw:

The inhabitants of this Island use to weare beasts skinned, and have them in a great estimation as we have our finest garments. In their warres they use bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slinges. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white beares, and staggas farre greater than ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also above a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Savages call baccalaos.<sup>10</sup>

At this early date there were already hyperbolic reports of the new land--fish as large as seals and soles a yard long. Such exaggerations would become the general tenor of future reports about the New World.

When Cabot, on his return, reported that he had found the outlying coasts of Cathay, great enthusiasm prevailed and

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<sup>8</sup>Hakluyt, 5:84.

<sup>9</sup>Quinn, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>Hakluyt, 5:85

many men became curious and eager to see what Cabot had seen.<sup>11</sup> Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a merchant residing in London, reported on 23 August 1497 to his brother in Venice that "these English run after him [Cabot] like mad, and indeed he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our rogues as well."<sup>12</sup>

For the 1498 voyage, London merchants, with the King's help, equipped a large ship, Bristol merchants equipped four more ships<sup>13</sup> and the fleet sailed forth.

At this point we encounter for the first time Spain's objections to English exploration. The Spanish ambassador protested that the new land belonged to Spain<sup>14</sup> according to the Papal Bull of Alexander VI which had divided all the undiscovered parts of the world between Spain and Portugal and which had been confirmed by the Treaty of Tordesillas between those two nations in 1494.<sup>15</sup> This claim of Spain and Portugal would be a constant threat to all English exploration in the future until England's navy became the most powerful on the seas. Only then would English colonization be able to take hold and flourish.

It is probable that on his second voyage Cabot realized that he was not on the coast of Asia, but on an empty

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<sup>11</sup>James Alexander Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion (London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), p. 69.

<sup>12</sup>James Alexander Williamson, The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII (London: Argonaut Press, 1929), p. 29.

<sup>13</sup>A Short History, p. 70.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Maritime, p. 79.

land with a scanty population of natives and nothing of value to take back as cargo.<sup>16</sup> But his suspicions were not as yet generally known. Baptista Ramusio, in his preface to the Terzo volume delle navigationi, writing about Cabot's voyage said:

But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserve this great enterprize for some great prince to discover this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easie and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprize would be the most glorious, and of most importance to all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortal, to all ages to come, farre more than can be done by any of all great troubles and warres which dayly are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.<sup>17</sup>

Though Cabot did not find a route to Cathay, his voyages established that a long coastline existed on the land between what we know today as Maine and Labrador.<sup>18</sup>

In 1500 the Spanish pilot, Juan de la Cosa, drew up a map of the known world at the time and included a part of the east coast of North America, with flags marking the places visited by Cabot. It is almost certain that this map embodies geographical knowledge not known before Cabot's second voyage.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>A Short History, p. 70.

<sup>17</sup>Hakluyt, 5:88.

<sup>18</sup>Quinn, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup>Maritime, p. 82.

The practical results of Cabot's voyages were that there was some realization that there might be a great obstacle between Europe and a spice trade by a western route and that there was better fishing off the coasts of Newfoundland than off the coast of Iceland.<sup>20</sup>

Cabot's voyages were considered a failure because he had not found a route to Asia. Enthusiasm for sailing west died out and no mention was made of his voyages by contemporary chroniclers because, as failures, they were of no importance. London merchants lost interest in transoceanic voyages and for some fifty years there was little in the way of expeditions to North America by Englishmen.<sup>21</sup>

#### The Fourth Part of the Earth

To the end of the fifteenth century it was generally believed that the earth consisted of three parts--Asia, Europe, and Africa.<sup>22</sup> However, in the first years of the sixteenth century a change in attitude appeared. There was the realization that, first, the new land was neither one of the western islands nor a part of Asia, and that, second, it was something new and big: it was actually a fourth part of the earth.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>A Short History, p. 72.

<sup>21</sup>A Short History, p. 71.

<sup>22</sup>Franklin Thresher McCann, English Discovery of America to 1585 (New York: King's Cross Press, 1951), p. 45.

<sup>23</sup>McCann, p. xii.

Amerigo Vespucci, on his first voyage in 1497, like Columbus, John Cabot on his first voyage, Alonzo de Hojeda, the Spanish adventurer, and Vincente Yanez Pizon, the Spanish navigator, thought he had reached the mainland of Asia. However, on his 1501-2 voyage along the coast of America he changed his mind. In his letter to his Florentine friend, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de 'Medici, he wrote, "We arrived at the new land; which for many reasons that are enumerated in what follows, we observed to be a continent."<sup>24</sup> With this letter, Vespucci won the honor of being the first explorer who ever recorded a visit to any portion of the territory now known as the United States of America.

The name "America" was first suggested by Martin Waldseemüller in his Cosmographiae Introductio, published on 25 April 1507 at St. Dié. This small geographical treatise left its mark upon the world for all time, for in this little book the following suggestion was made:

Now truly, as these regions are more widely explored, and another fourth part is discovered, by Americus Vesputius, as may be learned from the following letters, I see no reason why it should not be justly called Amerigen--that is, the land of Americus, or America, from Americus, its discoverer, a man of acute intellect; inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from the feminine form.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Frederick Julius Pohl, Amerigo Vespucci Pilot Major (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 130. Pohl's translations are based on Vespucci's letters from Seville, 1500; Cape Verdi, 1502; and Lisbon, 1502.

<sup>25</sup>Narrative and Critical History of America: Spanish Explorations and Settlements in America from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century, 8 vols. ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1884-1889), 2:147-8.

## RVDIMENTA

quæ oppositu vel contra denotat. Atq; in sexto cli-  
mate Antarcticū, versus/ & pars extrema Affricæ  
nuper reperta & Zamziber/laua minor/ & Seula  
insule/ & quarta orbis pars (quam quia Americus  
inuenit Amerigen/ quasi Americi terrā/siue Ame-  
cam nuncupare licet) sitæ sunt. De quibus Australi  
bus climatibus hæc Pomponij Mellæ Geographi  
verba intelligenda sunt/ vbi ait. Zone habitabiles  
paria agunt anni tempora/verum non pariter An-  
tichthones alteram/nos alteram incolimus. Illius sta-  
tus ob ardore intercedētis plage incognitus/ huius  
dicendus est. Vbi animaduertendum est quod cli-  
matum quodq; alios t̄p̄ aliud plerumq; foetus pro-  
ducat/cum diuersæ sunt naturæ/ & alia atq; alia sy-  
derum virtute moderentur. Vnde Virgilins.

Virgil.

FROM THE COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO.<sup>1</sup>

Nunc vero & hæc partes sunt latius lustratæ/ &  
alia quarta pars per Americū Vesputium (vt in fe-  
quentibus audietur) inuenta est: quā non video cur  
quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore sagacis inge-  
nij viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram/siue Ame-  
ricam dicendam: cum & Europa & Asia a mulieris  
bus sua sortita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mo-  
res ex his binis Americi nauigationibus quæ sequū-  
tur liquide intelligi datur.

FROM THE COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That part of the page (sig. C) of the September edition (1507) which has the reference to America and Vesputius.

<sup>2</sup> That part of the page of the 1507 (September) edition in which the name of America is proposed for the New World.

Fig. 5. From Justin Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America.

Some may agree with Stefan Zweig who wrote, "These lines are America's actual certificate of baptism. On this quarto sheet its name is for the first time formed in letters and multiplied in print."<sup>26</sup>

The descriptive text of Waldseemüller's little book was intended to accompany a separate map and globe as a sort of explanatory handbook. The map and globe were to contain representations of the newly discovered "fourth part of the world."

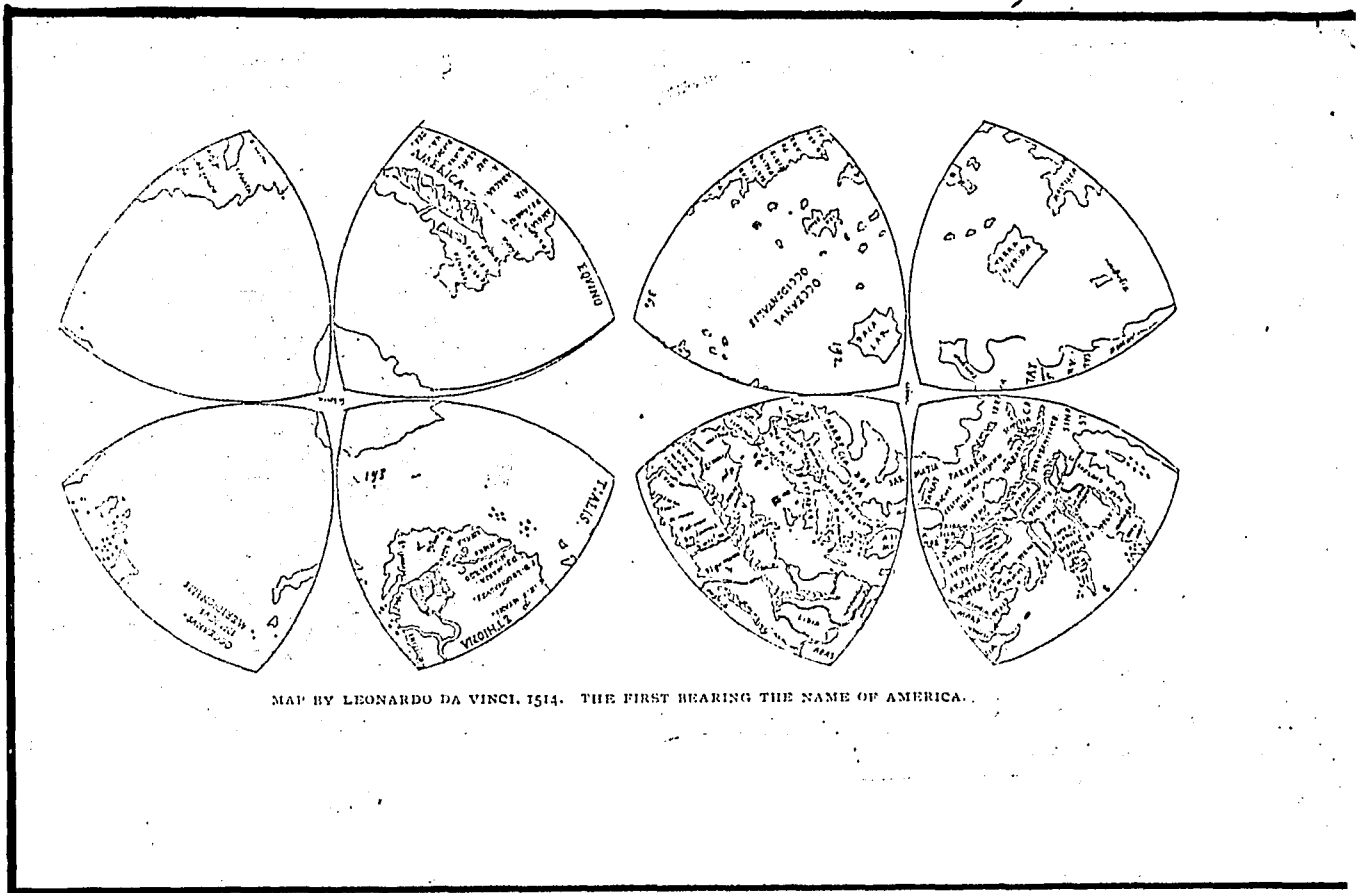
It was not until 1901 that Waldseemüller's long-lost map of 1507, together with another of his of 1516, was discovered by Joseph P. Fischer of Felkirch in the library of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg at the Castle of Wolfegg, Württemberg, Germany.<sup>27</sup> It was a map of the voyages of Vespucci which "represents the earth with a grandeur never before attempted." The map itself did not bear the name "America" on it. The first time the name "America" was actually used on a map was on the one believed to have been drawn by Leonardo Da Vinci in 1512-1515. This name was inscribed on what is today known as the South American continent.

In the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar, there is an

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<sup>26</sup>Stefan Zweig, Amerigo, A Comedy of Errors in History, trans. Andrew St. James (New York: Viking Press, 1942), p. 58.

<sup>27</sup>Basil Soubby, The First Map Containing the Name America: from The Geographical Journal of February 1902 (London: William Clows & Sons), p. 3.



Map 2. Map by Leonardo Da Vinci, 1514. The First Bearing the Name of America. From Frank M. Bristol's Shakespeare and America.

anonymous and undated globe which is believed to have been made by Johannes Schöner in 1523. This belief is based on the resemblance of the 1523 globe to the globe of 1533 which is definitely known to be his. On both these globes the southern continent of the new land is again designated as "America."<sup>28</sup>

A map, printed in 1514, ascribed to Louis Boulenger, and consisting of twelve gores of a globe, was found in a copy of the Cosmographiae Introductio of Lugduni with "America noviter reperta" inscribed on the southern continent.<sup>29</sup> A cordiform "mappamundi" roughly engraved on wood in 1520 by Petrus Apianus bears the inscription "America Prouincia."<sup>30</sup>

In 1522 Lorenz Friess published a copy of the Waldseemüller map with "America" added to it. The name also appeared on Sebastian Munster's Cosmographicvs Vniuersalis which he constructed for Novus Orbis, published in 1532 in Basle.<sup>31</sup>

Gerardus Mercator, in 1538, created a double cordiform map which had the striking feature of applying the name America to the northern continent as well as to the southern continent.<sup>32</sup> Mercator should be given credit

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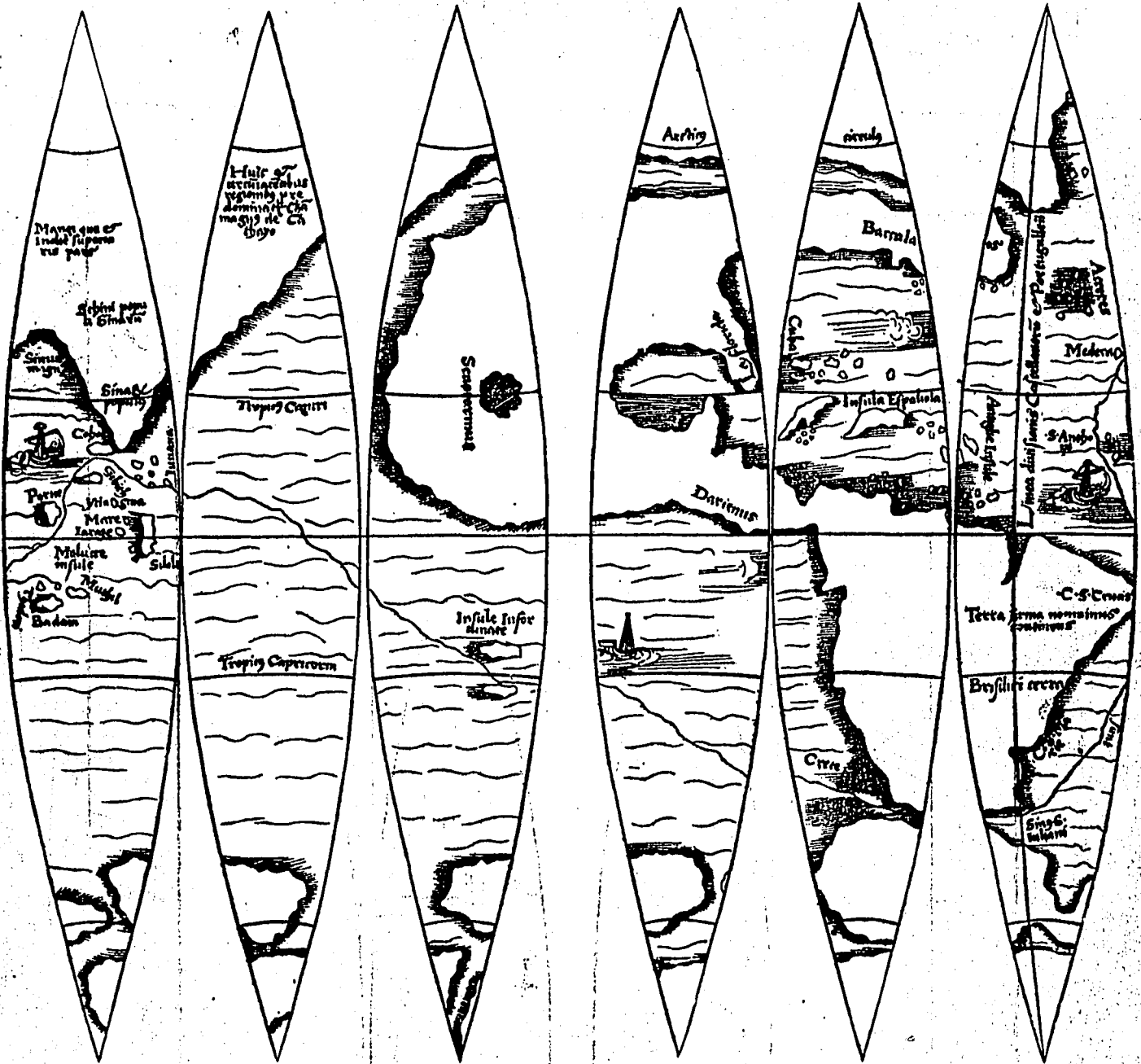
<sup>28</sup>Winsor, 2:33.

<sup>29</sup>Winsor, 2:34.

<sup>30</sup>Harrisse, p. 514.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 323.



ALLEGED GLOBE OF SCHÖNER OF 1623.

Map 3. From Emerson D. Fite's A Book of Old Maps.



along with Waldseemüller for naming the western hemisphere.

The concept of America as a fourth part of the earth may have been in the mind of Alexander Barclay when, in 1509 in The Ship of Fools, he wrote:

For now of late hath large londe and grounde  
Ben founde by maryners and crafty gouvernours  
The whiche londes were neuer knowen nor founde  
Byfore our tyme by our predecessours  
And here after shall by our successours  
Parchaunce mo be founde, wherin men dwell  
Of whome we neuer before this same harde tell.<sup>33</sup>

America as a fourth part of the earth was certainly in John Rastell's mind when he wrote The Interlude of the Four Elements about 1519. The character Experience, pointing to a map or globe says:

This sayde north part is called Europa  
And this south part callyd Affrica  
This eest parte is callyde Ynde  
But this Newe Landes founde lately  
Ben Callyd America bycause only  
Americus dyd furst them fynde.<sup>34</sup>

It was not until 1553 that Richard Eden became the first Englishman to write unequivocally of America as the fourth part of the earth. He did this in his letter to the reader which precedes his translation of part of the fifth chapter, "De terris Asiae Maioris," of Sebastian Münster's Cosmography. He refers there to "America with the hole

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<sup>33</sup>Alexander Barclay, trans. The Ship of Fools, ed. T. H. Jamieson, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1874), 2:26.

<sup>34</sup>John Rastell, A New Interlude and a mery of the Nature of the iiiij Elementes (Old English Drama, Students' Facsimile Edition, 1908), 41:91.



Map 5. From Fite's A Book of Old Maps.

fyrme lande adherent thereunto, which is nowe found to be the fourth parte of the earth."<sup>35</sup>

Though the expression "the four corners of the earth" had been used before, by the time Shakespeare wrote Pericles, the term had taken on new significance. Gower says:

By many a dern and painful perch  
Of Pericles the careful search,  
By the four opposing coigns  
Which the world together joins  
Is made with all due dilligence<sup>36</sup>

As for the word "America," Shakespeare uses it only once in the entire Canon, when Antipholus of Syracuse, in The Comedy of Errors, asks Dromio, who is describing the territories he imagines on the globular figure of Nell, "Where America, the Indies?"<sup>37</sup> I will return to this citation in my discussion of the Indies.

#### The Anglo-Portuguese Syndicate 1501-1505

After John Cabot's voyages, the next English expedition to America was in 1501. On 15 March Henry VII granted a patent

to our beloved subjects Richard Ward, Thomas Ashehurst, and John Thomas, merchants of our town of Bristol, and to our beloved João Fernandes, Francisco Fernandes, and João Gonsalves: Giving them authority to explore

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<sup>35</sup>Richard Eden, trans., comp. The First Three English Books on America, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham: n. p., 1885), p. 8.

<sup>36</sup>2, Prologue. 15-21

<sup>37</sup>3. 2. 130

any regions of the earth for the purpose of discovering countries hitherto unknown to Christians.<sup>38</sup>

A study of the terms of the charter shows that the foundation of a permanent colony and not merely the dispatch of a trading expedition was for the first time under consideration. However, the only evidence that the voyage actually took place is an entry on 7 January 1502 in Henry's Privy Purse accounts: "To men of Bristol that found the Isle of 5."<sup>39</sup> Nothing else is known about this voyage. The Anglo-Portuguese Syndicate, the name used for this group of explorers, continued its task of following up John Cabot's discoveries until 1505 when the enterprise was abandoned. Their voyages gave useful information on ocean navigation and discovery to a nation that had up to this time been content with following the shorelines of Europe.<sup>40</sup>

#### Sebastian Cabot 1509

Whether John Cabot's second son, Sebastian, was with him on either of his voyages is not definitely known. It is certain, however, that Sebastian made his own voyage with two ships at some subsequent date. This date is disputed. McCann,<sup>41</sup> Williamson,<sup>42</sup> and Winship<sup>43</sup> say it was

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<sup>38</sup>Maritime, p. 104.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 105; 107.

<sup>40</sup>A Short History, pp. 73; 74. <sup>41</sup>McCann, p. 48.

<sup>42</sup>Williamson, The Voyages of, p. 74.

<sup>43</sup>George Parker Winship, Cabot Bibliography (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., London: H. Stevens, Son, & Stiles, 1900), p. xviii.

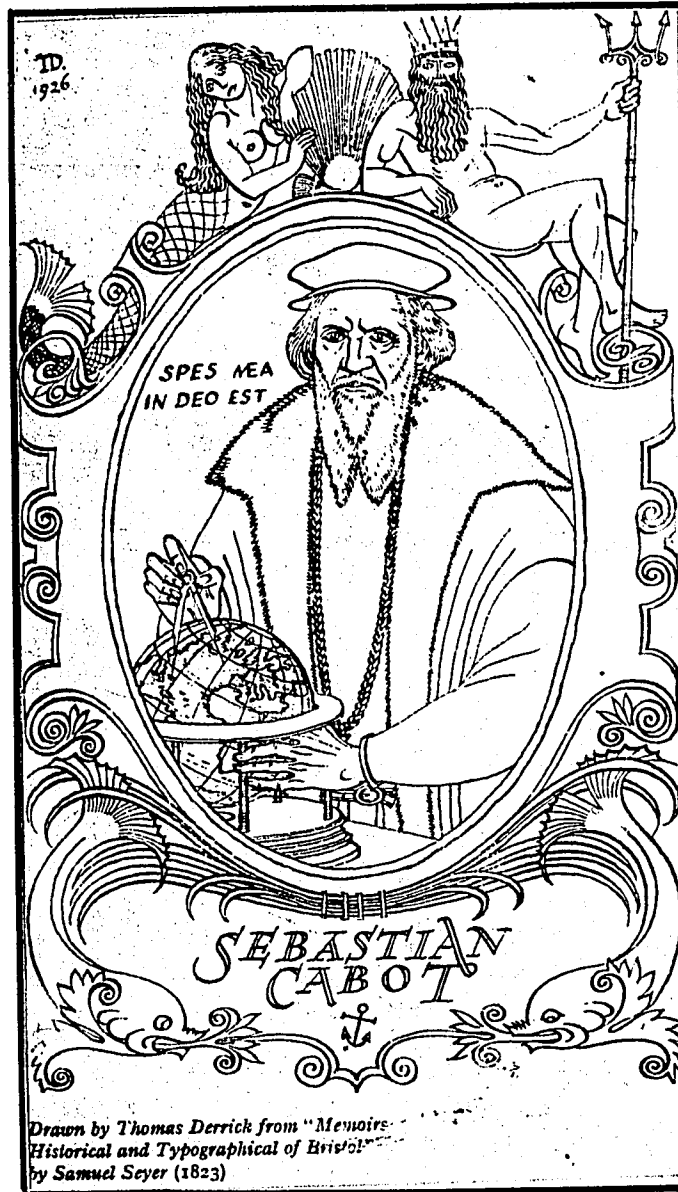


Fig. 7. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

1509. The object of this voyage was to find a passage through the American continent to the land of Cathay beyond, and then on to the Indies. The ships went so far into the Arctic region that their progress was stopped by the great quantities of ice they ran into. Cabot and his crew were forced to abandon the search for a passage to Cathay. Turning around, they skirted the coast of North America, from the Arctic circle down to at least Delaware Bay, perhaps even as far as the southern point of Florida, and then returned to England.<sup>44</sup> This was the first attempt to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

On his return to England, Cabot learned that Henry VII had died on 21 April 1509. There was no one in the new administration interested enough to reward Cabot or even to record his arrival.<sup>45</sup> That is why there is some question about the exact date of this voyage.

Sebastian Cabot was the only link between the late fifteenth century, when intellectual men were not interested in ocean voyages, and the mid-sixteenth century,<sup>46</sup> when England began to realize her future lay upon the oceans. He may be called the only link because Richard Eden, one of the earliest "expansionist" writers of Eng-

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<sup>44</sup>Maritime, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup>McCann, pp. 54-5.

<sup>46</sup>Maritime, p. 52.

lish history, listened carefully to Sebastian's description of his father's and his own voyages, and recorded the details in Section Five of his Decades. This was the beginning of the English chronicles of the voyages of exploration. Eden wrote:

Sebastian Cabot was the fyrst that brought any knowleage of this lande. For beinge in Englande in the dayes of kyng Henry the seuenth, he furnysshed twoo shippes at his owne charges or (as sum say) at the kynges, whome he persuaded that a passage might bee founde to Cathay by the north seas, and that spices myght bee brought from thense soner by that way, then by the vyage the Portugales use by the sea of Sur.<sup>47</sup>

Eden not only made the stories of the voyages of exploration available to all who could read English in the sixteenth century, he also assured their preservation for posterity.

#### The Reign of Henry VIII: 1509-1547

When Henry VIII, in his eighteenth year, came to the throne in April 1509, he realized that difficult times lay ahead for English commerce and that it was necessary to seek new outlets for English goods. But the disorder caused by the religious eruption going on in England, and the need for maintaining an alliance with the Netherlands and Spain, tied his hands. He was not able to give his whole-hearted support to trade expeditions despite his personal approval of the idea and little advance was achieved during his reign.<sup>48</sup> Commerce was no longer the prime in-

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<sup>47</sup>Eden, p. 345.

<sup>48</sup>A Short History, p. 74.

terest of government and it was allowed to pursue its course practically without assistance or hindrance from official powers, along the lines which Henry VII had laid down--the North Sea, the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean being the training grounds for Englishmen in the arts of trade and seamanship.<sup>49</sup>

Henry VIII was surrounded by nobles whose natures were as fiery as his own and who were impatient to be rid of the restraints of the sober and prosaic regime of Henry VII. The old dream of continental conquest, which was finally abandoned by Henry VII, was revived. In 1513 Henry VIII led an army into the north of France, routed the French at the Battle of the Spurs, and received the surrender of Tournay and Terouenne. Left in the lurch by those he had considered his allies--Ferdinand of Aragon and Maximilian the Emperor--Henry made peace with France in 1514. During the war Thomas Wolsey had climbed to a position of supreme authority under the king, a position he held for fifteen years. Wolsey's policy was the policy of England. His outlook was that of a man oblivious to the marvelous opening-up of the world that was going on around him and of the part which his country might play therein. Until almost the end of his power there was no authenticated voyage of discovery or attempt to penetrate new markets<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Maritime, p. 240.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 120-122.

with produce of English industry.

Since America was not the eastern coast of Asia and the riches of Asia were not within easy reach by sailing west, England's interest in America was not very great. America was just an obstacle to Cathay, Tartary, and the Spice Islands where England thought great wealth lay. Englishmen thought of the new land as cold, inhospitable, and unattractive. If it was of any value, it was as a place through which a passage might still be found to the wealth of Asia.<sup>51</sup>

There was another reason for a lack of interest in America. Spain and Portugal still maintained the validity of the Papal Bull. At this time Henry VIII was on good terms with both of them. Already preoccupied with domestic and European affairs, he was not enthusiastic about taking on more problems by challenging their monopolies in America. Private English ships which tried to cross Spanish and Portuguese lines of ownership were exposing themselves not only to capture by a foreign country, but also to the disapproval of their own king.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, while commerce in already-known European trading zones became firmly established, little was happening in oceanic enterprises. There was little interest in the advancement of navigation or cosmography.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>McCann, p. 56.      <sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>53</sup>Maritime, pp. 240-1.

By 1527, as far as is known, not a single native-born Englishman had ever taken sole command of an exploring expedition nor published any writings on the subject. It was in that year that Robert Thorne, son of a Bristol adventurer who had taken part in the 1501-5 voyages, sent to Henry VIII his Declaration of the Indies<sup>54</sup>

In the Declaration and in his Book of Robert Thorne, written in the same year, Thorne set forth in great detail the advantages to England of a discovery of a northern passage to Asia. He boldly suggested sailing right over the north pole,

for they, being past this little way which they named so dangerous, which may bee ii or iii leagues before they come to y<sup>e</sup> Pole, and so much more after they passe the Pole, it is cleare that from thence foorth the Seas and landes are as temperat as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners to choose whether they will saile by y<sup>e</sup> coastes that bee colde, temperate, or hot.<sup>55</sup>

Thorne urged the King to undertake the promotion of northern exploration

because the situation of this your Realme is therunto neerest and aptest of all other; and also for that you haue already taken it in hande. . . .<sup>56</sup> Though, heretofore, your Grace hath made thereof a prooffe, and founde not the commoditie therby as you trusted, at

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<sup>54</sup>A Short History, p. 74.

<sup>55</sup>Richard Hakluyt, Divers Voyages touching the discoveries of America, and Ilands adiacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by Frenchmen and Britons (London, Hakluyt Society Publications, 1850) Ser. 1, 7:31.

<sup>56</sup>A marginal note in Divers Voyages reads, "By Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert in the eight yere of his reigne."



Gradus 180. demercationis Portugalensiu a terris isto  $\otimes$  oppositis incipiunt, ac terminantur in gradus 160. huius cartae versus orientem, secundum computationem Hispanorum. Et sic insulae Tharsis & Ophir ditissimae videntur extra illorum demercationem cadere. Portugalenses vero suam elevationem a terris isto signo  $\otimes$  oppositis incipere aiunt, & terminare in gradus 180. huius cartae, ut videantur praedictas insulas vicinque attingere, & gradus 180. demercationis Hispanorum a priori signo  $\otimes$  secundum Hispanorum computationem. Vel incipiunt a posteriore secundum Portugalenses versus occidentem, & terminantur in gradus 160. secundum Hispanos, vel 180. secundum Portugalenses. Et sic, licet insulae Tharsis & Ophir videntur attingere Portugalenses, tamen insulae Capo verde dictae, quae intra supradicta signa  $\otimes$   $\otimes$  cadunt, videtur omittere. Et sic dum insulas Capo verde retinere volunt Portugalenses, illas Tharsis & Ophir non possunt attingere.

Robert Thorne's map, 1527. From Hakluyt's *Divers voyages touching the discover*

Map 6. The map Robert Thorne sent in 1527 to Doctor Ley. From George Bruner Parks' Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages.

Orbis Vniuersalis Descriptio



terminatur in gradus 160.  
 Tharsis & Obit ditissim  
 in a terris isto signo  
 insulas vicidq. attim  
 in cōputationem. Vel  
 gradus 160. secundum  
 attingere Portugalen  
 omittere. Et sic dum in  
 attingere.

**T**his is the forme of a Mapped sent 1527 from Siuill in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne  
 merchant, to Doctor Ley Embassadour for king Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour.  
 And although the same in this present time may seeme rude, yet I haue set it out, be-  
 cause his booke could not well be vnderstood without the same. The imperfection of  
 which Mapped may be excused by that tyme the knowledge of Cosmographie not then be-  
 yng entred among our Marchauntes, as now it is.

Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America. London 1582. By courtesy of Jackson, Wylie & Co., Glasgow.

this time it shall be no impediment. For there may bee nowe prouided remedies for thinges then lacked, and the inconueniences and lettes remooued that then were cause your Grace's desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be chaunged, and followe the aforesaid new courses. . . . And if they will take their course after they be past the pole towarde the occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found lande, which of late was discovered by your Grace's subiectes, vntill they come to the backside and South seas of the Indees occidentalls.<sup>57</sup>

Thorne claimed that his father and Hugh Elyot were the original discoverers of Newfoundland, and if not for the mutiny of their crew, they would have reached the Indies.<sup>58</sup> Thorne deserves credit for being the first English writer to urge English participation in the discoveries and the first of that remarkable group of sixteenth-century Englishmen who sought to study and to advance the cause of national expansion.<sup>59</sup>

Whether the next expedition was a result of Thorne's Declaration is not known. In any case, the fact remains that in 1527 Henry was moved to send an expedition to sea. Two ships were commissioned and placed under the command of John Rut, a master mariner who had served in the navy during the French wars.<sup>60</sup> Two letters from members of the expedition were sent to England. Purchas printed one of them with the comment, "John Rut writ this letter to King Henry in bad

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<sup>57</sup>Divers Voyages, Ser. 1, 7:29,31.

<sup>58</sup>Maritime, p. 252.

<sup>59</sup>A Short History, p. 75.

<sup>60</sup>Maritime, p. 252.

English and worse writing."<sup>61</sup> Since this is the first letter ever sent from America to England, I present it in its entirety for its historical value and also to point out that in this very first communiqué there is the mention of a "marvelous great storme," "foule weather," great distances traveled and "deepe water" encountered.

Pleasing your Honourable Grace, to heare of your servant John Rut, with all his Company here, in good health, thanks be to God, and your Grace's ship. The Mary Gilford, with all her . . . thanks be to God: And if it please your honourable Grace, we ranne in our course to the Northward, till we came into 53 degrees, and there we found no sounding, and then we durst not goe no further to the Northward for feare of more ice; and then we cast about to the Southward, and within foure days after we had one hundred and sixtie fathom, and then wee came into 52 degrees and fell with the Mayne Land, and within ten leagues of the Mayne Land we met with a great Iland of Ice, and came hard by her, for it was standing in deepe water, and so went in with Cape de Bas, a good Harbor, and many small Ilands, and a great fresh River going farre into the Mayne Land, and the Mayne Land all wildernesses and mountaines and woods, and no naturall ground but all mosse, and no inhabitation nor no people in these parts: and in the woods we found footing of divers great beasts, but we saw none not in ten leagues. And please your Grace, the Samson and wee kept company all the way till within two dayes before wee met with all the Ilands of Ice, that was the first day of July at night, and there rose a great and a marvelous great storme, and much foule weather; I trust in Almighty Jesu to heare good newes of her. And please your Grace, we were considering and a writing of all our order, how we would wash us and what course we would draw and when God do send fould weather, that with the Cape de Sper she should goe, and he that came first should

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<sup>61</sup>Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes: contayning a history of the world in sea voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others, in five bookes, 4 vols. London, 1625. Reprinted in 20 vols. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose & Sons, 1905-7), 14:304.

tarry the space of sixe weeks one for another, and watered at Cape de Bas ten dayes, ordering of your Grace's ship and fishing, and so departed toward the southward to seeke our fellow: the third day of August we entered into a good Haven, called St. John, and there we found eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittaine, and two Portugall barkes, and all a fishing, and so we are readie to depart toward Cape de Bas, and that is twentie five leagues, as shortly as we have fished, and so along the coast till we may meete with our fellow, and so with all diligence that lyes in me toward parts to the Ilands that we are commanded by the Grace of God, as we were commanded at our departing: And thus Jesu save and keepe your honourable Grace, and all your honourable Rever, in the Haven of Saint John, the third day of August, written in haste, 1527.

By your servant John Rut, to his uttermost of his power.<sup>62</sup>

Not only are dangers and great distances mentioned in this letter, but there is also the report of the dispersion of the fleet by the storm and the hope of reunion. The letter was probably sent by one of the fishing vessels which was on the point of returning to Europe. Rut's voyage was the third authenticated English expedition for the discovery of the northern route to Asia, those of Sebastian Cabot and the Anglo-Portuguese Syndicate being the first and second.<sup>63</sup>

One other voyage to the Northwest took place under Henry VIII. In 1536 a Master Hore of London, a man schooled in cosmography, had the notion to make a voyage to North America. He was joined by others of like mind, mainly "gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desireous to see the strange

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<sup>62</sup>Purchas, 14:304-5.

<sup>63</sup>Maritime, pp. 253-7.

things of the world."<sup>64</sup> With the King's consent and good will, two ships sailed forth with one hundred and twenty on board. They left Gravesend at the end of April 1536.

After more than two months, when they finally reached the island of Penguins near Newfoundland, their food supply gave out. Hakluyt's report, based on details given him by Thomas Butts, one of the participants says that when famine became acute, some of the members of the party, while out looking for food, were killed by others and their flesh cooked and eaten.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers new not what was become of them; And it fortun'd that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fields the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to starve, enjoying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these words: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither devour'd with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Savages: And hereupon hee stood up and made a notable Oration, containig, Howe much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouch'd the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him . . . And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather than all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriv'd a French ship in that port, well furnish'd with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and

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<sup>64</sup>Principal Navigations, 5:338.

changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England. . . .

Certain moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to King Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distress of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so moved with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence unto the French.<sup>65</sup>

This expedition can hardly be considered a serious voyage of discovery. It was rather in the nature of a tourist's cruise under very incompetent guidance. It must be noted that the expedition was promoted by "gentlemen adventurers," who, whatever their book-knowledge, had no practical experience or knowledge of voyaging. They were not sailors; they were landsmen. The necessity for cannibalism, says Williamson, "in a country swarming with game and a sea teeming with fish could hardly have arisen in an expedition organized by other than amateurs."<sup>66</sup> It is not surprising that no useful results came out of this expedition. However, the importance of the "gentleman explorer" in the discovery and colonization of the new land becomes more evident as we continue through the years.

Nothing else is heard from the north seas until 1541, in a passage in Chapuys's correspondence with the Queen of Hungary on 26 May:

About two months ago there was a deliberation held in the Privy Council as to the expediency of

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<sup>65</sup>Principal Navigations, 5:340-1.

<sup>66</sup>Maritime, p. 264.

sending two ships to the northern seas for the purpose of discovering a passage between Iceland and Engronland (Greenland) for the northern regions, where it was thought that, owing to the extreme cold, English woollen cloths would be very acceptable and sell for a good price. To this end the King has retained here for some time a pilot from Seville well versed in the affairs of the sea, though in the end the undertaking has been abandoned, all owing to the King not choosing to agree to the pilot's terms, so that for the present at least, the city of Antwerp is sure of not losing the commerce of woollen cloth of English Manufacture.<sup>67</sup>

The idea of seeking new trading areas was now coming into the minds of English merchants. Up to this time the search for trade routes by way of the North Atlantic was a series of heroic failures, but towards the end of Henry VIII's reign other adventurers set out on trading expeditions to regions partially occupied by the Portuguese and were more successful. William Hawkins, father of Admiral Sir John Hawkins, made at least three voyages to the coast of Brazil between 1530 and 1532. On the first he touched at the coast of Guinea, buying ivory and other products of the country, and then he sailed to Brazil where he traded these with natives for brazilwood, cotton, monkeys, parrots, and peppers.<sup>68</sup>

Shakespeare often mentions the trappings of the lands explored by the voyagers. Among them are parrots and parakeets. As early as 1492, Columbus had written, "They [the natives] came to the boats of the vessels,

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<sup>67</sup>Maritime, p. 265.

<sup>68</sup>McCann, p. 59.

swimming, bringing us parrots, cotton thread in balls, and spears."<sup>69</sup> Martyr noted how common parrots were on the northern coast of South America.<sup>70</sup> George Abbot, in speaking of South America, also referred to the "abundance of Parrots,"<sup>71</sup> and according to Laudonnière, Brazil was known to some as "the lande of Parots."<sup>72</sup> Strachey said he saw "Parakitoes" there during the winter.<sup>73</sup>

In King Henry the Fourth Part I, Lady Percy says to Hotspur, "Come, come, you paraquito, answer me,"<sup>74</sup> and in the same play Prince Henry says, "That ever this fellow should have fewer words than a parrot, and yet the son of a woman!"<sup>75</sup> In The Comedy of Errors, Dromio of Ephesus refers to "the prophecy like the parrot,"<sup>76</sup> and in King Henry the Fourth Part II, Prince Henry says, "Look,

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<sup>69</sup>Christopher Columbus, "Discovery of America" (1492), trans. H. L. Thomas, 1880 in American History Told by Contemporaries ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (New York: Macmillan Co., London: Macmilland & Co., Ltd., 1900), 1:37.

<sup>70</sup>Peter Martyr, De orbe novo, the eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera; tr. from the Latin with notes and introduction by Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 1:72, 254.

<sup>71</sup>George Abbot, A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde (London: T. Iudfon, 1599), fol. E 2.

<sup>72</sup>Principal Navigations, 6:233.

<sup>73</sup>William Strachey, Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia expressing the cosmographie and comodities of the country, together with the manners and customes of the people (London: Hakluyt Society Publications, 1849) Ser. 2, 103:126.

<sup>74</sup>2. 3. 85      <sup>75</sup>2. 4. 99      <sup>76</sup>4. 4. 42

whether the wither'd elder hath not his poll claw'd like a parrot."<sup>77</sup> The parrot is mentioned at least five more times in the plays.<sup>78</sup>

Another creature regularly associated with the western lands, which had been mentioned in the early voyages of Cabot, was the monkey.<sup>79</sup> John Leri<sup>us</sup> in his Travels listed the characteristic animals of Brazil as "marmosets, munkies, Parrots."<sup>80</sup> In his History of Travayle, Eden speaks of "monkeys and marmosettes."<sup>81</sup>

In The Tempest, Caliban promises Trinculo that he will teach him "how to snare the nimble marmazet."<sup>82</sup> In As You Like It, Rosalind says she will be "more clamorous than a parrot against rain, more new-fangled than an ape; more giddy in my desires than a monkey."<sup>83</sup> By "new-fangled" she may have been referring to the recently-introduced custom of Elizabethans keeping both parrots and monkeys as pets.<sup>84</sup> Monkeys are mentioned twelve more times in the Canon.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>77</sup>2. 4. 259

<sup>78</sup>TRO 5. 2. 193 OTH 2. 3. 279 MV 1. 1. 53  
MV 3. 5. 46 ADO 1. 1. 138

<sup>79</sup>Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 318.

<sup>80</sup>Johann Boemus, The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of All Nations tr. Ed Aston (London: George Eld, 1611), p. 491.

<sup>81</sup>Richard Eden, The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies (London, 1577), p. 377.

In Brazil, William Hawkins avoided the Portuguese and traded directly with the natives, making friends with them to such a great extent that on his second voyage they allowed one of their chiefs to return to England with him, while one of the crew, Martin Cockeram, stayed behind as a hostage.<sup>86</sup> The Brazilian chief was brought to England and presented to Henry at Whitehall. In reporting the episode, Hakluyt wrote that

. . . a Brasilian king being arrived, was brought up to London and presented to K. Henry the 8, lying as then at White-hall: at the sight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a little marvaile, and not without cause: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their savage maner, and therein small bones were planted, standing one inch out from the said holes, which in his owne countrey was reputed for a great braverie. He had also another hole in his nether lip, wherein was set a precious stone about the bignes of a pease: all his apparel, behayour, and gesture, were very strange to the beholders.<sup>87</sup>

In King Henry the Eighth, Porter says:

What should you do, but knock 'em down by the dozens?  
Is this Moorfields to muster in? or have we some  
strange Indian with the great tool come to court,  
the women so besiege us?<sup>88</sup>

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82 2. 2. 177      83 4. 1. 145-7      84 Cawley, p. 318.  
85 TMP 3. 2. 45      MND 2. 1. 181      MV 3. 1. 119  
MV 3. 1. 123      2H4 3. 2. 314      TIM 1. 1. 251      MAC 4. 2. 59  
OTH 4. 1. 127      OTH 3. 3. 403      LR 2. 4. 9      OTH 4. 1. 263  
CYM 1. 6. 39

<sup>86</sup>Maritime, p. 266.

<sup>87</sup>Principal Navigations, 8:14.

<sup>88</sup>5. 3. 32-5



Fig. 7. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

"Tool" in Shakespear's time meant "weapon of warfare." Englishmen were astonished by this habit of the Indian of always carrying a war weapon.

Early explorers, from Columbus on, in order to substantiate the accounts of their discoveries with visible proof of their amazing claims, and in spite of the friendliness and warmth extended to them by the natives, started to abduct Indians and bring them back to Europe. On his first voyage, Columbus had brought back nine young male Ciguagyans to Spain. On various pretexts, he later sent back to Spain several shiploads of five to six hundred Indians to be sold as slaves. The money from these sales was presented to his Queen to help pay off her debts. Americus Vespucci had indulged in the same practice, taking 222 Indians on his first voyage to be sold as slaves also.<sup>89</sup>

Probably the first Indians seen in England were three captives that were presented to Henry VII in 1502. John Harris in his Voyages described them as speaking "a strange uncouth tongue, and very butish in their behaviour."<sup>90</sup> Stow, in 1502, recorded that Sebastian Cabot had brought to the King, "oute of an Iland founde by merchants of Bristoll farre byond Ireland." three natives clad in beasts' skins, who ate raw meat and spoke a com-

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<sup>89</sup>Carolyn Thomas Foreman, Indians Abroad 1493-1939, (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1943), pp. 3-4.

<sup>90</sup>Foreman, pp. 8-16.

The manner of their attire and  
painting them selves when  
they goe to their generall  
hontings, or at their  
Solemn feasts.



Fig. 8. AN INDIAN CHIEF

Theodore De Bry's engraving after John White's painting.  
From Lorant's The New World.

pletely unintelligible language. Two of these were seen two years later at the court in Westminster so transformed that they could hardly be told from Englishmen.<sup>91</sup>

Wherever these captives went, enormous crowds followed them about the streets of London. It was probably in disgust that Shakespeare had Trinculo remark in The Tempest:

Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man; any strange beast makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.<sup>92</sup>

Trinculo is bringing up four points in this speech. First, he is saying that the Indians are somewhat sub-human, reflecting the general opinion of Englishmen at the time. He calls this one a "fish," a "monster," a "beast." Second, he is mocking the custom of Englishmen of putting these strange creatures on display and charging admission for viewing them. When he says "make a man" he means "make a man rich." Third, he is being sarcastic about a man's curiosity being so great that he will actually pay to see a "monster." Fourth, he is disgusted with the fact that Englishmen, though ordinarily so tight-fisted with their money that they won't help a beggar, will, nevertheless, drop a fistful of coins to satisfy their own curiosity. Having the fish "painted"

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<sup>91</sup>John Stow, A Summarie of the Chronicles of England (London, 1590), p. 444.

<sup>92</sup>2. 2. 28-34.

is, of course, a reference to the paint worn by the Indians.

Since an Indian, dead or alive, was such a great curiosity, it is possible that some unscrupulous showman might have made a profit by exhibiting an Indian in either state. Stephano says, "What's the matter? Have we devils Here? Do you put tricks upon us with savages, and men of Inde?"<sup>93</sup> Did Stephano mean by "tricks" the ruse of exhibiting a dead Indian as a "sleeping Indian"? In Furness there is the following:

It appears that Sir Martin Frobisher . . . brought home Indians . . . in 1577 . . . a man, a woman, and a child. The man unfortunately died at Bristol, but was taken to London, and afterwards buried in St. Olave's churchyard. This group attracted "a great deal of attention," says Halliwell, . . .

It is not improbable that the man's body was publicly shown in London, otherwise it would be difficult to account for its having been removed from Bristol; . . . It is most likely an account of the "dead Indian" reached Shakespeare in one way or other.<sup>94</sup>

From these early years even into the nineteenth century, showmen in England were able to attract great crowds by putting Indians on exhibition. In the Drama Collection at Lincoln Center, there is a group of photographs of entertainment posters from England announcing the attraction of "wild savages." The Arden Edition states that

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<sup>93</sup>2. 2. 59-60

<sup>94</sup>A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Tempest ed. Horace Howard Furness (Phila. & London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1928), pp. 129-30.

Many Indians were brought back from America and exhibitions were profitable investments, and were a regular feature of colonial policy under James I. The exhibits rarely survived the experience . . .<sup>95</sup>

When the captive Indians were presented at Court, curiosity brought out the women, as well as the men, in droves to see these savages whose bodies were painted with strange designs, whose heads supported feathered crowns, and who carried their peculiar brand of "tools" on them. Apparently no one was ready to accept this strange creature--an Indian--as a human, equal to himself. In The Tempest, Stephano, when he first sees Caliban, who may be a symbol of the American Indian, thinks of "devils," "savages," and "some monster of the isle." Trinculo refers to Caliban as "abominable monster" and "Indian." Many writers are of the opinion that Shakespeare created the character of Caliban directly out of the description of the Cannibal Indians or Anthropophagi in Pigafetta's report of Magellan's voyage to Brazil in 1519:

. . . they departed from this lande and sayled to the xxxiii degree and a halfe toward the pole Antartike where they found a great ryuer of fresshe water and certeyne Canibales. . . . Owre men pursued them, but they were so swyfte of foote that they could not ouertake them . . . one daye by chaunce they espyed a man of the nature of a giante, who came to the hauen daunsyng and syngyng, and shortly after seemed to cast dust ouer his heade . . . This giante was so bygge, that the heade of one of owr men of a meane stature, came but to his waste. He was of good corporature and well made in all partes of his bodie, with a large vysage painted with dyuers coloures, but for the most parte yelow. Vppon his

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<sup>95</sup>The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare: The Tempest (Cambridge, 1954), ed. Frank Kermode, p. 62.



Cannibals; detail of an engraving of 1621.

Fig. 9. From The Letter of Columbus.

cheekes were pynted two hartes, and redde circles about his eyes. The heare of his headde was coloured whyte and his apparell was the skynne of a beaste sowde togyther. This beaste (as seemed vnto them) had a large heade and great eares lyke vnto a mule, with a body of a camel and tayle of a horse. The feete of the giante were foulded in the skynne after the maner of shoos.<sup>96</sup>

"This beaste" is echoed in Prospero's words when he calls Caliban "a freckled whelp, hag born--not honored with / A human shape."<sup>97</sup> Trinculo on first seeing Caliban cries:

What have we here? a man or fish? dead or alive?  
A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not of the newest, Poor-John. A strange fish! . . . Legged like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer--this is no fish, but an islander . . .<sup>98</sup>

Later he says, "Why, thou debosh'd fish thou . . . Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being half fish and half a monster?"<sup>99</sup> In Act III, Gonzalo says:

If in Naples

I should report this now, would they believe me?  
If I should say, I saw such islanders,--  
For, certes, these are people of the island,--  
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,  
Their manners are more gentle--kind than of  
Our human generation you shall find  
Many, nay, almost any.<sup>100</sup>

To return to Hawkins, after his voyages, the merchants of Southampton and London started to follow his ex-

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<sup>96</sup>First Three English Books, p. 251.

<sup>97</sup>1. 2. 283-4

<sup>98</sup>2. 2. 25-30

<sup>99</sup>2. 2. 35-7

<sup>100</sup>3. 2. 27-34



Fig. 10. "Four legs and two voices: A most delicate monster!" The Tempest, Act II, sc. ii. From The Tempest with Illustrations in Colour by Paul Woodroffe and Songs by Joseph Moorat.

ample, making the same voyage so regularly that in 1542 they built a fortified station on the Brazilian coast. The outbreak of the French war in 1544 put all ocean-going ships into naval service and overseas trade was again neglected.<sup>101</sup> Williamson says that the achievements of the early Tudors would probably appear to us in a more impressive light if there had been contemporary chroniclers recording their heroism.

But the English chroniclers took no interest in barren discoveries, and successful men in action like William Hawkins had often good reason for remaining silent on transactions whose strict legality was questionable. When Richard Eden, our first historian of discovery, began to write in the reign of Mary, the details of the early expeditions were already lost; and when the industrious Richard Hakluyt at the end of the century made his great collection of English voyages he could find nothing but fragments of the record of the first Tudor sovereigns. He could only lament the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving the memories of the worthy acts of our nation.<sup>102</sup>

#### The Literature on America: 1493-1533

In the first half of the sixteenth century, America was not a forceful factor in the thoughts of Englishmen. John Cabot's voyage in 1497 had caused some excitement but voyages to America, except for the fishing expeditions, were generally a disappointment. The land was cold, its products were of little value, and the parts that were attractive because of their warm climate and gold deposits

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<sup>101</sup>A Short History, p. 76.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

were dangerous--they belonged to Spain and Portugal. Yet even under these unfavorable conditions, there was still some reference to America and to "the new founde lande" in literature. Richard Eden wrote that "the first English book containing the word America (Armenica) was Of the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kyng of portyngale named Emanuel." This book was printed in Antwerp about 1511 and contains the following statement: "By the cooste of Selandes there we at ye laste went a lande but that lande is not nowe knowen for there haue no masters wryten therof nor it knowethe and it is named Armenica."<sup>103</sup>

Christopher Columbus left behind three groups of writings that tell of his first voyage: his logbook, his manuscript letters and documents, and the printed "Columbus Letter." The logbook was not published until 1825 in Navarrete's Coleccion de los viages; the forty-two manuscript letters and documents were never published; and there were two versions of the "Letter," one addressed to Louis de Santangel, dated 15 February 1493, off the Canary Islands, and the other addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, dated 14 March 1493, at Lisbon. They were very much alike in facts, thoughts, and other data. The letter to Santangel was printed in Barcelona in Spanish; the letter to Sanchez was translated into Latin. Before 1500 there were two editions of the Spanish letter and nine

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<sup>103</sup>First Three English Books, p. xxvii.



Fig. 11. From The Letter of Columbus.

editions of the Latin version, at Rome, Antwerp, Basel and Paris. The latter was translated into German in 1497 and into Italian in Rome and Florence in 1500. Within five years of its first appearance in type, it had been reprinted sixteen times.<sup>104</sup>

In this letter of 1493, Columbus said he had reached the Indian Sea and called the inhabitants "Indians."<sup>105</sup> When he died in 1506 he was still clinging to the belief that he had found the shortest way to the Indies. "The Indies" and "The New World" were the common designations given to the land across the ocean. When it was finally realized that Columbus had reached a new continent, the term "West Indies" was used to distinguish the new land from the Indies in the Orient.

By the time The Comedy of Errors was written, in which the name "America" is used, the name for the New World was inscribed on most of the maps and globes of the recent years, but in every-day speech the majority of the people still used the name "Indies" for the newly discovered land. The old usage lingered on.

One of the major reasons that Shakespeare's references to America are not recognized is because the word actually did not come into common usage until more than a hundred years after Columbus died. When Antipholus says, "Where America, the Indies?" as if Dromio will surely know

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<sup>104</sup>Randolph Greenfield Adams, The Case of the Columbus Letter (New York: New York University, 1939), pp. 1-14.



Fig. 12. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

the "Indies" even if he does not know "America," he is actually alerting us to the fact that we do not recognize the references to America because they are to the "Indies."

What is humorous in The Comedy of Errors is that it takes place in "the ancient city of Epheseus" before the time of Plautus. Shakespeare's anachronism here is pure jest. He speaks of "rubies, carbuncles, sapphires" on the nose of the "kitchen-wench." This is a jibe at the general opinion of his contemporaries that fabulous riches were to be found in the New World. Spain, which has sent "whole armadas" to the New World in search of riches, also gets its share of ribbing in this passage.

The West Indies is mentioned in As you Like It when Rosalind finds Orlando's poem fastened to a tree and reads it:

From the east to western Ind,  
No jewel is like Rosalind.  
Her worth, being mounted on the  
wind,  
Through all the world bears  
Rosalind.<sup>105</sup>

This is another glimpse of Shakespeare's satire on his contemporaries who believed the "western Ind" abounded in jewels and wealth. For hadn't Columbus written, ". . . when I discovered the Indies, I said that they composed the richest lordship in the world; I spoke of gold and pearls and

precious stones . . . "106 in his letter?

There was great curiosity about the inhabitants of the New World. As descriptions of their appearance, their habits and their life styles started to trickle through, Englishmen became ever-more curious. It is only natural that references to a subject so fascinating to the people of his time should be scattered throughout Shakespeare's plays. In A Midsummer-Night's Dream Puck says:

The king doth keep his revels here tonight;  
 Take heed the queen come not within his sight;  
 For Oberon is passing fell and wrath,  
 Because that she, as her attendant, hath  
 A lovely boy, stol'n from an Indian king;  
 She never had so sweet a changeling:  
 And jealous Oberon would have the child  
 Knight of his train, to trace the forest wild;<sup>107</sup>

The mention of "forest wild" suggests the Indian boy is associated with the wild forests of America rather than with the Orient. Also, the fact that he was "stol'n" would mean he was more likely to be one of the many kidnapped American Indians than an East Indian boy. Titania says:

Why art thou here,  
 Come from the furthest steep of India,  
 But that, forsooth, the bouncing Amazon,  
 Your buskin'd mistress and your warrior love,  
 To Theseus must be wedded?<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>Columbus, American History Told by (Hart), 1:46.

<sup>107</sup>2. 1. 18-25

<sup>108</sup>2. 1. 69-73

The "bouncing Amazon" may have been suggested by the description of the Amazons in Martyr's report of Columbus's second voyage:

By the way there appeared from the Northe. A great Ilande which the captiues that were taken in Hispaniola, cauled Madanino, or Matinino: Affirminge it to be inhabited only with women: To whome the Canibales haue accesse at certen tymes of the yeare, as in owlde tyme the Thracians had to the Amazones in the Ilande of Lesbos . . .<sup>109</sup>

In Love's Labour's Lost there is reference to the "savage man of Inde," which could have meant only an American Indian if the word "savage" was used. Berowne says:

Did they, quoth you? Who sees the heavenly  
Rosaline,  
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,  
At the first opening of the gorgeous east,  
Bows not his vassal head; and strucken blind  
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?<sup>110</sup>

"Rude and savage" refers to the creatures Columbus thought had come from another planet when he first saw them, creatures whose eyes were encircled with paint, rendering their expressions ferocious, whose long and coarse hair was crowned with feathered headdresses, and whose arms were bound above and below the muscles to make them swell to a larger size.<sup>111</sup>

These savages were believed to be sun worshippers. Columbus reported that the Indians of Guadalupea "knowe none other god than the Sunne and moone."<sup>112</sup> Berowne, in

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<sup>109</sup>First Three English Books, p. 69.

<sup>110</sup>4. 3. 218-22.

<sup>111</sup>Foreman, p. 4. <sup>112</sup>First Three English, p. 69.



Fig. 13. OFFERING THE SKIN OF A STAG TO THE SUN

Theodore De Bry's engraving after a painting of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, the artist who came to the New World with the Huguenots in 1564. From Lorant's The New World.

the speech quoted above, refers to this custom of the Indians when he says, "At the first opening of the gorgeous east, / Bows not his vassal head; and, stricken blind, / Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?" Later he says:

We number nothing that we spend for you:  
Our duty is so rich, so infinite,  
That we may do it still without account.  
Vouchsafe to show the sunshine of your face,  
That we, like savages, may worship it.<sup>113</sup>

Sunworshipping is brought up again in All's Well that Ends Well. Helena says:

I know I love in vain, strive against hope;  
Yet in this captious and intenable sieve  
I still pour in the waters of my love,  
And lack not to lose still: thus, Indian-like,  
Religious in mine error, I adore  
The sun, that looks upon his worshipper,  
But knows of him no more.<sup>114</sup>

Helena is confessing to her mother her hopeless love for Bertram.

Shakespeare may have had in mind the relation between the explorers and the Indians in the scenes in The Tempest between Stephano and Caliban. Stephano won his way partly with Caliban by pretending to have descended from the heavens.<sup>115</sup> In describing the Indians he had seized to educate as interpreters, Columbus had written:

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<sup>113</sup> 5. 2. 198-202

<sup>114</sup> 1. 3. 202-8

<sup>115</sup> 2, 2

They are coming with me now, yet always believing that I descended from heaven, although they have been living with us for a long time, and are living with us to-day. And these men were the first who announced it wherever we landed, continually proclaiming to the others in a loud voice, "Come, come, and you will see the celestial people."<sup>116</sup>

There were also reports of the lack of interest the Indians showed for precious metals and stones. From the information Martyr gathered from Columbus's letters he wrote:

Whyle he [the Admirall] was buyldyinge, the inhabitantes beinge desirous of haukes belles and other of owre things, resorted dayly thyther. To whom the Admirall declaréd, that if they wolde brynge goulde, they shulde haue what so euer they wolde aske. Forthwith turnyng theyr backes and runnyng to the shore of the next ryuer, they returned in a short tyme, bryngyng with them their handes full of goulde. Amongest al other, there came an owld man bringyng with him two pybble stones of goulde weighinge an vnce, desyryng them to gyue him a bell for the same who when he sawe oure men maruell at the byggenes therof, he made signes that they were but smaule and of no value in repecte of sume that he had seene. And takyng in his hande foure stones the least wherof was as bygge as a walnut, and the byggest as bygge as an orange, he sayde that there was fownde peeces of goulde soo bygge in his countrey, beyng but halfe a dayes iourney from thense, and that they had no regarde to the gatheringe thereof. Besyde this owld man, there came also dyuers other, bryngyng with them pybble stones of gold weighing. X. or XII. drammes; and feared not to confess that in the place where they gathered that golde, there were found sumetyme stones of gold as bygge as the heade of a chyld. . . . They . . . came swimmyng to the shyppes, brynging golde with them, which they chaunged with owre men for erthen pottes, drinking glasses, poyntes, pynnes, harkes belles, lokinge glasses, and suche other trifles.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Christopher Columbus, The Letter of Columbus on the Discovery of America (New York, 1893), p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> First Three English Books, p. 74.



Fig. 14. From Frank C. Bowen's The Sea: Its History and Romances.

From such reports Englishmen knew the natives of America were ignorant of the value of pearls and precious stones, as well as of gold, and they were unfamiliar with the enjoyments and pleasures that "civilized man" was able to procure for himself with such riches. Othello says:

. . . then, must you speak  
Of one that loved not wisely, but too well;  
Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,  
Perplexed in the extreme; of one whose hand,  
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away  
Richer than all his tribe;<sup>118</sup>

It is likely that the American Indian is referred to since Othello used the word "tribe."

Letters such as Columbus's were not unusual at this time. The great trading firms in Germany, Holland and Italy had their correspondents in Seville and Lisbon who reported on each successful expedition to India. Their letters supplied information which was very valuable to business and were, therefore, very popular with all the merchants. Sometimes an enterprising printer would reproduce one of these letters as a pamphlet which for the general public was the closest thing to our newspapers. These pamphlets would give the latest details on what voyages were being made and what information was being brought back.<sup>119</sup>

Like Columbus, Vespucci also was eager to let

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<sup>118</sup>5. 2. 344-9

<sup>119</sup>Zweig, p. 32.

others know what he had seen and done on his voyages. In 1503, in Paris and Florence, his Mundus Novus appeared. It was a Latin tract that was written in the form of a letter and was addressed to Laurentius Petrus Franciscus de 'Medici. It described a voyage into unknown lands undertaken in the service of the King of Portugal.

Not since Columbus's letter of 1493 did any pamphlet cause such wide excitement as this one. The subtitle explains that the letter was translated from Italian into Latin "so that all learned people shall see how many wonderful things are being discovered nowadays; how many so far unknown worlds, and all that they contain, have been found."<sup>120</sup> This little pamphlet was reprinted several times, was translated into German, Dutch, French, and Italian, and was included in every one of the anthologies on travel which were just coming into vogue. Unknown to anyone at the time, it represented the beginning of the new geography that was about to be born.<sup>121</sup>

It is not difficult to understand why this letter was so popular. This little-known Vespucci was the first of the explorers who knew how to write both informatively and entertainingly. He began by telling how, on 14 May

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<sup>120</sup>Translated by Zweig, p. 33.

<sup>121</sup>Zweig, p. 33.

1501, in the service of the King of Portugal, he sailed two months and two days across the vast ocean under a sky so dark and stormy that neither sun nor moon could be seen. Eventually all hope for a safe landing was abandoned because the ships, already badly eaten away by worms, were now beginning to leak. Finally, on 7 August 1501, they spied land.

A land where men live without work or hardship, where trees need no care, rivers and springs flow with pure water, the sea is full of fish, the soil incredibly fertile, and filled to overflowing with delicious and entirely unknown fruit. Cool breezes stir over this rich land, and the dense forests make even the hottest days enjoyable. . . .

. . . the natives still exist in a state of perfect innocence. they are of a reddish complexion because all their lives they walk about naked, and thus are burned by the sun. They possess neither clothes, nor ornaments, nor any other property. What they do have belongs to all--not excluding the women. . . . Shame and moral codes are completely unknown to these children of nature . . . they live to be a hundred and fifty years old--provided, and this seems to be their only unpleasant habit, they do not eat each other before.<sup>122</sup>

The real importance of the pamphlet lay in the fact that its title--Mundus Novus--revolutionized all existing conceptions of the world. It was universally believed up to this time that the greatest geographical event of all time had occurred within the preceding ten years--India had been reached by two different routes, by Vasco da Gama sailing eastward around Africa, and by Christopher Columbus travelling westward from Palos. India, always inacces-

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<sup>122</sup>Summarized by Zweig, p. 35.

sible, had been reached by encircling the world in both directions. And now Vespucci made the statement that the land he had found when he sailed westward was not India, but an entirely new and unknown continent--Mundus Novus.

For none of our ancestors had any knowledge of the countries we saw, nor any idea what they contained. Our knowledge goes far beyond theirs. Most of them believed that no mainland existed south of the equator, that there were only endless stretches of sea which they called the Atlantic. And even those who considered the existence of a continent possible were for various reasons convinced that it must be uninhabitable. My voyage has now proved this view erroneous and directly opposed to the truth, since I did find a continent south of the equator, many parts of which are more populated by men and animals than are our Europe, Asia, and Africa--and which, moreover, has a milder and pleasanter climate than other continents known to us.<sup>123</sup>

These words make the Mundus Novus a memorable document. The fact that a new route to India had been found had been of interest mainly to merchants and to tradesmen in Antwerp, Augsburg, and Venice. But Vespucci's startling announcement that a fourth part of the world had been discovered was of interest to everyone. It entered deeply into the general feeling of the time, and stirred the imaginations of scholars, geographers, cosmographers, printers, and the masses of readers whose curiosity had been aroused.<sup>124</sup>

In September 1504 there appeared in Lisbon a thin booklet in Italian, entitled Lettera de Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi (A Letter from Amerigo Vespucci, concerning the islands dis-

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<sup>123</sup>Translated by Zweig, p. 40.

<sup>124</sup>Zweig, p. 42.

**Lettera di Amerigo vespucci  
delle isole nuouamente  
trouate in quattro  
suoi viaggi.**

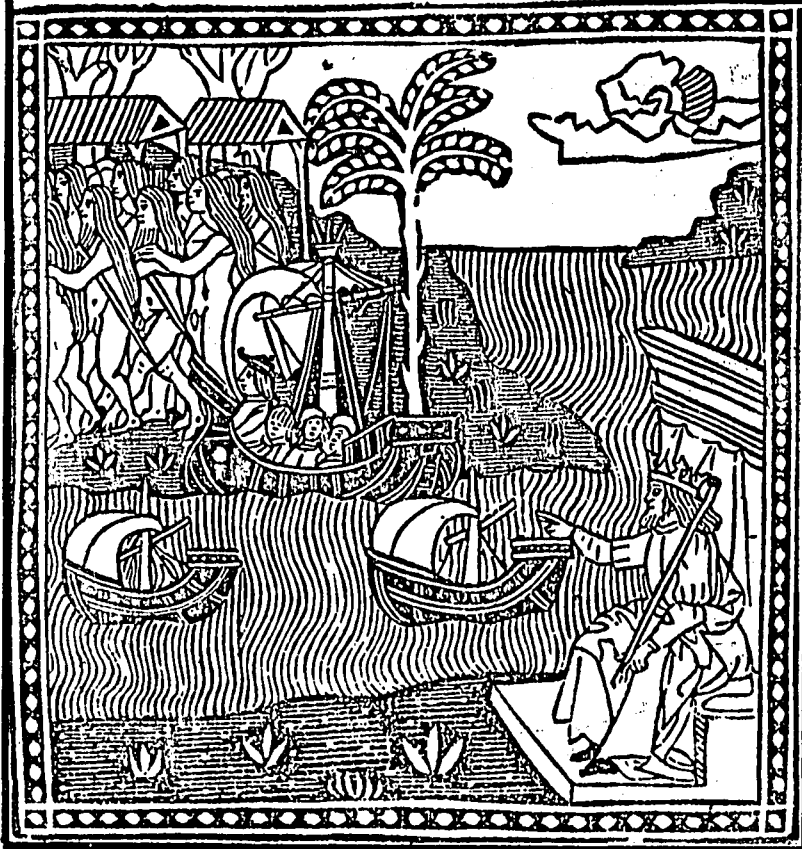


Fig. 15.  
Vespucci's Letter, 1504 Facsimile,  
From The Vespucci Letter.

covered on his four journeys). In this booklet Vespucci described the four voyages he had made (the third was the one described in Mundus Novus):

1. May 10, 1497 to October 15, 1498, under the Spanish flag.
2. May 16, 1499 to September 8, 1500, again for the King of Castile.
3. May 10, 1501 to October 15, 1502 under the Portuguese flag.
4. May 10, 1503 to June 18, 1504 under the Portuguese flag.

In addition to giving more details about the "epicurean life" of the natives, he described battles, shipwrecks, and dramatic episodes with cannibals and giant snakes. There was valuable information in this book for geographers, astronomers, and merchants. Scholars wrote many discourses which were discussed in intellectual circles and the interest of the general public was again greatly aroused. This was Vespucci's entire literary output. "Never," says Zweig, "has any writing man become so famous on such meagre production; coincidence after coincidence, error after error, had to accumulate to raise it so high above its time as to make even us cognizant of the name that floats skyward with the starry banner."<sup>125</sup>

This is not the place to review the grotesque comedy of errors that lifted the obscure Vespucci to immortality by

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<sup>125</sup>Zweig, p. 46.

way of his single literary effort of thirty-two pages. But it is necessary to relate that the Vespucci letter was the inspiration for the setting of More's Utopia, as will be seen in a later discussion of this work. The course of events we are interested in is that Vespucci's writing influenced Sir Thomas More, whose Utopia influenced Shakespeare's The Tempest and that Shakespeare may also have drawn directly from Vespucci. I shall return to this trio shortly.

Chronologically, one other relevant piece of literature intervenes here which reveals that, though there was much excitement about the New World as a result of Vespucci's letter, there were still some Englishmen, like Alexander Barclay, who did not take the concept of America seriously at all. Barclay's The Ship of Fools, mentioned earlier, was published in 1509 and was probably the first book in English to mention "the new fonde lande."<sup>126</sup> In it, Barclay presented a collection of satirical poems for which he had borrowed the plan and subject matter from Brant's Narrenschiff, published in Basel in 1494. The Ship of Fools is an adaptation, rather than a translation. Barclay's description of a ship filled with fools is a criticism of the follies of man. One section reproves those who search out and seek to know the far places of the earth. This section is titled, "Of the folysshe descripcion and inquisicion of Dyuers contrees and regyons."

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<sup>126</sup>McCann, p. 48.



Fig 16.  
Woodcut accompanying Sebastian Brant's satire on  
geography in Das Narrenschiff

Who that is besy to mesure and compace  
 The heuyn and erth and all the worlde large  
 Describynge the clymatic and folke of euery place  
 He is a fole and hath a greuouse charge  
 Without aduantage, wherfore let hym discharge  
 Hym selfe, of that fole whiche in his neck doth syt  
 About such folyes dullyng his mind an wyt

That fole, of wysdome and reason doth fayle  
 And also discession labowrynge for nought  
 And in this shyp shall helpe to draw the sayle  
 Which day and nyght infixeth all his thought  
 To haue the hole worlde within his body brought  
 Mesurynge the costes of euery royalme and lande  
 And clymatic, with his compace, in his hande

. . . . .

Than with his compace drawyth he about  
 Europe, and Asye, to knowe howe they stande  
 And of theyr regyons nat to be in dout  
 Another with Grece and Cesyll is in honde  
 With Apuly, Afryke and the newe fond londe  
 With Numydy and, where the Moryans do dwell  
 And other londes whose namys none can tell<sup>127</sup>

Barclay directs his satire against man's search for earth-knowledge, his reason being that recent discoveries had shown there is no foreseeable end and therefore the search is incapable of fulfillment. His feelings may have been similar to those of many people today who feel that traveling to the moon is a meaningless, unfruitful, and useless effort, from which nothing practical can be gained.

We do not know if Sir Thomas More was familiar with the name America, but he did know about the new continent, having read the report of Vespucci's voyages in the Soderini letter. Utopia, written in Latin, and printed at

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<sup>127</sup>Barclay, 2:23-27.

Louvain either in late 1516 or early 1517,<sup>128</sup> was More's concept of an ideal community located somewhere in the region of Vespucci's discoveries. More's aim was to help Englishmen see how some of their economic and social problems could be solved by showing them how an ideal society handled them. Peter Giles, in Utopia, tells More about Raphael Hythloday, a European who had been in Utopia, "It is not easy to find states that are well and wisely governed. While he told us of many things which are amiss among these new-found nations, he also reckoned up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of our own cities and kingdoms."<sup>129</sup>

In following the thread of influence of Vespucci on More and More on Shakespeare, I will here show some of the similarities in the writings of Vespucci and More, who were both writing about America.

In the Soderini letter, More would have read:

We sailed 260 leagues farther until we reached a harbor where we decided to build a fort. We did so, and left in it 24 Christian men who were aboard my consort, and whom she had received from the wrecked flagship. . . . We left the 24 men who remained in the fort with supplies for six months, 12 mortars, and many other weapons.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup>McCann, p. 82.

<sup>129</sup>Thomas More, Utopia, trans. H. V. S. Ogden (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1949), p.4.

<sup>130</sup>Amerigo Vespucci, Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonvaloniere. The year 1494, trans. George Tyler Northup (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916), p. 44. All quotations from the Soderini letter will be from Northup's translation which is based on three extant versions:

Giles continues telling about Hythloday:

He took part in the last three of Vespucci's four voyages, accounts of which are now published. But he did not return home with him on the last voyage. After much effort, he won permission from Americus to be one of the twenty-four who were left in a fort at the farthest place at which they touched in their last voyage.<sup>131</sup>

D. G. James says, "More forgot to ask Ralph Hythloday where Utopia was. Shakespeare was not to tell us where Prospero's island lay."<sup>132</sup> According to Parks, Utopia was "somewhere beyond Mexico,"<sup>133</sup> and McCann says it was "at a point in eastern Brazil near the present town of Diamantina."<sup>134</sup> Without giving Utopia a definite location, More

1. The Florentine Print, which most closely approaches the barbaric half-Italian, half-Spanish jargon of the original, and is in sixteenth century Italian Print in Roman type. It is titled: Lettera de Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi. It was printed in Florence about 1505 or not long after. Only five copies are known to be in existence.

2. The Magliabechiana manuscript, now in the Magliabechiana Library in Florence, written in Italian, titled: Lettera de Amerigo Vespucci a Pero Soderini, Gonfaloniere L'anno 1504.

3. The Hylacomylus Version in Martin Waldseemüller's Cosmographiae Introductio, 25 April 1507, printed at Saint-Dié, Lorraine. The Cosmographiae Introductio enjoyed an immense European vogue and passed through several editions and was retranslated into many of the vernaculars. For further discussion on the Vespucci writings, see pp. 1-52, Pohl.

<sup>131</sup>More, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup>David Gwilym James, The Dream of Prospero (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 73.

<sup>133</sup>Parks, p. 71.

<sup>134</sup>McCann, p. 85.

## PEDIGREE ILLUSTRATING THE TRADITION OF THE TEXT OF VESPUCCI'S LETTER TO PIERO SODERINI

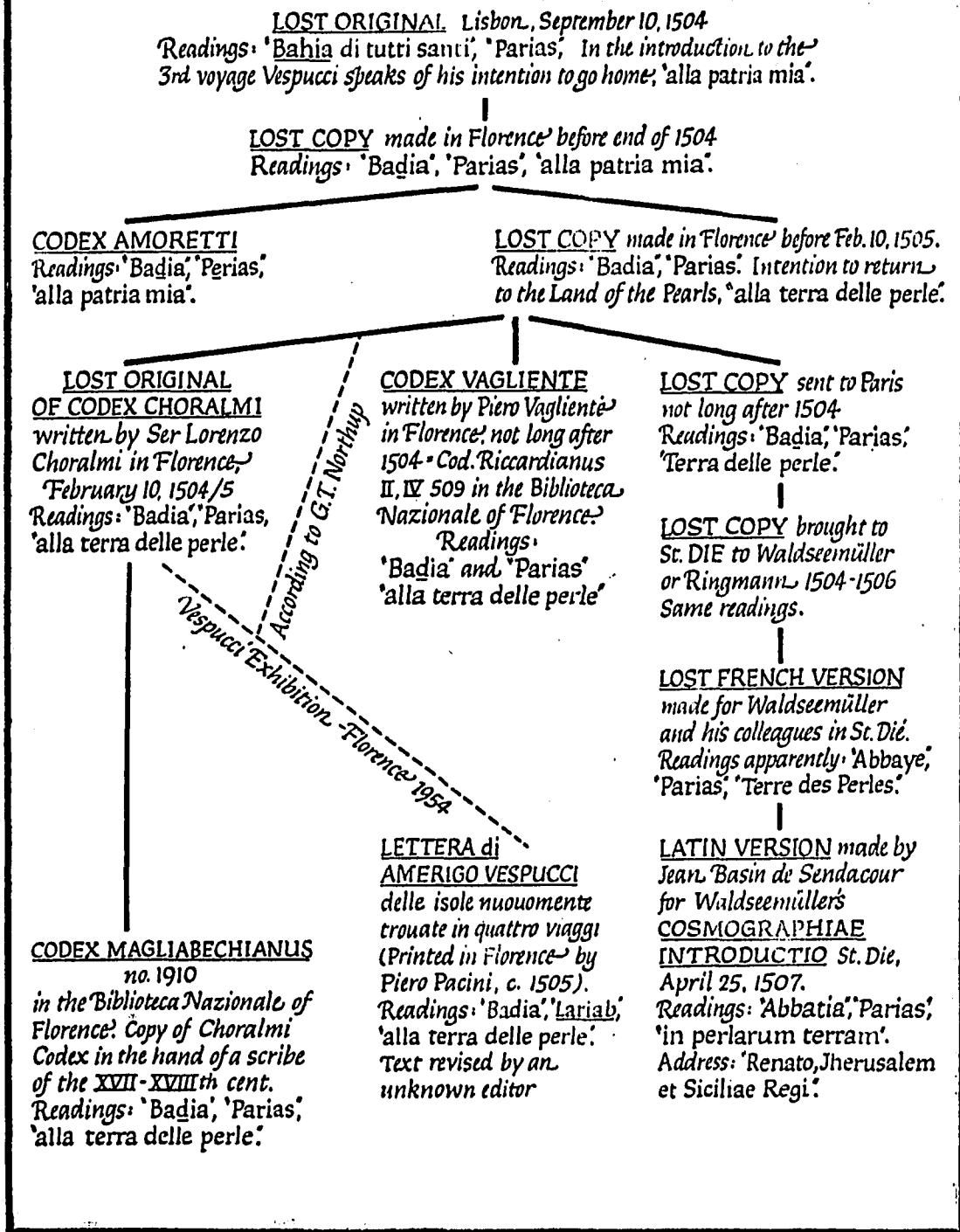


Fig. 17. From the Rare Books Room at the New York City Public Library.

placed it on an imaginary island in the vicinity of Vespucci's new land, and described many facets of the way of life of the natives.

Just as Vespucci starts his letter by saying:

A very good friend of mine . . . besought me to inform Your Magnificence concerning the things by me seen in divers parts of the world by reason of four voyages which I have made in discovering new lands<sup>135</sup>

so Giles says of Hythloday:

There's no man alive who can tell you so much about unknown people and countries . . . He was so desirous of seeing the world that he . . . threw in his lot with Americus Vespucci. He took part in the last three of Vespucci's four voyages.<sup>136</sup>

Vespucci describes one episode:

And when we had established kindly relations with them, inasmuch as night was falling, we took leave of them and returned to our ships. And the next day, when dawn broke, we saw that infinite hordes were on the beach . . . the people who came with us to the sea, both men and women, were so numerous that it was a wonderful thing; and if any one of us grew wearied of the journey, they would carry us in their nets very comfortably; and on fording the rivers, which are numerous and very large, they would carry us over by means of their contrivances so safely that we ran no risk. And many of them came laden with the things which they had given us, which were: their sleeping-nets, very rich plumage, many bows and arrows, and numerous parrots of varied hue . . .<sup>137</sup>

Hythloday had similar experiences with the natives:

When Vespucci had sailed away, he and his companions that had stayed behind in the fort often met the people of the country, and by fair and gentle speech gradually won their favor. Before long they came to

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<sup>135</sup>Vespucci, p. 1.

<sup>136</sup>More, p. 2.

<sup>137</sup>Vespucci, p. 16.

dwell with them quite safely and even familiarly. He also told us that they were esteemed by the prince . . . who furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and who gave them the means of traveling, both boats when they went by water and wagons when they traveled over land.<sup>138</sup>

At one point in his second voyage Vespucci wanted to return to Castile because we had been about a year at sea and had few supplies, and that little spoiled by the great heat which we endured; because from the time when we set out from the Cape Verde islands up to the present, we had constantly sailed through the Torrid Zone, and had twice crossed the equator; for as I said above, we went beyond it five degrees to the south, and here we were at 15 degrees north latitude.<sup>139</sup>

In his travels Hythloday found himself, "Under the equator and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lie vast deserts parched with the perpetual heat of the sun."<sup>140</sup>

Vespucci found the natives "roasting a certain beast which resembled a serpent except that it had no wings, and so ugly in appearance that we wondered greatly at its fierceness."<sup>141</sup> Hythloday found "The whole region . . . desolate and gloomy, savage and uncultivated, inhabited by wild beasts and serpents."<sup>142</sup>

In some parts of the new world Vespucci found that the natives "eat little flesh, other than human flesh; . . . in this matter they are so inhuman that they exceed every custom of the beasts; because they eat with such savagery all their enemies whom they kill or capture."<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>More, p. 3.      <sup>139</sup>Vespucci, p. 30.

<sup>140</sup>More, p. 3.      <sup>141</sup>Vespucci, p. 14.

<sup>142</sup>More, P. 3.      <sup>143</sup>Vespucci, p. 11.

Hythloday also found a "few men as wild and dangerous as the beasts themselves."<sup>144</sup>

Vespucci reports, as Columbus did, that "The wealth which we affect in this our Europe and elsewhere, such as gold, jewels, pearls, and other riches, they hold of no value at all; and although they have them in their lands they do not work to get them, nor do they care for them."<sup>145</sup>

Hythloday reports the same thing:

Since they keep gold and silver only for grave contingencies, they take care that in the meantime no one shall value these metals more than they deserve. Iron is obviously greatly superior to either. Men can no more do without iron than without fire and water. But gold and silver have no indispensable qualities. Human folly has made them precious only because of their scarcity.<sup>146</sup>

Speaking of war, Vespucci says:

The occasion of their wars is not desire of rule nor to widen their boundaries, nor inordinate covetousness: it is due merely to some old hostility which in the past has sprung up among them. And, when asked why they waged war, they could give us no other reason than that they did so to avenge the death of their ancestors or of their parents.<sup>147</sup>

And More has Hythloday say:

They hate and detest war as a thing manifestly brutal . . . they go to war cautiously and reluctantly, only to protect their own territory or that of their friends if an enemy has invaded it, or to free some wretched people from tyrannous oppression and servitude. They help their friends not only in defense, but also to avenge injuries.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>More, p. 3.      <sup>145</sup>Vespucci, p. 9.

<sup>146</sup>More, p. 43.    <sup>147</sup>Vespucci, p. 6.

<sup>148</sup>More, p. 63.

In Parias, Vespucci says, "We erected a baptismal font, and numbers of people were baptized."<sup>149</sup> In his experience with the Utopians, Hythloday had the same thing happen. "Whatever the reason," he says, "many came over to our religion and were baptized."<sup>150</sup>

Vespucci ends his letter by saying, "Here we were very well received, and past all belief, because the whole city gave us up as lost."<sup>151</sup> Giles says almost the same thing about Hythloday, "At last by singular good fortune he got to Ceylon and from thence to Calcutta, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships. And so, beyond anyone's expectation, he came back to his own country."<sup>152</sup>

The similarity between the two tales has by no means been exhausted here, but there is enough to illustrate that many of the things More wrote about probably came from his reading of Vespucci's accounts of his voyages to America.

More was not the only one who had been influenced by Vespucci. His brother-in-law, John Rastell, was also influenced by the Soderini letter. In 1517 he made the first move toward establishing a settlement in the northern part of the new land. Aided by a loan from Henry VIII<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup>Vespucci, p. 18.      <sup>150</sup>More, p. 71.

<sup>151</sup>Vespucci, p. 44.      <sup>152</sup>More, p. 3.

<sup>153</sup>Quinn, p. 10.

he fitted out two ships and planned to sail to Cabot's islands.<sup>154</sup> The Bristol merchants, familiar with the Newfoundland trade, had readily promised two ships, but the London men refused, partly on the ground that, "there was no Rutter for those parts, and partly because there were no English-born mariners to take charge."<sup>155</sup> Such excuses were natural for men to whom the lands outside the known tripartite world were so vague as still to seem unreal.

The expedition left England but did not get beyond Ireland. A man named Ravyn, the purser of one of the ships, and a group of his co-conspirators put Rastell and the other initiators of the voyage ashore, and sailed to Bordeaux, where they seem to have sold the goods and supplies from the ships for their own profit.<sup>156</sup> Shortly afterward, Rastell wrote The New Interlude of the four elements which may have been an outlet for his anger and disappointment about his lost venture. The only copy of this play is an incomplete one, in imperfect condition, in the British Museum.<sup>157</sup> Eight pages in the middle plus the conclusion are missing.<sup>158</sup> The New Interlude of four elements was the first published proposal for Englishmen

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<sup>154</sup>Parks, p. 8.

<sup>155</sup>Eva Germaine Rimington Taylor, Tudor Geography 1485-1583 (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), p. 10.

<sup>156</sup>McCann, pp. 63-4.

<sup>157</sup>Maritime, p. 107: "reprinted by the Percy Society, 1848, ed. J. O. Halliwell."

to settle in North America.<sup>159</sup>

In the early part of the sixteenth century English drama was undergoing a change. The morality play was being replaced by the interlude, which in turn would be replaced by John Heywood's farces. In Rastell's interlude the emphasis is on intellectual, rather than moral, abstractions. His play gives natural science the center of the stage. Nature discourses on earth, water, air, and fire, and then hands over Humanity to Studious Desire for further instruction. Humanity and Studious Desire present two proofs that the world is round: the significance of the rising of the sun in the east and its setting in the west, and the significance of the progressive appearance of an eclipse in different parts of the earth. Another character, Experience, adds two more proofs: the farther north a man goes, the higher the Pole Star rises and a sailor on the mast of a ship sees land before his mate on deck. Rastell gives more attention to America than to the other regions of the earth. Experience instructs Studious Desire as they stand in front of a map or globe:

Westwarde be found new landes  
That we never harde tell of  
before this  
By wrytynge nor other meanys  
Yet many nowe have ben there  
And that contrey is so large  
of rome

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<sup>158</sup>McCann, p. 90

<sup>159</sup>Quinn, p. 10.

Muche lenger than all Cristendome  
 Without fable or gyle  
 For dyvers maryners have it tryed  
 And sayled streyght by the coste syde  
 Above v. thousand myle<sup>160</sup>

Two facts Rastell had grasped: that the shore line was continuous and that it was of continental extent. He believed that the extension of English territory by colonization would bring honor to the king, make Christians of the natives and create employment and commerce.<sup>161</sup> Rastell bemoans the fact that England's glory had an early chance to rise, but was betrayed:

But what commodytes be within  
 No man can tell nor well imagin  
 But yet not long ago  
 Some men of this contrey went  
 By the kynges noble consent  
 It for to serche to that entent  
 And coude not be brought therto  
 But they that were they venteres  
 Have cause to curse their maryners  
 Fals of promys and dissemblers  
 That falsly them betrayed  
 Whiche wolde take no paine to saile  
 farther  
 Than their owne lyst and pleasure  
 Wherfore that vyage and dyvers other  
 Suche keytyffes have destroyed  
 O what a thyng had be than  
 Yf that they that be Englyshe men  
 Myght have ben the furst of all  
 That there shulde have take possesyon  
 And made furst buyldynge and habytacion  
 A memory perpetuall  
 And also what an honorable thyng  
 Bothe to the realme and to the kyng  
 To have had his domynyon extendynge  
 There into so farre a grounde  
 Which the noble kyng of late memory  
 The most wyse prynce the vij. Herry

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<sup>160</sup>Rastell, 41:89.

<sup>161</sup>Quinn, p. 10.

Causyd furst to be founde  
 Nowe Frenchemen and other have  
 founde the trade  
 That yerely of fyshe there they lade  
 Above an C. sayle<sup>162</sup>

The "men of this contry" are Rastell and his friends and the "maryners fals of promys" are Ravyn and his supporters.<sup>163</sup>

In the first half of the century, under the two Henry's, Rastell's play was about the only sign of intellectual interest in the new geography.

But this Newe Landes founde lately  
 Ben callyd America bycause only  
 Americus dyd furst them fynde  
 But whether that see go thyther dyrectly  
 Or if any wyldernes bytwene them do ly  
 No man knoweth for certeyne  
 But these newe landes by all cosmografye  
 Frome the Cane of Catous lande can not lye  
 Lytell paste a thousand myle  
 But from those new landes men may sayle  
 playne  
 Eastwarde an cum to Englande againe  
 Where we began ere whyle<sup>164</sup>

The New Interlude of the four elements was written as a play, but it was really a lecture on geography. It was probably the first work on modern geography of English authorship. As such, the views which it expressed on the relations of the New World to the Old are important. They were probably derived from the continental World Map recently published. In particular the distance between the "New Lands" and those of Khan of Cathay, marked on the Walseemüller "insert map" as 1500 miles, is said by Rastell to be "lytell paste a thousand myle."<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>Rastell, pp. 89-90    <sup>163</sup>McCann, p. 94.

Rastell must have been in touch with the latest geographic knowledge because he called North America a continent while some geographers were still describing it as a group of islands and others were making it part of Asia.<sup>166</sup> Thomas More, speaking through his friend Peter, had said that the Soderini letter was "now published."<sup>167</sup> If More had read it, it is very likely that Rastell had also, for the two men were very close. Rastell's close association with More gave him unusual opportunities to acquire information about America. The man who was both minister to Henry VIII and the leading English humanist of his day knew better than most Englishmen what was going on in the world and probably passed this information on to his long-time friend, Rastell.

It is highly possible that Rastell created the Interlude as propaganda for English enterprise overseas. He definitely had in mind the planting of permanent colonies in America. He may have been using the play as a means to gain support for Sebastian Cabot's voyage of 1521.<sup>168</sup> As More's brother-in-law, and as a member of the Temple, he probably had a very influential audience. By writing for

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<sup>164</sup>Rastell, p. 92.

<sup>165</sup>Taylor, p. 9.

<sup>166</sup>Parks, p. 8.

<sup>167</sup>More, p. 2.

<sup>168</sup>Parks, p. 8: "revealed in Dr. A. W. Reed, Mariner's Mirror, 9:5 (London, 1923)."

this small select group of friends he could satisfy his creative instincts, voice his indignation against the thieves who had aborted his voyage, and at the same time, possibly, persuade some friends to support another voyage. Rastell's use of a play as propaganda for a voyage was a forerunner of how merchants, mariners, and colonizers would later use the printed word to gain support for their expeditions.

After the presentation of this work in 1520, there must have been at least a few intellectuals who were thinking of colonization in the New World as a possibility. But it must be remembered that England was not in any way a transoceanic traveling nation at this time. Englishmen had not taken a noticeable part in the discoveries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, and French merchants and mariners were bringing back exotic wares and exciting reports from lands far away. A few London merchants may have backed Rastell's expedition, but they themselves had little interest in the sea. Bristol fishermen may have strayed from Newfoundland into the St. Lawrence River or down the Atlantic Coast, but they left no detailed records of their voyages in the early years of the century.<sup>169</sup> Even though Henry VIII had helped Rastell, he had no interest in colonization. When he tried to induce the London merchants to back

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<sup>169</sup>Parks, p. 11.

Cabot's later voyages, he had hoped Cabot would find a route to Asia by sailing west so that England could sell cloth to the Asians. But there was not enough backing from the merchants to help Cabot.<sup>170</sup> Eventually, however, there would be voyages and reports of voyages and these reports would be published and Englishmen would become interested in geography, and the interest in geography would spread as it became more useful to trade. Rastell's work was important because it helped to move along the initial interest in geography and discovery that later would become more pronounced.

There was one other morality play which made reference to the "new founde land." What exists is a mere fragment which Professor Ray Nash of Dartmouth College found by accident. It had been used as part of the cover of another book. Neither the title nor the author is known. Prof. Nash and his colleague, George L. Frost, have named the play "Good Order." They have suggested that John Skelton may have been the author. The play was printed in 1533 by William Rastell, son of John Rastell, and nephew of Sir Thomas More. Though the play was probably written early in the century, by the time it was published the term "new Founde land" meant America to many Englishmen, especially to William Rastell, whose uncle had written a story set in America, whose father had written a play about it, and whose

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<sup>170</sup>Quinn, p. 11.

brother was making plans to sail there.<sup>171</sup>

In the text of the play Old Cristmas, Good Order, Ryot, Glotomy, and Prayer are characters who appear without any stage directions. Ryot and Glotomy, brought to trial by one of the Virtues, Good Order, before his master Old Cristmas, are proclaimed traitors and sentenced to be banished from England forever. Ryot turns to Glotomy and says, "Alas Glotomy what shall we than do." Glotomy replies:

In fayth to the new found land let us go  
For in englond there is no remedy.<sup>172</sup>

The concept of America as a place where a condemned man might make a new start is a significant aspect of this play. This was very early for Englishmen, even as characters in a play and desperate and disreputable ones at that, to consider going to America as a refuge.<sup>173</sup>

#### Vespucci, More, Shakespeare

The influence of the voyages and writings of Vespucci on Sir Thomas More has already been discussed. Now let us take a look at More's influence on Shakespeare. There are three fairly definite ties between More and Shakespeare

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<sup>171</sup>McCann, pp. 96-7. See also George L. Frost and Ray Nash, "Good Order: A Morality Fragment," Studies in Philology, (Oct., 1944), 61:483-491; and Ray Nash, "Rastell Fragments at Dartmouth," The Library Fourth Ser. Vol. 24, no. 1, 2, June, Sept., 1943 (London, 1943).

<sup>172</sup>Frost, p. 490.

<sup>173</sup>McCann, p. 97.

that make it most probable that this influence was there. These ties are three plays: Sir Thomas More, Richard III, and The Tempest.

Until 1844, only one mutilated copy of the play Sir Thomas More existed. In that year Rev. Alexander Dyce transcribed this generally unknown manuscript and it was printed by the Shakespeare Society. The original manuscript consists of twenty sheets, written in five different handwritings. It is believed that thirteen of these twenty sheets were presented to Sir Edmund Tilney, the Master of the Revels, for licence to act. One of the handwritings has been identified by Richard Simpson and James Spedding as Shakespeare's. The manuscript has no information as to authorship, date, or stage production. Dyce and Simpson suggest the play was presented about 1590. Frederick Gard Fleay and A. F. Hopkinson date it 1595.<sup>174</sup>

The theory of Shakespeare's part-authorship was first presented by Simpson in 1872 and supported by Spedding the following year. Several years later Adolphus William Ward wrote:

As to the style and manner of the passage in question, not only may the speeches of More, in particular that addressed to the insurgents, which may have been specially elaborated to suit the requirements of the licenser, be said without hesitation to have the true Shakespeare manner, besides being genuinely Shakesperean in feeling, but it is

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<sup>174</sup>Charles Frederick Tucker Brooke, ed. The Shakespeare Apocrypha Being a Collection of Fourteen plays which have been ascribed to Shakespeare

with difficulty that they can be conceived to have been written by any other contemporary author.<sup>175</sup>

Chambers agrees that the play "is the work of a group of Elizabethan dramatists of whom I think it may be said with certainty that Shakespeare is one."<sup>176</sup>

Brooke included Sir Thomas More in his Shakespeare Apocrypha, stating that it is hardly possible to withstand the conviction that "if Shakespeare was ever concerned with any of the apocryphal plays, then surely it was this."<sup>177</sup> In 1923 this claim was supported by other Shakespearean scholars in a book published at Cambridge entitled Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More, a collection of essays by various authors and edited by Alfred W. Pollard. An article entitled "Shakespeare's Contribution to 'Sir Thomas More' " is included in the appendix to Professor Peter Alexander's single volume edition of Shakespeare's works (1951) and the entire play is reprinted by Professor C. J. Sisson in his volume of Shakespeare published by Odham Press (1953).

E. M. W. Tillyard has pointed out a marked resemblance between Act 2, scene 4, in the More play and the

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<sup>175</sup>Adolphus William Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, 3 vols., (London: New and rev. ed. Macmillan and Co., Ltd; New York: Macmillan Co., 1899), 1: 214-5.

<sup>176</sup>Raymond Wilson Chambers, The Place of St. Thomas More in English Literature and History (London, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937), p. 45.

<sup>177</sup>Brooke, p. liv.

Jack Cade scenes of King Henry the Sixth Part II. Another resemblance he has detected is in Act 4, scene 1, in which More treats a humble group performing the Morality Play in the same kindly way as Theseus treats the Athenian clowns in A Midsummer-Night's Dream.<sup>178</sup> Levin Ludwig Schüchting drew parallels between Julius Caesar and the "147 lines" and R. W. Chambers says there are also parallels with Troilus and Cressida and with Coriolanus and gives a detailed analysis of these parallels.<sup>179</sup>

The play is a biographical chronicle made up of three groups of scenes. The first describes the anti-alien riots of the "ill May-day" of 1517 and introduces Sir Thomas More, sheriff of London, in the act of quieting the anti-alien rioters. Since the subject had immediate relevance to a current issue in London of about 1595, it was to be expected that the authorities would object to it. The play shows evidence, says Hardin Craig, of having been heavily cut by the censor, Edward Tilney, who told the players to leave the insurrection wholly out. As a result, two passages were eliminated. The play was probably written by Anthony Munday, and in anticipation of the objections of the censor someone else rewrote these scenes of the mob, a total

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<sup>178</sup>Eustace Mandeville Wetenhall Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), p. 120.

<sup>179</sup>R. W. Chambers, "The Expression of Ideas--Particularly Political Ideas--In the Three Pages, and in Shakespeare," Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), p. 145.

of 147 lines. In a gay and vigorous manner the rioters talk in a genuinely comic way, like the mob in Julius Caesar or Cade's followers in King Henry the Sixth Part II. Then More appears, good-naturedly pointing out the blessings of peace and order and the godlike position of the King.<sup>180</sup>

Arthur S. MacNalty says, "More's speeches to the rioters in Act 2, scene 4, breathe the . . . elevated thought and diction characteristic of Shakespeare"<sup>181</sup> and gives this example:

For to the king God hath his office lent  
Of dread, of justice, power and command,  
Hath bid him rule and will'd you to obey.  
And to add ampler majesty to this  
He hath not only lent the king his figure,  
His throne and sword, but given him his own name.  
Calls him a god on earth, What do you then,  
Rising 'gainst him that God himself installs,  
But rise 'gainst God? What do you to your souls  
In doing this? O desperate as you are,  
Wash your foul minds with tears; and those same  
hands,  
That you like rebels lift against the peace,  
Lift up for peace; and your unreverent knees<sup>182</sup>  
Make them your feet to kneel to be forgiven.

Just as there are many critics who believe that Shakespeare wrote part of Sir Thomas More, there are also many critics who believe that Shakespeare's Richard III is based on More's play of the same name.<sup>183</sup> In the delin-

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<sup>180</sup>Hardin Craig, Shakespeare a historical and critical study with annotated texts of twenty-one plays (Chicago: Scotts, Foresman, 1958), pp. 1009-10.

<sup>181</sup>Arthur Salusbury MacNalty, "Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More" Essays and Studies 1959, ed. Dorothy Margaret Stuart (London: English Association, 1959), new ser. vol. 12:38.

<sup>182</sup>Brooke, p. 394.

eation of Richard's character, with all its grim characterization of the Yorkist King, Shakespeare follows More even to the cynicism and irony which is the feature of More's History.<sup>184</sup> Comparisons between the two plays can be found in MacNalty, Chambers, Brooke, as well as others.

Another More/Shakespeare connection is the resemblance that MacNalty sees between More's unfinished De Quatuor Novissimis (The Four Last Things, 1522) in which there is a meditation on death, and the description of Falstaff's death in Henry the Fifth. Chambers finds a resemblance in the character of Mistress Quickly and More's second wife, Dame Alice More, and MacNalty thinks Helena in All's Well that Ends Well is a portrait of Margaret Gigs, the foster-sister of More's daughter, Margaret, of whom More was very fond.<sup>185</sup>

It can be seen that Shakespeare probably was familiar with More's works and used material from them in his plays, especially in Richard III. That he was greatly impressed by More's teaching, life, and work may be seen in the sections of Sir Thomas More that were mentioned, and in the eulogy of More which is spoken by Cardinal Wolsey in Henry VIII.<sup>186</sup> This high appreciation of More by Shakespeare makes us fairly certain that he was probably

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<sup>183</sup>R. W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School (London: Early English Text Society, H. Milford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1932), p. clxv; and MacNalty, p. 46, to name at least two.

<sup>184</sup>MacNalty, p. 46.      <sup>185</sup>Ibid., p. 54.      <sup>186</sup>Ibid., 56.

closely acquainted with More's Utopia and that the fact that there is much in common between it and The Tempest is not mere coincidence.

As mentioned before, Hythloday, in speaking of Utopia, never says where exactly it is located. "Utopia" means "nowhere," from the Greek ou topos, and its chief city is Amaurot, from the Greek amauros, meaning "dim, uncertain."<sup>187</sup> Shakespeare not only neglects to tell us where his enchanted isle is located, he doesn't even give it a name. He has called up the spirits "which by mine art / I have from their confines called to enact / My present fancies."<sup>188</sup>

In the works of both these authors there is an undercurrent of similar tongue-in-cheek humor. Of More's humor, Ogden says it was referred to by his humanist friends as festivitas, "a sort of cheery irony and playfulness in speech and demeanor, stemming partly from his disposition, and partly from his deep conviction that it is man's duty to live cheerfully and as far as possible delightfully."<sup>189</sup> Certainly there is also evidence of festivitas in Shakespeare's writing as well. MacNalty says, "The personality of Sir Thomas More appears to have greatly attracted him [Shakespeare]. They were of

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<sup>187</sup>More, p. 29      <sup>188</sup>5. 1. 120-2

<sup>189</sup>More, p. vii.

like mind in their wide outlook of life, their wit and humour, their sympathy, and their feeling for mankind."<sup>190</sup>

While this thread of humor ran through their writing, both authors were, at the same time, profoundly serious in presenting these two social satires. More, in introducing Hythloday says, "While he told us many things which are a-miss among those new-found nations, he also reckoned up not a few things from which a pattern might be taken for correcting the errors of our own cities and kingdoms."<sup>191</sup> Prospero's island could be looked on as a place where the souls of erring men can undergo a change and then emerge reconstructed and better able to live and govern. Colin Still, after a long, detailed discourse, concludes that The Tempest is the story of the "upward struggle of the human spirit, individual and collective, out of the darkness of sin and error, into the light of wisdom and truth." He further states that The Tempest is not pure fantasy without any dominant idea behind it, but that it is an allegory which depicts "the universal epic."<sup>192</sup> When Alonso, Gonzalo, and Antonio enter, in a trance-like state, in Act 5, Prospero says:

And as the morning steals upon the night,  
Melting the darkness, so their rising senses  
Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle  
The clearer reason.

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<sup>190</sup>MacNalty, p. 36.      <sup>191</sup>More, p. 4.

<sup>192</sup>Colin Still, Shakespeare's Mystery Play; A Study of "The Tempest" (London: C. Palmer; Folcroft, Pa., Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 238.

Their understanding  
 Begins to swell, and the approaching tide  
 Will shortly fill the reasonable shore,  
 That now lies foul and muddy.<sup>193</sup>

The purging, which brings forth the "clearer reason," will make each his own man, for "In one voyage / Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis, / And Ferdinand her brother found a wife / Where he himself was lost; Prospero his dukedom / In a poor isle; and all of us ourselves / When no man was his own."<sup>194</sup>

In Utopia, More is sent on a journey because of the differences between two rulers--the King of England, Henry the Eighth, and Charles, Prince of Castile. Prospero's voyage was also due to the differences between two rulers--himself and his brother Antonio. Prospero explains how Antonio plotted against him:

Being once perfected how to grant suits,  
 How to deny them, who t' advance, and who  
 To trash for overtopping, new created  
 The creatures that were mine, I say, or  
     changed 'em,  
 Or else new-formed 'em; having both the key  
 Of officer and office, set all hearts i' the  
     state  
 To what tune pleased his ear, that now he was  
 The ivy which had hid my princely trunk  
 And sucked my verdure out on't . . .<sup>195</sup>

In Utopia this could not have happened because "provisions have been made so that the prince and the tranibors may not conspire together to change the government,"<sup>196</sup> for "it has often turned out that many of them,

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<sup>193</sup>5. 1. 65-8

<sup>194</sup>5. 1. 208-14

<sup>195</sup>1. 2. 79-87

and even princes have been portrayed by those whom they trusted."<sup>196</sup> In Milan no such precautions had ever been taken. Prospero continues, "I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated / To closeness, and the bettering of my mind . . . "<sup>197</sup> In Utopia only a few select people were excused from useful tasks to devote themselves to learning and these few had to be exceptional scholars as Prospero was.

Out of all the men and women, whose age or health permit them to work, scarcely five hundred are exempted in each city and its surrounding area. Among these are the syphogrants, who are excused from labor by law. Yet they do not excuse themselves from it, because they incite others to work more easily by setting them an example. The Utopians grant the same exemption to some who apply themselves exclusively to learning, but only at the recommendation of the priests and in accordance with a secret vote of the syphogrants.<sup>198</sup>

In Utopia, Prospero may not have been able to neglect his worldly duties if he had been in a position of importance. Nevertheless, he continues his story:

Of temporal royalties  
He thinks me now incapable, confederates --  
So dry he was for sway -- with the King of Naples  
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,  
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend  
The dukedom yet unbowed (alas, poor Milan!)  
To most ignoble stooping.<sup>199</sup>

"The Utopians," says Hythloday, "realize that rewards will spur men on to any sort of crime . . . they sow the seeds of discord among the enemy by inciting the king's brother or some member of the nobility to plot for the

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<sup>196</sup>More, p. 65.

<sup>197</sup>1. 2. 89-90

<sup>198</sup>More, p. 35.

<sup>199</sup>1. 2. 105-15

crown."<sup>200</sup> Prospero elaborates on the conspiracy:

This King of Naples, being an enemy,  
To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit;  
Which was, that he, in lieu o' the premises,  
Of homage and I know not how much tribute,  
Should presently extirpate me and mine  
Out of the dukedom and confer fair Milan,  
With all the honors on my brother.<sup>201</sup>

The Utopians have their own method of treating enemy kings:

They at once arrange to have many small notices, which are marked with their official seal, set up by stealth in the most conspicuous places in the enemy's country. In these proclamations they promise great rewards to any one who will kill the enemy's king, and smaller rewards (but still very great) for killing those whom they regard as most responsible after the king for plotting aggression against them.<sup>202</sup>

Prospero describes how he and Miranda were put on a "rotten carcass of a butt" and put adrift at sea:

By providence divine

Some food we had, and some fresh water, that  
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,  
Out of his charity, who being then appointed  
Master of this design, did give us, with  
Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries  
Which since have steaded much. So, of his gentle-  
ness,  
Knowing I love my books, he furnished me  
From mine own library with volumes that  
I prize above my dukedom.<sup>203</sup>

It is not mere coincidence that More's words that "rewards will spur men on to any sort of crime" and that the King's brother or some other member of the nobility can be bribed to plot against the crown, are echoed in Shakespeare's words that the King of Naples can be bribed

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<sup>200</sup>More, p. 65      <sup>201</sup>1. 2. 120-6

<sup>202</sup>More, pp. 65-6.      <sup>203</sup>1. 2. 159-68

to "extirpate" Prospero and that Antonio seeks to be king of Milan. What More wrote about, Shakespeare saw at court --conspiracies, briberies and plots. It is obvious that the thoughts and feelings of both writers were similar and ran in the same channels; so similar, it is not surprising that Shakespeare drew on More's awareness and echoed More's images.

In Book I, More's explanation of his own reasons for being in office seem to describe Gonzalo's position, when he says:

Don't give up the ship in a storm, because you cannot control the winds. And do not force unheard-of advice upon people, when you know that their minds are different from yours. You must strive to guide policy indirectly, so that you make the best of things, and what you cannot turn to good, you can at least make less bad.<sup>204</sup>

To make things "less bad" Gonzalo had put on the ship not only food and clothing but also Prospero's prized books, just as Hythloday, in starting out on his voyage, "put on board a good-sized pack of books."<sup>205</sup> Gonzalo could not "control the winds," the directives of his superiors, and he could not change "minds different from" his own, but he managed to save Prospero and his daughter by guiding "policy indirectly."

Prospero's words "Here in this island we arrived; and here / Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit / Than other princess can, that have more time / For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful"<sup>206</sup> are senti-

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<sup>204</sup>More, p. 23.

<sup>205</sup>More, p. 55.

<sup>206</sup>1. 2. 171-4

ments of the Utopians also who "of all the pleasures they especially embrace those of the mind, for they esteem them most highly, thinking they arise from the exercise of the virtues and from the consciousness of a good life."<sup>207</sup>

After the storm, Prospero asks Ariel how he has disposed of the King's ship and Ariel answers: "Safely in harbor / Is the King's ship; in the deep nook where once / Thou calledst me up at midnight"<sup>208</sup> Hythloday describes Utopia as an island "crescent-shaped." Between the horns of the crescent "the sea comes in and spreads into a great bay. Being well secured from the wind, the bay does not rage with great waves, but is quiet like a lake."<sup>209</sup>

In describing the island, Hythloday says, "The channels are known only to Utopians, so if any stranger should chance to enter the bay without one of their pilots, he would run a great danger of shipwreck."<sup>210</sup> Alonso's ship was not shipwrecked, even though he and his crew were strangers to the island because Prospero sent Ariel as a pilot and "safely in harbor / Is the King's ship," the King and his company are "safely found," their ship, "which, but three glasses since, we gave out split, / Is tight and yare and bravely rigged as when / We first put out to sea."<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup>More, p. 52

<sup>208</sup>1. 2. 225-7

<sup>209</sup>More, p. 28.

<sup>210</sup>More, p. 28.

<sup>211</sup>5. 1. 222-4

In Utopia "no county household has fewer than . . . two bondmen."<sup>212</sup> Ariel reminds Prospero of his promise as though he were a bondman in Utopia:

Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains,  
Let me remember thee what thou hast promised,  
Which is not yet performed me,

PROSPERO

How now? moody?

What is't thou canst demand?

ARIEL

My liberty.

PROSPERO

Before the time be out? No more!

ARIEL

I prithee,  
Remember I have done thee worthy service,  
Told thee no lies, made no mistakings, served  
Without or grudge or grumblings. Thou didst  
promise  
To bate me a full year.<sup>213</sup>

In telling about bondmen in Utopia, Hythloday says "none of them are quite hopeless of recovering freedom, since they may expect to be freed finally if they are obedient and patient."<sup>214</sup> Ariel's request, therefore, would not have been unreasonable or out of place in Utopia.

It may be that Shakespeare was getting in a bit of propaganda for colonization when he had Antonio say to Sebastian:

What impossible matter will he make easy next?

SEBASTIAN

I think he will carry this island home in his pocket and give it his son for an apple.

ANTONIO

And, sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup>More. p. 29.

<sup>213</sup>1. 2. 242-50.

<sup>214</sup>More, p. 15.

<sup>215</sup>2. 1. 85-90

From island seeds more islands can grow. Are Sebastian and Antonio talking about colonization? Hythloday was, when he said, "If there is too great an increase throughout the entire island, they take a certain number of citizens from the different cities and plant a colony on the adjoining mainland."<sup>216</sup>

In Act 3, scene 2, an uprising is being planned. Caliban, Prospero's other bondman, and Stephano and Trinculo, servants of Alonso and Antonio, conspire to do away with Prospero, the king of the island, and take over the island. "Might not the bondmen form a conspiracy against the government?" Hythloday asks hypothetically in Utopia. Then he himself answers, "That indeed is a danger. But how could the bondmen of any one district enter into a plot without a general conspiracy among the bondmen of the other districts? Such a conspiracy cannot be formed, since they are not allowed to meet or talk together."<sup>217</sup> Well, Gonzalo did meet his fellow conspirators but their plot was never consummated.

In the next act, we hear Antonio philosophizing. He says, "Travelers ne'er did lie, / Though fools at home condemn 'em."<sup>218</sup> Was Shakespeare here thinking of Barclay's The Ship of Fools? In any case, More's words agree with Antonio's. He has Giles say of Hythloday, "There is

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<sup>216</sup>More, pp. 37-9.      <sup>217</sup>More, p. 15.

<sup>218</sup>3. 3. 24-6

no man alive who can tell you so much about unknown people and countries."<sup>219</sup>

After the betrothal revels, Prospero orders Ariel to bring his beautiful decorated garments and drape them on the bushes, as a trap "to catch these thieves."<sup>220</sup> When Trinculo sees the glistening apparel, he exclaims, "O worthy Stephano, look what a wardrobe here is for thee!" Stephano excitedly takes the garments from him, saying, "By this hand, I'll have that gown!" Ironically, it is Caliban, who is supposed to be a "fool," who says, "Let it alone, thou fool! It is but trash . . . The dropsy drown this fool! What do you mean / To dote thus on such luggage?"<sup>221</sup> This is interesting because it brings to mind a story Hythloday tells that might well be one of the "contraries" by which Gonzalo would "execute all things" in his ideal kingdom.

In this "contrary" it seems the fool is the wise man and the wise men (as defined by society) are the fools. This is Hythloday's story:

The ambassadors from neighboring states knew that fine clothing was not esteemed among the Utopians, that silk was scorned, and that gold was considered a shameful thing. They came as plainly clothed as possible. But when the Anemolians, who lived far away and had little intercourse with the Utopians, saw that all the people wore the same coarse clothing, they took it for granted that they did not have anything else. They themselves, being a proud rath-

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<sup>219</sup>More, p. 2.

<sup>220</sup>4. 1. 186

<sup>221</sup>4. 1. 222-30.

er than a wise people, decided to dress themselves gloriously like gods and dazzle the eyes of the poor Utopians by the splendor of their garb. The three ambassadors made their entry accompanied by a hundred attendants, all dressed in varicolored clothing, many in silk. Since they were nobles at home, the ambassadors wore cloaks of cloth of gold, necklaces and earrings of gold, gold rings on their fingers, caps hung with gold chains studded with pearls and other jewels, in short decked out with all those things which among the Utopians were considered badges of slavery, signs of punishment, or toys for children. It was a sight to see how high they held their heads when they compared their clothing with that of the Utopians, for the people had swarmed out into the streets. It was no less amusing to think how far they were from creating the impression which they had expected to make, for in the eyes of all the Utopians, except for those few who had visited other states, all this pomp and splendor seemed shameful. The Utopians saluted all the lowest people as lords and paid no respect at all to the ambassadors themselves, because they seemed to be dressed as slaves with their gold chains. And you might have seen children, who had already thrown away their pearls and gems, nudge their mothers upon seeing the jewels in the ambassadors' caps, and say, "Look, mother! See that big fool who wears pearls and gems, as if he were a little boy!" Then she would say seriously, "Hush, my boy, I think he is one of the ambassadors' fools."<sup>222</sup>

Whether Caliban is a "fool" because of his position in life, or Stephano and Trinculo are fools because of their desire for gold and jewels, will not be discussed here. But Prospero is no fool when he decides to forgive Antonio and Alonso. He says, "Though with their wrongs I am struck to the quick, / Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury / Do I take part. The rarer action is / In virtue than in vengeance."<sup>223</sup> The Utopians define virtue as "living according to nature." They say:

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<sup>222</sup>More, pp. 44-5.      <sup>223</sup>5. 1. 25-8

We have ordained by God to this end. To follow nature is to conform to the dictates of reason in what we seek and avoid. The first dictate of reason is ardently to love and revere the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe what we are and whatever happiness we can reach. Secondly, reason warns us and summons us to lead our lives as calmly and cheerfully as we can, and to help all others in nature's fellowship to attain this good."<sup>224</sup>

In the spirit of "nature's fellowship" Alonso repents. He says to Prospero;

Since I saw thee,  
The affliction of my mind amends, with which,  
I fear, a madness held me. This must crave  
(And if this be at all) a most strange story.  
Thy dukedom I resign and do entreat  
Thou pardon me my wrongs."<sup>225</sup>

Alonso repents because he is on an island similar to the one Hythloday was on, where "for this kind of vice [greed, pride] there is no room whatsoever in the Utopian way of life."<sup>226</sup> To Alonso, Prospero says, "I do forgive thee, / Unnatural though thou art,"<sup>227</sup> for he too is on an enchanted island, as Hythloday was. In Utopia, "if they are aware of hatred or anger in their hearts toward anyone, they do not presume to take part in the service till they have been reconciled and their feelings purified."<sup>228</sup> Here we have the "purging" influence that pervades The Tempest also.

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<sup>224</sup>More, p. 48.

<sup>225</sup>5. 1. 113-8

<sup>226</sup>More, p. 38.

<sup>227</sup>5. 1. 78-9

<sup>228</sup>More, p. 77.

After the reconciliation, Prospero shows Alonso that Miranda and Ferdinand are alive. The happy couple are discovered playing chess.<sup>229</sup> In Utopia people also play chess. However, there the meaning of the game is similar to that of a morality play.

They know nothing about gambling with dice or other foolish and ruinous games. They play two games not unlike our chess. One is a battle of numbers, in which one number plunders another. The other is a game in which the vices battle against the virtues. In this game the co-operation of the vices against the virtues and their opposition to each other is shown up very cleverly, as well as the special oppositions between particular virtues and vices, and the methods by which the vices openly assault or secretly undermine the virtues, and how virtues break the strength of the vices and by what means finally one side or the other wins the victory.<sup>230</sup>

Shakespeare may not have had a morality play in mind when he wrote The Tempest, or when he had Miranda and Ferdinand play chess, but nevertheless, in The Tempest the virtues do win out over the vices. And it may be that the similarities noted here between More's Utopia and Shakespeare's The Tempest are due to Shakespeare's familiarity with More's work and a likeness in their thinking. What is important to this study is that they were both writing about America as an ideal land.

More's Utopia is a place of great austerity. The people are well cared for--they wear uniform clothing, dwell in similar cities, eat in public dining halls at the call of a bugle, discuss politics only in open council,

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<sup>229</sup>5. 1. s.d. 209      <sup>230</sup>More, p. 34.

and take turns at town and country work. There are no taverns, no betting, no money, no competition to improve one's position. The only game permitted is a kind of chess.

But it is important to remember that More did not intend his Utopia to be taken seriously. It was a peg on which to hang his satire of his fellow-Europeans and his exposition of the moral principles which should inform government. The island in Shakespeare's The Tempest was similarly a peg for Shakespeare to hang his thoughts on, and not to be taken seriously.

If we leave More for a moment, we find there are also similar thoughts and parallels in the Soderini letter and The Tempest, and this also may be more than just coincidence. For instance, here is a description of a storm off an island in the Soderini letter:

On this day there began so violent a sea-tempest that it made us lower sail together; and we ran on with bare mast in a violent wind which came from the south-west bringing with it high seas, and the wind was very violent. Such was the tempest that the whole fleet stood in much fear. The nights were very long; for we had a night on the seventh day of April which was 15 hours . . . scarcely could we see one ship from the other, on account of the high seas which were running and the excessive thickness of the weather . . . the tempest so increased in violence that we feared for our lives. We had to make pilgrimages and other ceremonies, as is the custom of sailors at such times.<sup>231</sup>

In The Tempest, the stage direction in the opening scene reads: "A tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning hears." The mariners shout, "All lost! To prayers,

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<sup>231</sup>Vespucci, pp. 39-40.

to prayers! All lost!" And from inside is heard, "Mercy on us!--/ We split, we split!--Farewell, my wife and children!--/ Farewell, brother!--We split, we split, we split"<sup>232</sup>

In the next scene Miranda says to her father:

If by your art, my dearest father, you have  
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.  
The sky, it seems would pour down stinking pitch  
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,  
Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffered  
With those I saw suffer! a brave vessel  
. . . Dashed all to pieces! O, the cry did knock  
Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perished!<sup>233</sup>

In both descriptions we can feel the violence of the storm and the suffering of those who are in it. After the safe landing Vespucci says, "It pleased God to save us from peril so great."<sup>234</sup> And Gonzalo, after a similar miraculous deliverance says, "But for a miracle, / I mean our preservation, few in millions / Can speak like us."<sup>235</sup>

In the beginning of his letter, Vespucci says to Soderini, "I feel assured that Your Magnificence holds me among the number of your servants, when I recall how in the time of our youth I was your friend, as now I am your servant."<sup>236</sup> The same reference to childhood friendship is made by Antonio when he says to Sebastian, "My brother's servants / Were then my fellows; now they are my men."<sup>237</sup>

In telling about his second voyage, Vespucci says, "In the course of our sailing, we sighted an island

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<sup>232</sup>1. 1. 50-61

<sup>233</sup>1. 2. 1-9

<sup>234</sup>Vespucci, p. 40.

<sup>235</sup>2. 1. 6-8

<sup>236</sup>Vespucci, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup>2. 1. 269

which was leagues distant from land, out at sea, and resolved to go to see whether it was inhabited. Speeding toward it, therefore, we found on it the most bestial and ugly people that were ever seen, and also most lovable and kind."<sup>238</sup> An inhabitant that is at the same time bestial and ugly as well as lovable sounds like Caliban who says to Prospero:

When thou camest first,  
 Thou strokedst me and made much of me; wouldst  
     give me  
 Water with berries in't; and teach me how  
 To name the bigger light, and how the less,  
 That burn by day and night; and then I loved thee,  
 And showed thee all the qualities o' this isle."<sup>239</sup>

Then Caliban is called "a most scurvy monster,"<sup>240</sup> "misshapen knave," and "a thing of darkness."<sup>241</sup>

Another subject that is discussed by both authors is the matter of taking natives back to Europe. Vespucci says, "We too set sail for Spain, with 222 slave prisoners; and we reached the port of Cadiz on the 15th day of October, 1498, where we were well received and sold slaves."<sup>242</sup> Later on he adds, "We decided to take away a couple of men from this place that they might teach us the language."<sup>243</sup>

It is Caliban that Stephano wants to take back with him:

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<sup>238</sup>Vespucci, p. 27.      <sup>239</sup>1. 2. 332-7.

<sup>240</sup>2. 2. 162      <sup>241</sup>5. 1. 268-75

<sup>242</sup>Vespucci, p. 22.      <sup>243</sup>Vespucci, p. 37.

This is some monster of the isle, with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague. Where the devil should he learn our language? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that. If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod in neat's leather.<sup>244</sup>

We noted before that Trinculo has similar thoughts about taking Caliban back to England where he would make a fortune by putting him on display.

When Vespucci describes one of the tribes he met on his first voyage, we are reminded of the scene in which Gonzalo describes his ideal kingdom. Vespucci says, in this tribe

they do not practice marriage amongst themselves. Each one takes all the wives he pleases; and when he desires to repudiate them, he does repudiate them without it being considered a wrong on his part or a disgrace to the woman; for in this the woman has as much liberty as the man.<sup>245</sup>

After Gonzalo has described his ideal kingdom, Sebastian says, "No marrying 'mong his subjects?" And Antonio replies, "None, man! All idle--whores and knaves."<sup>246</sup>

After noting the similarities between Vespucci and More, between Shakespeare and More, and between Shakespeare and Vespucci, it is also possible to recognize common thoughts in the writings of all three, who were all three writing about America.

At the beginning of his letter, Vespucci says, I saw and experienced the varied turns of Fortune,

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<sup>244</sup>2. 2. 67-73

<sup>245</sup>Vespucci, p. 8.

<sup>246</sup>2. 1. 162

and how she kept changing these frail and fleeting benefits, and how at one time she holds a man at the top of her wheel, and again hurls him from her, and deprives him of that wealth which may be called borrowed. So when I had come to know the constant toil which man exerts in gaining it, by subjecting himself to so many discomforts and perils, I resolved to abandon trade, and to aspire to something more praiseworthy and enduring. So it came about that I arranged to go to see a portion of the world and its marvels.<sup>247</sup>

Let us compare this passage with Giles' description of Hythloday.

This Raphael, surnamed Hythloday, though not ignorant of the Latin tongue, is eminently learned in the Greek. He has applied himself more particularly to Greek because he has given himself wholly to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He was so desirous of seeing the world that he divided his patrimony among his brothers and threw in his lot with Americus Vesputius. He took part in the last three of Vesputius's four voyages . . .<sup>248</sup>

Both these speeches can be compared with Prospero's in Act 1, scene 2, when he is telling Miranda of his past:

And Prospero the prime duke, being so reputed  
In dignity, and for the liberal arts  
Without a parallel; those being all my study  
The government I cast upon my brother  
And to my state grew stranger, being transported  
And rapt in secret studies . . .<sup>249</sup>

Vespucci abandoned trade for something more praiseworthy and explored the world; Hythloday, a scholar and philosopher, gave up his worldly responsibilities and went with Vespucci to explore the world; Prospero cast his government upon his brother to devote himself to study. All

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<sup>247</sup>Vespucci, pp. 2-3

<sup>248</sup>More, p. 2.

<sup>249</sup>1. 2. 66-77

three gave up worldly responsibilities to pursue a private passion for knowledge. Certainly the authors of these three works had much in common on philosophical grounds.

Vespucci wrote, "If the terrestrial paradise is in some part of this land, it cannot be very far from the coast we visited."<sup>250</sup> Hythloday says:

The Utopians have achieved their social organization, which I wish all mankind would imitate. Their institutions give their commonwealth a moral and social foundation for living happy lives, and so far as man can predict, these institutions will last forever. Because they have rooted out ambition and strife along with other vices, they are in no danger of civil wars, which have ruined many states that seemed secure . . . If you had been with me in Utopia and had seen their customs and institutions as I did at first hand for the five years I spent among them you would frankly confess that you had never seen a people so well ordered as they were. Indeed I would never willingly have left, if it had not been to make known that new world to others.<sup>251</sup>

In The Tempest, Ferdinand says:

Let me live here ever!  
So rare a wond' red father and wise  
Makes this place Paradise.<sup>252</sup>

Then Miranda echoes his sentiments:

O, wonder!  
How many goodly creatures are there here!  
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new world  
That has such people in't!<sup>253</sup>

These three authors have, either in reality or in their imaginations, found a "brave new world!"--a paradise, an ideal society, a model for the rest of the world--in America.

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<sup>250</sup>Vespucci, p. 12.      <sup>251</sup>More, pp. 82, 26.

<sup>252</sup>4. 1. 123-33      <sup>253</sup>5. 1. 181-3

In Act 2, scene 1, Gonzalo describes his ideal kingdom, his imaginary paradise. On his plantation island, if he were king, he would do the following:

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries  
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic  
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;  
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,  
And use of service, none; contract, succession,  
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;  
No use of metal, corn, or wine or oil;  
No occupation; all men idle, all  
And women too, but innocent and pure;  
No sovereignty.

· · · · ·  
All things in common, nature should produce  
Without sweat or endeavor. Treason, felony,  
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine  
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,  
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,  
To feed my innocent people  
I would with such perfection govern, sir,  
T' excel the golden age.<sup>254</sup>

Gonzalo has described his kingdom for the amusement of Antonio and Sebastian. What he has put forth seems like an olio of facts--some facts straight out of More's Utopia and the report of the first colony Vespucci encountered, some facts twisted out of the same sources, somewhat changed and altered, perhaps to make his borrowing less obvious. Before we start to analyze the contents of Gonzalo's speech, let us note that, although there will be no sovereign in his commonwealth, Gonzalo will, nevertheless, govern and "execute all things."

Vespucci wrote about the first Indians he was able to observe: "Having no laws and no religious faith, they

live according to nature."<sup>255</sup> They "do not practice justice nor punish the criminals."<sup>256</sup> More's Indians "think it highly unjust to bind men by laws that are too numerous to be read and too obscure to be readily understood."<sup>257</sup> They also believe "the welfare and evil of a state depends on the moral character of its magistrates," and some "can be tempted by money."<sup>258</sup> Gonzalo solves the problem of laws, justice, punishment, and dishonest magistrates, by having no magistrates or government at all. He also says, "Letters should not be known." Both Vespucci and Hythloday reported that each tribe speaks a different dialect from the others and that there is no literature to be found among them.<sup>259</sup>

In the colony that Vespucci is describing, there is no possession of private property, among them, for everything is in common.<sup>260</sup>

Their dwellings are in common . . . The wealth which we affect in this our Europe and elsewhere, . . . they hold of no value at all . . .<sup>261</sup>

And in Utopia

everyone knows that frauds, thefts, quarrels, contentions, uprisings, murders, betrayals, and poisonings (evils that are commonly punished rather than checked by the severities of the law) would wither away if money were eradicated! Fear, anxiety, worry

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<sup>255</sup>Vespucci, in Pohl, p. 132. <sup>256</sup>More, p. 7.

<sup>257</sup>More, p. 61. <sup>258</sup>More, p. 61.

<sup>259</sup>Vespucci, More, passim. <sup>260</sup>Pohl, p. 132.

<sup>261</sup>Vespucci, p. 9.

care, toil, and sleepless nights would disappear at the same time as money! Even poverty, which seems to need money more than anything else for its relief, would vanish if money were gone.<sup>262</sup>

As long as there is private property and while money is the standard of all things, I do not think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily . . . There is no private property . . . In Utopia everything belongs to everybody.<sup>263</sup>

Gonzalo does away with both riches and poverty in one swoop. "Communal living without use of money."<sup>264</sup> suits him very well.

There are "no boundaries of kingdom or province"<sup>265</sup> in the new land that Vespucci found and in Utopia, "Whereas other nations are continually making alliances, breaking them, and then renewing them, the Utopians make no alliances with any nation."<sup>266</sup> Neither does Gonzalo. He does away with contracts, bourn (boundary), and bound of land."

As for tilth (tilling of the soil, agriculture) and occupation, he will have none of that either. Here he follows the Zapoletes (the Ready-Sellers) who are "unacquainted with agriculture and are indifferent about housing and clothing."<sup>267</sup> The Indians in America know little about housing and agriculture. They live mostly on "roots, herbs, fruit and fish. They have no need of

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<sup>262</sup>More, p. 81.

<sup>263</sup>More, pp. 31, 80.

<sup>264</sup>More, p. 82.

<sup>265</sup>In Pohl, p. 132.

<sup>266</sup>More, p. 62

<sup>267</sup>More, p. 62.

wheat, nor of other grains, and for their common use and diet they use the root of a tree, of which they make flour."<sup>268</sup>

Gonzalo will depend on nature's generosity for provisions. He agrees with the Utopians that "no one has to wear himself out with endless toil from morning till night, as if he were a beast of burden."<sup>269</sup> Moreover, even though the Utopians work only six hours out of twenty-four, their working hours are sufficient to provide not only an abundance, but even a superabundance of all the necessities and conveniences of life and "often when there is no need for public work, the magistrates proclaim a shorter workday, since they never employ the citizens on needless labor!"<sup>270</sup> By their practices "the Utopians make the land yield an abundance of all"<sup>271</sup> and "although they know just how much grain each city and its district will consume, they sow more grain and breed more cattle than they need for their own use, and share the surplus with their neighbors."<sup>272</sup> It is this abundance of nature that Gonzalo will use to feed his "innocent people."

In calling his people "innocent and pure" Gonzalo may have been thinking of Vespucci's Indians who "go about wholly naked, man and women alike, without cov-

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<sup>268</sup>Vespucci, p. 11.      <sup>269</sup>More, p. 34.

<sup>270</sup>More, p. 37.      <sup>271</sup>More, p. 38.      <sup>272</sup>More, p. 30.

ering any shameful part, not otherwise than they issued from their mothers' wombs."<sup>273</sup>

Apparently Gonzalo does not approve of violence. The Utopians also "hate and detest war as a thing manifestly brutal . . . they consider nothing so inglorious as the glory won in war."<sup>274</sup> They do not, however, do away with swords, knives, guns, and military machines completely, as Gonzalo would, but they keep them well hidden in case they should be attacked.<sup>275</sup>

This, then, is Vespucci's Indian settlement, More's Utopia, and Gonzalo's unnamed, imaginary, ideal kingdom. They each describe a "golden age" in which man lives with a minimum of labor, no crime or pain or war, as Adam lived in Eden before the Fall.<sup>276</sup> In these ideal communities "virtue has its reward, yet everything is shared equally and every man lives in plenty."<sup>277</sup> The three authors write about the "most marvellous things,"<sup>278</sup> "things of great wonder,"<sup>279</sup> about the "happiness of Utopians"<sup>280</sup> in the "best commonwealth,"<sup>281</sup> and about "beautiful mankind" in a "brave new world."<sup>282</sup> They tell

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<sup>273</sup>Vespucci, p. 5.      <sup>274</sup>More, p. 63      <sup>275</sup>Ibid.

<sup>276</sup>The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare: The Tempest; ed. Louis B. Wright (New York, 1961), p. 32.

<sup>277</sup>More, p. 25.      <sup>278</sup>Vespucci, p. 17.      <sup>279</sup>Ibid, p.3.

<sup>280</sup>More, p. 81.      <sup>281</sup>More, p. 79.

<sup>282</sup>The Tempest, 5.1. 183.

of soil that is "bountiful in yielding them what they require,"<sup>283</sup> of the "land that yields abundance," and of an island with "every fertile inch."<sup>284</sup> Vespucci saw it in actuality; More and Shakespeare describe a society they hope for, not the society they know.

I have seen references to Vespucci's influence on More and on More's influence on Shakespeare, but I have not found an analysis anywhere of the similarities in the writings of these three men such as I have given here. However, in reference to Gonzalo's speech, there is another author who cannot be overlooked--Michal Eyquem of Montaigne. In his Essay XXX, "Of the Caniballes," we find parallels with Gonzalo's speech that should also be noted. Montaigne wrote:

I have had long time dwelling with me a man, who for a space of ten or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where Villegaignon first sur-named Antartike France . . . the said Iland should be the new world we have lately discovered . . . Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East Indies on one side, and the countries lying under the two Poles on the other; from which it be divided . . . It is a nation . . . that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne,

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<sup>283</sup>Vespucci, p. 26.

<sup>284</sup>2. 2. 153

or mettle. The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would he [Plato] finde his imaginarie commonwealth from this perfection! . . . They have great abundance of fish and flesh . . . They contend not for the gaining of new lands; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall ubertie and fruitfulness, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary thing, that they need not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, than what their naturall necessities direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous . . . These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division to their heires, without other claime or title, but that which nature doth plainely impart unto all creatures.<sup>285</sup>

Vespucci's Mondus Novus was first published in 1503, More's Utopia in 1516, and Montaigne's Essays were first printed in 1580. It would seem that all of this material was available to Shakespeare and that he may have drawn on all three. What is essential to this study is that all four writers were writing about America. They had one thing in common--in their vision of the New World they foresaw the main lines along which the political and social ideals of the Renaissance would develop in the future. Most of the political and social reforms that were manifested in later years were foreshadowed in Vespucci's New World, in More's Utopia and in Shakespeare's unnamed "plantation." This vision of a Golden Age and an Earthly Paradise was likewise interwoven into all the chronicles

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<sup>285</sup> Michal Eyquem Montaigne, The Essayes of Michal Lord of Montaigne, trans. John Florio (London, 1603), 1:216.

of the early navigators.

As early as the sixth century the monk Cosmas, in Universal Christian Topography, stated the object of many a later voyager:

If Paradise were really on the surface of this world, is there not many a man among those who are so keen to learn and search out everything that would not let himself be deterred from reaching it? When we see that there are men who will not be deterred from penetrating to the ends of the earth in search of silk, and all for the sake of filthy lucre, how can we believe that they would be deterred from going to get a sight of Paradise?<sup>286</sup>

Almost a thousand years later Columbus wrote of the land he had reached, "There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise, for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned."<sup>287</sup> He explained his reasoning thus: calculations of latitude seemed to indicate that the earth was not quite round, as he had assumed, but pear-shaped, and that his ships skirted a kind of "cosmic breast" rather similar to Dante's Mount Purgatory, at the top of which must exist the Garden of Eden. He believed that the strong, fresh-water currents from far out in the Gulf of Paria had their source in the four rivers which watered the Biblical garden. Moreover, all the evidence of his senses--the delightful climate, the luxuriant vegetation, the perfume of a thousand tropical flowers

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<sup>286</sup>Raleigh, p. 16.

<sup>287</sup>Raleigh, p. 17.

--seemed to confirm speculations of the mind.<sup>288</sup>

In 1584 Captain Barlowe also wrote about the ideal life of the Indians in America. He said, "the people are most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the Golden Age."<sup>289</sup>

There was another trait of the Indians that was mentioned by the three authors I have compared here--that of sunworshipping which was mentioned earlier. Vespucci wrote, "They [the natives] asked us whence we came, and we gave them to understand that we came from heaven and that we were going to see the world; and they believed it."<sup>290</sup> Hythloday tells us that of the natives he met, "some worship the sun as god, others the moon."<sup>291</sup> and we remember that Caliban asked Stephano, "Hast thou not dropped from heaven?" and Stephano replied, "Out o' the moon, I do assure thee. I was the Man i' the Moon when time was." Caliban then says, "I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee . . . I will kiss thy foot. I prithee be my god."<sup>292</sup>

There is evidence, then, as I have begun to show, that the forces of discovery, geography, factual accounts

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<sup>288</sup>Charles L. Sanford, The Quest for Paradise (University of Illinois, Urbana, 1961), p. 39.

<sup>289</sup>Raleigh, p. 60.      <sup>290</sup>Vespucci, p. 18.

<sup>291</sup>More, p. 70.      <sup>292</sup>The Tempest, 2. 2. 142-5, 154.

of the voyages, and fictional references to the discoveries, were intertwined and inseparable. The interdependence becomes even more pronounced in the second half of the century, as do the reflections of the voyages in Shakespeare's plays.

PART II

THE CONTINUATION OF THE STORY OF DISCOVERY  
AND SHAKESPEARE

## CHAPTER II

### THE VOYAGES TO RUSSIA AND AFRICA

#### Trade is Established with Russia

The reigns of Edward VI, young son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, and Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, were marked by religious, political, and economic unrest. The events of this period which have a bearing on this study were the voyages of Sir Hugh Willoughby and his successors in search of the Northeast Passage, the opening of trade with Russia, and the expeditions of English merchants to the Gold and Ivory Coasts of Africa. These expeditions were an attempt to find more lucrative trading routes than those already in existence, and are important to this study because first, they were stepping stones to the eventual colonization of America, and second, they are reflected in Shakespeare's plays.

There were several conflicting forces that caused the chaos of this period. While foreign trade had been falling off drastically, manufacturing was developing rapidly. As a result, there were in the towns an ever-growing population of artisans who were suffering from hunger and unemployment and a richer-growing group of

wealthy merchants who were accumulating capital partly as a result of the influx of precious metals from America. A Venetian observer stated that there were many members of the Merchants Adventurers and Staplers' *Companie* worth from *f*50,000 to *f*60,000 each. This figure is probably exaggerated, but mercantile wealth was certainly on the increase.<sup>1</sup> There were then two extremes: poverty and hunger for the poor and extravagant living and luxury for the wealthy.

Thomas More called life "a conspiracy of the rich" against the poor and said, "To make this wretched poverty worse, wanton luxury is yoked to it."<sup>2</sup> In Henry VIII, the contrast between poverty and luxury is described. The Duke of Norfolk says:

. . . upon these taxations,  
The clothiers all, not able to maintain  
The many to them longing, have put off  
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who  
Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger  
And lack of other means, in desperate manner  
Daring the event to the teeth,<sup>3</sup> are all in uproar,  
And danger serves among them.<sup>3</sup>

Queen Katharine describes the "conspiracy":

The subjects' grief  
Comes through commissions, which compel from each  
The sixth part of his substance, to be levied  
Without delay; and the pretence for this  
Is named, your wars in France: this makes bold  
mouths:  
Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts  
freeze  
Allegiance in them; their curses now  
Live where their prayers did: and it's come to  
pass,

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<sup>1</sup>Short History, p. 81. <sup>2</sup>More, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>1. 2. 31-7

That tractable obedience is a slave  
To each incensed will.<sup>4</sup>

Under Edward VI, the need for employment on the one hand, and the availability of money to invest on the other hand, forced the search for new outlets for English trade to advance rapidly. Far-sighted investors began to send expeditions out to find some of the world-commerce until now monopolized by Spain and Portugal.<sup>5</sup>

It was primarily the London merchants who supported the search for a northern passage to Tartary, Cathay, and the Spice Islands. In Twelfth Night, Sir Toby Belch says to Olivia, "My lady's a Cataian," meaning, topically, an investor in the Cataian venture. Hakluyt gives a description of the situation in England at the time as written by Clement Adams, "Schoolemaster to the Queenes henchmen as he received it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler."<sup>6</sup>

At what time our Marchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about us, and neere unto us, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memories of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their owne portes, and all foreigne Marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certain grave Citizens of London, and men of great wisdome, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselves, howe this mischiefe might be remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their

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<sup>4</sup>1.2.56-62      <sup>5</sup>Short History, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Hakluyt, 1:266.

desire, for the avoyding of so great an inconvenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingales, by the discoverie and search of newe trades and Countreys was marvellously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolved upon a newe and strange Navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowned, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discoverie of the Northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travaile to Newe and unknowen kingdomes.<sup>7</sup>

A factor sometimes overlooked in connection with the western lands is that England's interest in America was, from the start, incidental. The immediate concern was with finding a northeast passage which would offset Spain's advantage of a prospering West Indian trade, and Portugal's of having a route by the Cape of Good Hope to the rich spiceries of the East.<sup>8</sup> Williamson explains how Solyman the Magnificent's advance in the Mediterranean during the early and middle sixteenth century cut off English trade in the Mediterranean and forced England to seek a new trade route.<sup>9</sup>

In The Merchant of Venice, the Prince of Morocco swears "By this scimitar, / That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince / That won three fields of Sultan Solyman."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Hakluyt, 1:266.      <sup>8</sup>Cawley, p. 275.

<sup>9</sup>Short History, p. 49.      <sup>10</sup>2. 1. 26-8



Fig. 18. Sultan Solyman. From  
 Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

In 1553 a strong syndicate, financed by nobles, ministers of state, and the most prominent merchants of England, was formed for the purpose of discovering a route to Cathay by the northeastern seas, or failing this, to any other country with which trade could be opened up by English merchants.<sup>11</sup> The group, under the title of "The mysterie and Companie of the Merchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknown."<sup>12</sup> was incorporated by a charter granted by Edward VI, in which Article 20 provided for the King to have a share of the profits. Sebastian Cabot was appointed Governor. The Admiral was to submit all important matters to the Council of Twelve, in which he had a double vote, for decision. The Council consisted of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain-general; Richard Chancellor, pilot-general; George Burton, head merchant; James Delabere, gentleman; and the masters and mates of the three ships. No better planned and equipped expedition had ever before left an English port on a voyage of discovery.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Mildred Wretts-Smith, "The English in Russia During the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fourth Ser. 3:72-102, (London, 1920).

<sup>12</sup>William Samuel Page, The Russia Company from 1553 to 1660 (London: Brown, 1911), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Maritime, pp. 318-21.



FIG. 19. Sir Hugh Willoughby. The portrait at Wollaton Hall, from the plate in Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Glasgow edition, vol. II, frontispiece. By courtesy of Lord Middleton.

The fleet of three ships departed 10 May 1553 from Ratcliff. King Edward was not there to see them off because he was ill and not long after their departure he died.<sup>14</sup>

On 2 August they arrived at the Senjen Island in the sea off the north coast of Norway, sighted Nova Zembla, which they named Willoughby Land, and later came to Varda, at 72° latitude, which was the farthest outpost of European civilization in the northeast. A sudden and violent storm arose which separated Willoughby's Bona Speranza and the Bona Confidentia from Chancellor's Edward Bonaventure. Willoughby reached Moller Bay on 14 August 1553. When he found his ship was leaking he tried to find his way to the coast of Norway. After uncertain wandering he entered the River Arzina and decided to winter there.<sup>15</sup> In 1554 a Russian fishing ship discovered the missing ships anchored in the mouth of the Arzina River in Lapland. They were full of merchandise, but the crews, numbering eighty-three persons, were all frozen to death. Sir Hugh Willoughby died in the act of writing his journal.<sup>16</sup>

Chancellor and his crew arrived at length at the entrance to the White Sea. After penetrating the Bay of

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 317.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 318-21.

<sup>16</sup>Nicholas Casimir, Baron de Bogorishevsky, "The English in Moscovy during the Sixteenth Century," in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London, 1878) 7:58.

Mezen, they came upon a Russian fishing boat. Both the crew of the English ship and the group of Russian fishermen were shocked to see each other. This meeting marked the beginning of friendly relations and trade between England and Russia. Chancellor and several of his men traveled by sleigh to Moscow, where they were cordially received by Ivan IV, Tsar of Moscow and Russia.<sup>17</sup> This voyage was described as the discovery of Russia and Moscow, which were thought to be in Asia, and were reached for the first time and for many years afterwards by the new English route from the Arctic Circle.<sup>18</sup>

When Chancellor returned to England the following spring, he found Edward VI had died and Mary was now on the throne. His reports of Russia made such a profound impression and aroused so much curiosity that he wrote his "Booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia, and Duke of Moscovia, and of the dominions orders and commodities thereunto belonging."<sup>19</sup> Chancellor's account of Russia was full of useful information about the products and markets of Russia, its civil and military administrations, and the manners, customs, religion, and social life of its inhabitants. The Tsar sent with Chancellor

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<sup>17</sup>Maritime, pp. 324-5.

<sup>18</sup>J. D. Rogers, "Voyages and Exploration: Geography: Maps," in Shakespeare's England an Account of the Life and Manners of his Age 2 vol. (Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1917), 1:179.

<sup>19</sup>Bogorishevsky, p. 64.



Fig. 20. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

a letter to the English sovereign inviting Englishmen to trade with Russia and promising them his protection and complete freedom to buy and sell.<sup>20</sup>

Chancellor's return with news of a new outlet for English trade created great excitement in commercial circles. Anyone with money to invest was eager to help in the development of the trade with Russia. As a result, the Russia Company, the first of the great English joint stock companies for foreign trade, was founded and expeditions were sent to Russia in 1555, 1556, and 1557.<sup>21</sup>

English merchants who invested in these expeditions had a far greater influence upon the policies and future destiny of England and her colonies than is commonly realized. They determined the moral tone of the nation to the same extent that statesmen and courtiers did, if not more so.<sup>22</sup> When the mercantile syndicates which backed the expeditions were organized, the English tradition of representative government took its place in these affairs as naturally as the sailors took to sea. The constitutions of the Old Merchant Adventurers, of the Staplers, and of the various merchant guilds, were the models used by the Russia Company. There was a Governor, four consuls and twenty-four assistants to the Governor, all to be elected yearly by the shareholders.

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<sup>20</sup>Maritime, p. 326.

<sup>21</sup>McCann, pp. 104-5.

<sup>22</sup>Short History, p. 82.

The Governor, consuls, and assistants were to have full administrative powers over the merchants of the company. The habits of thought which they kept alive were undoubtedly a factor in preventing England from becoming an absolute monarchy after the example of her Continental neighbors.<sup>23</sup> These same principles were later transported and established in the American colonies.

In February 1555 Philip and Mary granted a fresh charter of incorporation to the "Merchants Adventurers." Sebastian Cabot was confirmed life-governor with a council of four consuls and twenty-four assistants to be chosen annually from the members. An expedition of two ships sailed from London at the end of May under the command of Chancellor. They followed the same route they had taken in 1553. Their cargo was unloaded at St. Nicholas and Chancellor again set out for the capital. He was well received as before, and the Tsar agreed that two factories should be established at Kholmogori, on the Dvina River, and at Vologda, about two hundred miles north of Moscow. The Tsar granted certain privileges to the Englishmen, such as, freedom from tolls and customs and freedom from arrest. Chancellor spent the winter in Russia with the merchants' agents, but his ships sailed back to England.<sup>24</sup>

The next year (1556) three vessels under the command of Stephen Borough were sent out to again search for a

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<sup>23</sup>Maritime, pp. 326-7.      <sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 328-9.



Map 7. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

northeast passage. After many months of search, the expedition had to stop and winter at Kholmogori and their plans for seeking a northeast passage were abandoned.<sup>25</sup>

Two trading vessels which were sent out in the same year reached St. Nicholas and unloaded their cargoes, after which the extra men that had been brought along set out to search for Willoughby's ships and brought them back to St. Nicholas. Richard Chancellor joined the four ships on their return trip with a Russian ambassador, Osep Nepea, Governor of Vologda, and twenty-six other Russians. They also had with them a great quantity of Russian goods. The voyage back to England was a tragic disaster. There were violent storms in which the Bona Confidentia was dashed to pieces on the rocky coast of Norway; the Philip and Mary struggled into the Port of Trondheim and stayed there until the next spring; the Bona Speranza, separated in the fog from the rest, was never heard from again; and the Bonaventure, after encountering a succession of terrible gales, was wrecked in the Bay of Pitsligo off Scotland. Chancellor lost his life saving the ambassador. The ambassador and nine other members of his party survived, as did several of the crew.<sup>27</sup> Chancellor's death was a great loss to England. He had made the success of the new company and of the first dealings with Russia possible.

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 328-9.      <sup>26</sup> Bogorishevsky, p. 68.

<sup>27</sup> Maritime, p. 333.

The Russian ambassador was given a magnificent reception in London. On 25 March 1556 Osep Nepea met with the Queen and Philip and the terms of a treaty were drawn up. However, negotiations between England and Russia were really one-sided since the subjects of the Tsar were not likely to come to London to trade. The real value of Osep Nepea's visit was to open up interchange of hospitality between the two countries. Osep Nepea returned to Russia in the spring of 1557 with a fleet of four ships sent out by the company under the admiralship of Captain Anthony Jenkinson.<sup>28</sup>

The business of the Russia Company was now firmly established. There were three factories and three agents in Russia, as well as merchants, apprentices, and craftsmen. Manufactured goods, instead of raw materials, were exported in order to save freight. A regular mail service was established through Poland and Danzig. By now the search for a passage to Cathay had been discontinued.<sup>29</sup>

The basic importance of these northern trips to Russia and later from Russia to Persia, was that the power of the Papal Bull was being challenged for the first time. Indirectly then this was the first step toward American colonization.

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<sup>28</sup>Maritime, pp. 333-6.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 337.



Map 8. From Shakespeare's England.

Williamson emphasizes that:

Philip, by giving his full countenance and support to the north-eastern discoveries, had tacitly admitted that the papal division of the globe was not by him considered as extending to the Arctic regions. Once the literal interpretation of the great bull was broken down, it was impossible to say where the line should be drawn, and the way was prepared for the retreat of Spain from an untenable position to the more reasonable one of maintaining her monopoly only in the lands already colonized by her.<sup>30</sup>

Jenkinson, in his later voyages, traveled from Kholmogori to the neighborhood of Baku and the Caucasus, then to Tabriz and Kazvin, where he saw the Shah or, as he was commonly called, the Sophy of Persia. Besides being mentioned in the above quotation from The Merchant of Venice, the Sophy is referred to in Twelfth Night, when Fabian says, "I will not give my part of this sport for a pension of thousands to be paid from the Sophy."<sup>31</sup>

The information on Russia that was most informative was in Giles Fletcher's Of the Russe Commonwealth, written in 1589. Fletcher had been sent to Russia as ambassador in June 1588 and remained until the summer of 1589. On his return he completed his tract which is a detailed account on every aspect of Russian life. In one instance he wrote:

One other speciall recreation is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or nets, and are kepte in barred cages for that purpose, against the

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>2. 5. 181-2



Fig. 21. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

Emperour be disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where he is to quite himselfe so well as he can: for there is no way to flie out. When the Beare is turned loose he commeth vpon him with open mouth.<sup>32</sup>

Macbeth says, "Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,"<sup>33</sup> and the Duke of Orleans shouts, "Foolish curs, that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear, and have their heads crusht like rotten apples!"<sup>34</sup>

Living in Russia was thought of as dragging out one's existence in intolerable cold and the stories of the intensity of that cold were ludicrous and incredible. Fletcher was probably the one chiefly responsible for setting this impression of a thoroughly frozen Russia.

The whole cuntrye in the winter lyeth vnder snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yarde or two thicke, but greater towards the north. The riuers and other waters are all frozen vp a yarde or more thicke, how swifte or broade so euer they bee. And this continueth commonly fiue moneths, vz. from the beginning of Nouember till towards the ende of March, what time the snow beginneth to melte. In the extremitie of winter, if you holde a pewter dishe or pot in your hand, or any other mettall . . . your fingers will friese faste vnto it, and drawe of the skinne at the parting. . . . Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very markets, and streats of their townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop dōwne in the streates, many trauellers brought into the townes sitting dead and stiffe in their sleddes. Diuers lose their noses, the tippes of their eares, and the bals of their cheeks, their toes, feete, &c. Many times when the winter is very harde and extreame the beares and woolfes issue by

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<sup>32</sup>Giles Fletcher, The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder (Madison, 1964), p. 297.

<sup>33</sup>3. 4. 99.

<sup>34</sup>H5 3.7.141-3

troupes out of the woodes driuen by hunger and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde.<sup>35</sup>

Fletcher said the cold in Russia was so intense that "the sharpness of the ayre you may judge by this: for that water dropped downe or cast vp into the ayre, congealeth into Ise before it come to the ground."<sup>36</sup>

It became common for writers to refer to "the frozen North" or "the frozen climate of the North." This is the tradition in which Shakespeare wrote when Mercutio speaks of "the frozen bosom of the north,"<sup>37</sup> and when the Prince of Morocco is willing to match his southern blood with any rival "creature northward born, where Phoebus' fire scarce thaws the icicles."<sup>38</sup> and when the French Princess says, "Twenty adieus, my frozen Muscovits."<sup>39</sup> When Fabian says, "You are now sail'd into the north of my lady's opinion; where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard"<sup>40</sup> he is referring to "that terrible voyage of Barentz [a Dutchman] and his company, for the discovery of the Northeast Passage, by the back-side of Nova Zemla."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Fletcher, p. 175.      <sup>36</sup>Fletcher, p. 176.

<sup>37</sup>ROM 1. 4. 101      <sup>38</sup>MV 2. 1. 4-5

<sup>39</sup>LLL 5. 2. 262      <sup>40</sup>TN 3. 2. 262

<sup>41</sup>Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 71.

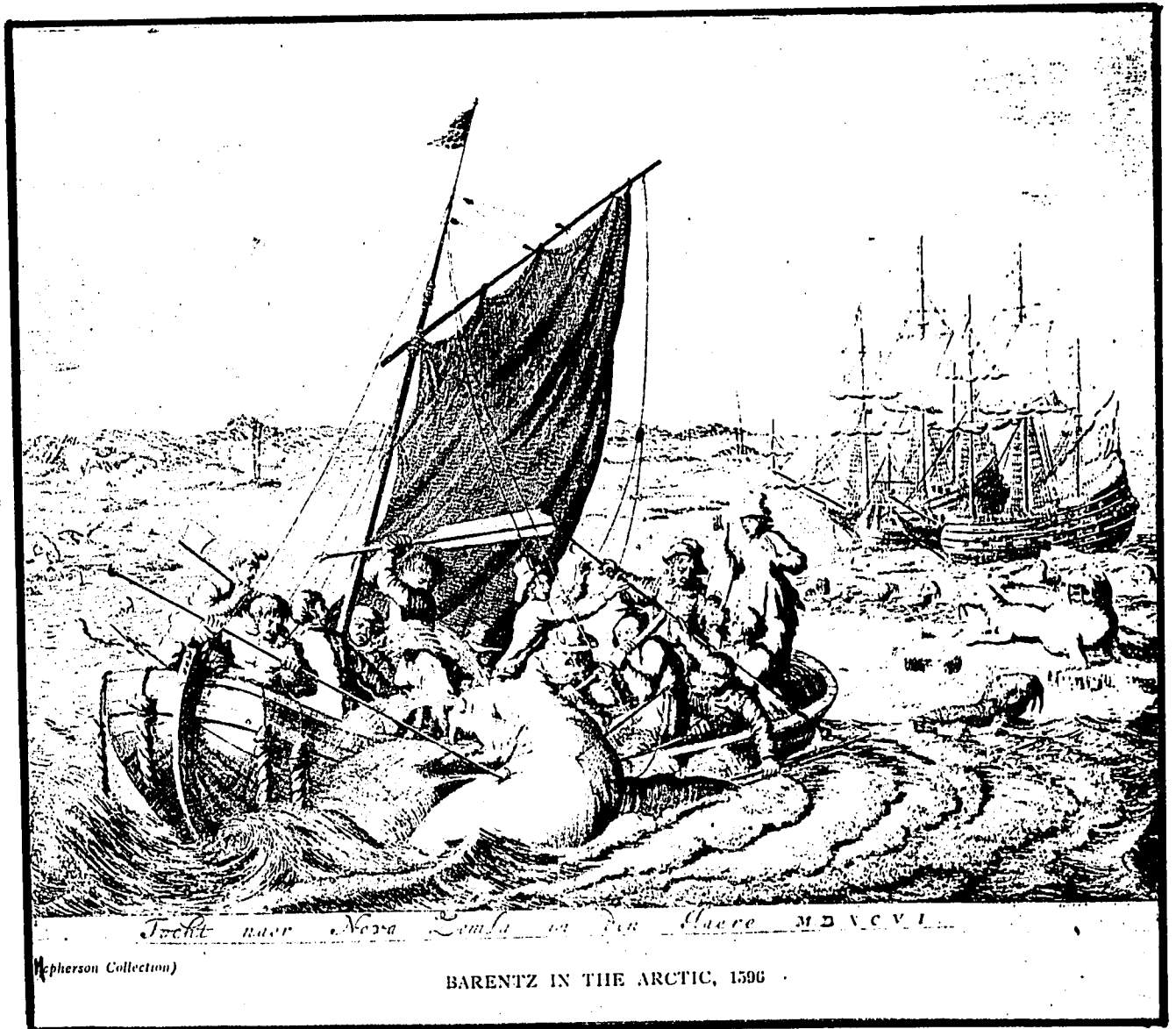


Fig. 22. From Bowen's The Sea: Its History and Romances.

The people in the north were regularly associated with sleds. "The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, never goeth out of his house in the winter, but upon a sled."<sup>42</sup> "You shall meet in the morning," wrote Chancellor, "seven or eight hundred sleds coming or going thither," and in that country there are "people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage."<sup>43</sup> Horatio says:

Such was the very armour he had on  
When he th' ambitious Norway combated;  
So frown'd he once, when, in an angry parole  
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.<sup>44</sup>

Fletcher wrote that the Polacks were Russia's "neighbors with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre."<sup>45</sup> Sugden says that in Hamlet "Norway is represented as being at war with Poland," which is "quite unhistorical."<sup>46</sup>

In another aspect of the same subject, Dromio of Syracuse refers to the fat kitchen wench's greasy clothes and says, "the tallow in them, will burn a Poland winter,"<sup>47</sup> and the impatient Angelo says about the Clown's tedious ramblings, "this will last out a night in Russia, / When nights are longest there."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Hakluyt, 1:417.

<sup>43</sup>Hakluyt, 255, 276.

<sup>44</sup>HAM 1. 1. 60-4

<sup>45</sup>Fletcher, p.246.

<sup>46</sup>Edward H. Sugden, A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists (Manchester: University Press; London, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), p. 415.

<sup>47</sup>ERR 3. 2. 97-8

<sup>48</sup>MM 2. 1. 134-5

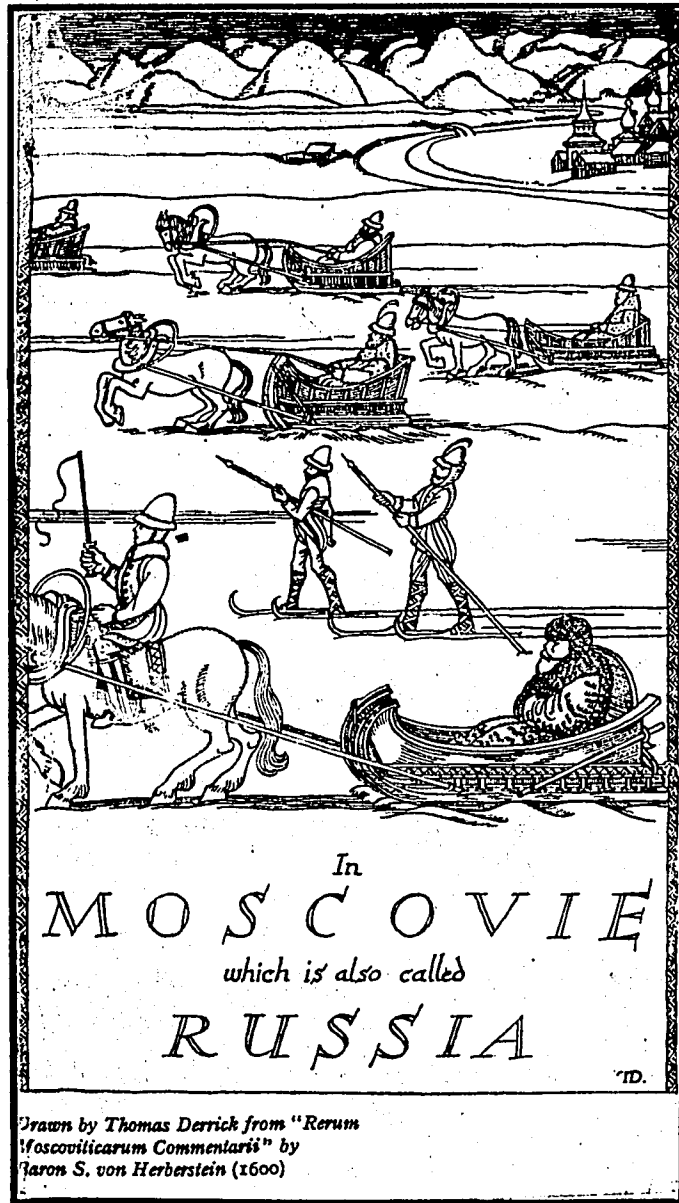


Fig. 23. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

The element of cold in the North seemed to have a special appeal to Shakespeare. Henry Bolingbroke says, "O, who can hold a fire in his hand / By thinking of the frosty Caucasus?"<sup>49</sup> and Prospero says, "To run upon the sharp wind of the north, / To do me business in the veins o' the earth . When it is baked with frost."<sup>50</sup>

In his writing, Fletcher made some comments about the Russians that were very uncomplimentary, such as:

For as themselues are verie hardlie and cruellie dealte withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiors, so are they as cruell one against an other, specially, ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest Christianoe (as they call him) that stoupeth and croucheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage. By this means the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder.<sup>51</sup>

We can see why the merchants of the Russia Company did not like Fletcher's book, claiming it gave offense to the Russians and would "turne the companie to some great displeasure with the Emperour and endaunger boeth their people and goodes now remyninge there."<sup>52</sup> Some authors<sup>53</sup> have assumed that as a result of the Russia Company's petition to Lord Burghley, he ordered The Russe Commonwealth to be suppressed, but there seems to be no evidence in

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<sup>49</sup>R2 1. 3. 295      <sup>50</sup>TMP 1. 2. 254-6

<sup>51</sup>Fletcher, p. 305.      <sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>53</sup>Cawley, for one, p. 254.

in any official records that would corroborate such an assumption. However, Lloyd E. Berry recently discovered a letter that indicates the Russia Company's petition was successful. On sig. Ar. of The Russe Commonwealth in Trinity College, Cambridge, a Mr. W. Dallye wrote:

To my worthy and ever honoured friend Mr. Palmer Esquire secretary to the right honourable the Lord Keeper.

I signified in Mr Hackeltes letter what is now really done by Mr. Stirropp, who now by his soone preventeth what I premised. The booke was called in and rare, and therefore I pray you be carefull of it.

Tuissimus  
W. Dallye<sup>54</sup>

Berry says, " 'The Lord Keeper' is probably Sir John Puckering, who was appointed to this position on 28 May 1592. 'Mr. Stirropp' refers to Thomas Stirropp, a bookseller in London, 1576-60, and Warden of the Stationers Company 1593-94."<sup>55</sup>

Fletcher's book, though banned by Lord Burghley, was later honored by being included, in part, in Hakluyt and in Purchas. J. D. Rogers comments, "It is difficult to follow the gist of Hakluyt's narrative without being turned aside by Shakespearian echoes or echoes of echoes."<sup>56</sup>

To return to the subject of Russia, The Winter's Tale presumably takes place in a pre-Christian era, when Russia was uncivilized and had no emperor. Nevertheless,

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<sup>54</sup>Fletcher, p. 53.      <sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>56</sup>Rogers, p. 177.

Hermione says she is the daughter of the Emperor of Russia.<sup>57</sup> As was said before, Shakespeare was not concerned with historical realism. In his plays he kept the story world and the real world side by side. S. L. Bethell wrote:

The characters in the story [The Winter's Tale] are seen as contemporary and relevant to us: they 'talk our language.' This is literally true, for the Gentlemen in Act V, scene ii, for example, are a parody of the courtiers' jargon which Shakespeare had already ridiculed in a series of characters from Don Armado in Love's Labour's Lost to Osric in Hamlet.<sup>58</sup>

To accomplish his purpose Shakespeare saw none of his characters or references as "out of place." When he wrote his plays, friendship and trade had been well established with Russia, therefore it was perfectly natural for him to mention Russia. Such mention was a reflection of the times.

In Measure for Measure, the Duke is supposed to have traveled to Poland<sup>59</sup> and "Some say he is with the Emperor of Russia."<sup>60</sup> In All's Well that Ends Well, Parolles says, "I know you are the Musko's regiment; / and I shall lose my life for want of language."<sup>61</sup>

In Love's Labour's Lost, in the fifth act, the maskers come in and they are "appareled thus, / Like Muscovites or Russians."<sup>62</sup> Rosaline may be thinking of the

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573. 2. 119

<sup>58</sup>Samuel Leslie Bethell, The Winter's Tale, A Study (London & New York: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), p. 29.

<sup>59</sup>1. 3. 14      <sup>60</sup>3. 2. 85      <sup>61</sup>4. 1. 67-8

<sup>62</sup>5. 2. 120

Russian ambassador's rough voyage on the Bonaventure when she says, "Why look you so pale? / Sea-sick, I think, coming from Moscovy."<sup>63</sup> Certainly after that rough voyage, when the Ambassador and his compatriots almost lost their lives, they must have been somewhat disheveled when they came to London, and Rosaline says the maskers are "Disguised like Muscovites, in shapeless gear."<sup>64</sup> There are other references to "Russian habit"<sup>65</sup> and to a "rugged Russian."<sup>66</sup>

Sir Sidney Lee in writing about Love's Labour's Lost, said:

The general description given of the Russians in the play corresponds so closely with the accounts published in 1591 by Giles Fletcher, one of Elizabeth's envoys, that we are inclined to believe that Shakespeare was acquainted with him (he was John Fletcher's uncle), and either saw the book before its publication or otherwise became acquainted with its contents. Their 'rough carriage' seems an echo of Fletcher's words, 'for the most part they are vn-weldy and uvactiue withall,' and Rosaline's remark, 'well-liking wits they have; gross gross; fat fat,' seems a reminiscence of the statement 'they are for the most part of a large size and of very fleshy bodies, accounting it grace to be somewhat gross and burly.'<sup>67</sup> On the whole, these events and these descriptions seem better able to account for Shakespeare's introduction of the Russians than anything that has been hitherto suggested.<sup>68</sup>

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635. 2. 393-4      645. 2. 302      655. 2. 368, 401

665. 2. 447      67 Fletcher, p. 300.

<sup>68</sup>Sir Sidney Lee quoted in The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Love's Labour's Lost (Phila.: J. B. Lippincott, 1904), pp. 347-8.

Fletcher wrote that Russia:

is bounded Northward by the Lappes and the North Ocean. On the Southside by the Tartars, called Chrimes, Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrie on the East side of Volgha, toward the Caspian sea. On the West and Southwest border lieth Lituania, Liuonio and Polonia.<sup>69</sup>

Of the Lapps, he says that "the whole nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcery, they passe all nations of the world."<sup>70</sup> Since it was believed that "all evils rise out of the north"<sup>71</sup> it was natural that witches were localized in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Finland. But their real home was Lapland.<sup>72</sup> "Those as Farre North in Lapland are held the most notorious Witches in the world."<sup>73</sup> They are what Shakespeare had in mind when the bemused Antipholus of Syracuse finds himself confused with Antipholus of Ephesus and declares that "Sure, these are but imaginary wiles, / And Lapland sorcerers inhabit here."<sup>74</sup> Giles Fletcher told this story:

The Samoyt, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea . . . hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as the Cannibals, eating one another . . . . As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, . . .

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<sup>69</sup>Fletcher, p. 173.      <sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>71</sup>Sir Richard Barckley, A Discourse of the felicitie of man, or, his sumum bonum (London: W. Ponsonby, 1598), p. 327.

<sup>72</sup>Cawley, p. 250.      <sup>73</sup>Peacham, quoted by Cawley, 327.

<sup>74</sup>ERR 4. 3. 10-11

that being demaunded by the Priest, giueth them certeyne Oracles, . . . Onelie in the Prouince of Obdoria vpon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes . . . where the Obdorian Somortes vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practice their sorceries, and ominous coniecturings . . . 75

On this passage, J. D. Rogers comment, "Withches are common: but the combination of one witch and one child are rare, so that perhaps Sycorax and her 'hog-seed' Caliban may be far-off reflections of the Golden Hag and her child."<sup>76</sup>

There are other parts in Shakespeare's plays that have the sound of Fletcher's writing. For instance, where Fletcher says, "Nowe as the Sea before a Storme doeth swell,"<sup>77</sup> and Shakespeare says, ". . . as by proof we see / The water swell before a boist'rous storm."<sup>78</sup>

Russia was bordered "on the Southside by the Tartars, called Chrimes, Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar." As a geographical term Tartary was used vaguely by the Elizabethans for the part of Asia north of the Caucasus and Himalayas. The Tartars were generally referred to in defamatory terms. One of the characteristics of the Tartars or, Tatars, as it should be

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<sup>75</sup>Fletcher, p. 258.      <sup>76</sup>Rogers, p. 182.

<sup>77</sup>Fletcher, p. 131.      <sup>78</sup>R3 2. 3. 43-4

spelt, that was much discussed and written about was their physical ugliness. Yvo of Narbona spoke of their

having flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their upper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their foreheads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke.<sup>79</sup>

Sigismund Liber wrote, "They are men of meane stature, with broade and fat faces, holowe eyde, with roughe and thyck beardes, and poulde heades."<sup>80</sup> Fletcher reported that

for person and complexion they haue broad and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke fearse and cruel lookes, thin haired-vpon the vpper lippe, and pitte of the chinne.<sup>81</sup>

It is not surprising to find Lysander crying to Hermia: "Out, tawny Tartar!"<sup>82</sup> and to find among the ingredients in the cauldron that make up the witches' brew in Macbeth, are "Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips."<sup>83</sup> Under the common name "Tartars" were also included the Mongols and the Turks. The Duke of Venice speaks of "stubborn Turks and Tartars."<sup>84</sup>

There was a general stigma about the northern countries which held that the people were primitive and crude, that they were

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<sup>79</sup>Hakluyt, 1:92

<sup>80</sup>First Three English, p. 327.

<sup>81</sup>Fletcher, p. 254.

<sup>82</sup>MND 3. 2. 262

<sup>83</sup>4. 1. 29

<sup>84</sup>MV 4. 1. 35-6

a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of God's anger, overrunneth, and utterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword.<sup>85</sup>

Since the cruelty and savagery of the Tartars was proverbial, the Duke of Venice says the Turks and Tartars were "never train'd / To offices of tender courtesy."<sup>86</sup> In All's Well that Ends Well, Helena says, "Gratitude / Through flinty Tartar's bosom would peep forth / And answer, Thanks."<sup>87</sup> When the Duke of Venice speaks of the "stubborn Turks and Tartars," he, too, speaks of their "hearts of flint."<sup>88</sup> This reference to the "flinty Tartar" may have come from Fletcher's report of the "yere 1571":

. . . he came as farre as the citie of Mosko, with an armie of 200000. men, without any battaile, or resistence at all, for that the Russe Emperour (then Iuan Vasilowich) leading foorth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. . . . The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the building (which is all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, saue certein out roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the cities almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30. miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streates, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mightie throng, and so pressing euery man to pruent another, wedged themselues so fast within the gate, and streetes neare vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower; so that there perished at that time (as was sayd) by

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<sup>85</sup>Hakluyt, 1:90.      <sup>86</sup>MV 4. 1. 35-6.      <sup>87</sup>4. 4. 7

<sup>88</sup>MV 4. 1. 32

the fire and the presse, the number of 800000 people, or more,<sup>89</sup>

Throughout the plays there are reminders of how cruel the Turks and Tartars were. In The Merry Wives of Windsor, the Host refers disparagingly to Simple as a "Bohemian-Tartar."<sup>90</sup> And in King Henry the Fourth Part I, we read that "Turke-Gregorie never did such deeds in armes as I have donethis day."<sup>91</sup> The New Variorum Edition has the following comment:

Shakespeare must mean Hildebrand, who assumed the name Gregory VII . . . Fox, in his Booke of Martyrs, tells terrible stories of this Hildebrand . . . Fox had made this Gregory so odious that I don't doubt that good protestants were well pleased to hear his tyranny publicly remarked on, and to hear him characterized as uniting the attributes of their two great enemies, the Turk and the Pope, in one. (Warburton, ed. 1747) The Turk was reputed fierce and cruel; and Hildebrand . . . merited the epithet. (Cowl, ed. 1914).<sup>92</sup>

In 1586 Jerome Horsey wrote, "These things . . . grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians, called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe . . . came out of his owne country."<sup>93</sup> The Scythians were also linked with the Tartars. In Titus Adronicus, Chiron says, "Was ever Scythian half so barbarous?"<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Fletcher, p. 247.      <sup>90</sup>4. 5. 21

<sup>91</sup>5. 3. 45

<sup>92</sup>New Variorum Edition: King Henry the Fourth Part I, ed. Samuel Burdett Hamingway, p. 314.

<sup>93</sup>Hakluyt, 2: 276.      <sup>94</sup>1. 1. 131

And King Lear speaks of the "barbarous Scythian."<sup>95</sup>

We are again reminded of Turkish cruelty in King Henry the Fourth Part II, when the King says, "This is the English, not the Turkish Court,"<sup>96</sup> meaning it is not the court where the prince that mounts the throne puts his brother to death.<sup>97</sup> Othello tells us that "a malignant, and a Turbond-Turke / Beate a Venetian, and traduc'd the State,"<sup>98</sup> and Pistol uses the term, "Base Phrygian Turk!"<sup>99</sup> The Arden Edition says, "Perhaps 'Phrygian' is attached as an intensive because the Phrygians were particularly war-like."<sup>100</sup>

In Much Ado About Nothing, Margaret says, "Well, and you be turn'd Turke, there's no more fayling by the starr."<sup>101</sup> Margaret here refers to the success of the trick that has been played on Beatrice, who, if she be not utterly changed in her nature, and therefore, in love, there's no sure guide on earth or in the heavens. Hamlet uses the same phrase: "If the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me,"<sup>102</sup> The expression "turn Turk" means to change condition fantastically. Fletcher gives several examples of the Turk dissembling:

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<sup>95</sup>1. 1. 116      <sup>96</sup>5. 2. 42

<sup>97</sup>Variorum Edition, p. 404.      <sup>98</sup>5. 2. 353

<sup>99</sup>MW 1. 3. 84      <sup>100</sup>Arden Edition, p. 27

<sup>101</sup>3. 2. 276      <sup>102</sup>3. 2. 276

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parole, and sende many flattering messages to persuade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but beyng once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostilitie, and crueltie. This they doo vppon a rule they haue, vz: that Iustice is to be practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, werevnto hauing once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict, they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enimie into it if they can. . . . The Turke commonly when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth awaie his weapon, offereth both this handes, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tyed: hoping, to saue his life, by offering himselfe ~~to~~ <sup>103</sup> bonds laue.

When King Henry says, "Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,"<sup>104</sup> he is referring to the custom of the Turks of having a slave's tongue removed to prevent his betraying royal secrets.<sup>105</sup>

Besides their cruelty, the Tartars were known for their reputation as outstanding fighters, most especially, they were excellent archers.

Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the Russe manner saue that they are all horsemen, and carrie nothing els but a bow, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion."<sup>106</sup>

Their extraordinary adroitnes on horseback gave them their reputation as invincible fighters. "They are very expert horsemen, and use to shoote as readily backward, as forward."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>Fletcher, p. 250.      <sup>104</sup>H5 1. 2. 232

<sup>105</sup>Yale Shakespeare The Life of Henry the Fifth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), p. 143.

<sup>106</sup>Fletcher, p. 248      <sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

In Romeo and Juliet, Benvolio says that though he and Romeo and Mercutio are maskers, they will need no "Cupid hoodwinkt with a scarf, / Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath,"<sup>108</sup> and in A Midsummer Night's Dream, Puck promises Oberon to perform his mission instantly, "Swifter than arrow from the Tartar's bow."<sup>109</sup>

The Russians and Tartars were constantly at war. The king or emperor of Tartary was called Cham or the Great Cham (from the Turkish Khan or Chagan, meaning Lord).

The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar (whom some call the Great Cham) that lieth South, and South-eastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the Countrie by inuasions, commonly once euey yeare, sometimes entering very farre within the inland parts.<sup>110</sup>

In Much Ado About Nothing, Benedick says that, rather than face Beatrice,

I will go on the slightest errand now to the Antipodes that you can devise to send me on; I will fetch you a toothpicker now from the furthest inch of Asia; bring you the length of Prester John's foot; fetch you a hair off the great Cham's beard; do you any embassage to the Pigmies; rather than hold three words' conference with this harpy.<sup>111</sup>

In this one speech we hear about the Antipodes of America, the distance of Asia, the king of Ethiopia or Abyssinia (where legend says Prester John ruled), the emperor of the Tartars, and a group of people in Africa. Distance and travel are again brought up when King Henry says, "If that same demon that hath gull'd thee thus / Should

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<sup>108</sup>1. 4. 5

<sup>109</sup>3. 2. 101

<sup>110</sup>Fletcher, p. 246.

<sup>111</sup>2. 1. 253-61

with his lion-gait walk the whole world, / He might return to vasty Tartar back."<sup>112</sup>

The original name Tatar probably picked up the extra 'r' from the name Tartarus which, according to Homer, was a prison as far below Hades as Hades is below the earth, where Zeus confined the Titans after their rebellion. Later writers used it as the name of the place of punishment for the wicked.<sup>113</sup> Therefore, when, in Twelfth Night, Sir Toby says, "To the gates of Tartar, thou most excellent devil of wit."<sup>114</sup> he is referring to a place of evil, whether he means Tartary or the gates of hell, or perhaps both in one word. The same is true of King Henry when he says the devil "might return to vasty Tartar back / and tell the legions, 'I can never win / A soul so easy as that Englishman's"<sup>115</sup> And Dromio says of his master in The Comedy of Errors, "He's in Tartar limbo, worse than hell."<sup>116</sup> The Arden Edition says, "The jest is that the clown Dromio takes 'Tartar limbo' to mean the hell of the Tartars or Mohammedans, and so worse than the Christian hell."<sup>117</sup>

On 21 September 1589 Fletcher wrote a letter to Lord Burghley describing the first day after his arrival in Moscow. He says:

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<sup>112</sup>H5 2. 2. 122      <sup>113</sup>Sugden, p. 502. <sup>114</sup>2. 4. 225

<sup>115</sup>H5 2. 2. 124      <sup>116</sup>5. 2. 32

<sup>117</sup>The New Cambridge Shakespeare quoted in the Arden Edition, p. 69.

When I had audience of the Emperour, in the verie entrance of my speech, I was cavilled withall by the Chauncellour, bycawse I saied not forth the Emperours whole stile, which of purpose I forbare to doe, bycawse I would not make his stile of two ellnes, and your Highnes stile of a span long, having repeated the first and principall parts of it, and giving him the titles of great Lord, Duke and Emperour of all Russia, King of Cazan, King of Astracan &c. I answered him that the Emperour was a mightie Prince, and had manie Countries which straungers could not, nor wear not bound to know, that I repeated the principall of his stile, to shew my honour to the rest. But it would not serve till all was repeated.<sup>118</sup>

In King Henry the Sixth Part I, Joan La Pucelle says,

The Turk, that two and fifty kingdoms hath,  
Writes not so tedious a style as this.  
Him that thou magnifiest with all these titles,  
Stinking and fly-blown, lies here at our feet.<sup>119</sup>

"Style" means titles added to a name, and adding two hundred and fifty titles to the Turk's name would certainly be as tedious to Joan La Pucelle as it was to Fletcher.

The references in the Canon to Russia, Moscow, Tartars, Turks and Chams have not been exhausted in this chapter, but there is enough here to indicate that these references were not coincidences and that this part of our story of the voyages was reflected in the plays. They all follow the course of allusions, in that they have nothing to do with the content of the play but were of interest to Shakespeare's audience for their topical interest..

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<sup>118</sup>Fletcher, p. 368.

<sup>119</sup>4. 7. 73-6.

The Voyagers Go to Africa

At the mid-point of the sixteenth century, while trade was being established with Russia, the growing resentment in Englishmen toward the Spanish and Portuguese monopolistic claims was increasing, and Africa became the next target for testing the strength of the Papal Bull. There is some evidence of tentative probings for trade in Africa as early as 1548.<sup>120</sup> However, regular trade with Africa did not begin until 1551 when a partnership of London merchants sent Thomas Wyndham, in command of the Lion of London, to Santa Cruz, a port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. He did some trading there and returned with a cargo of sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses.<sup>121</sup> He also brought back two Moors of noble blood. This was the first of a series of regular trading voyages to Africa. Wyndham sailed on his second voyage to the Barbary Coast the following year with three ships and 120 men. He had with him James Thomas, on whose description of the voyage Hakluyt based his rendition.

This fleete departed out of King-rode neere Bristoll about the beginning of May 1552, being on a Munday in the morning: and the Munday fortnight next ensuing in the evening came to an ancker at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Asafi on the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our marchandise to be conveied by land to the citie of Morocco: which being done, and having refreshed our selves with victuals & water,

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<sup>120</sup>John William Blake, Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1942), Ser. 2, No. 87, pp. 301-2.

<sup>121</sup>Short History, p. 82.

we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, jet, and divers other well accepted by the Moores.<sup>122</sup>

In August 1553 a syndicate of London merchants sent Wyndham on his third voyage. With him was Antonio Pinteado who had served for many years as a pilot on voyages from Lisbon to Guinea and Brazil. Now an outcast from his own country, he had offered to guide an English fleet to the dangerous, but nevertheless, the richest and most secret preserves of the Portuguese crown. Since Portugal claimed exclusive rights on the African coast, the undertaking proceeded in a furtive and clandestine manner, in hopes of not being sighted. After touching on the Grain Coast (Liberia) and the Ivory Coast, they landed on the Gold Coast where they obtained 150 pounds of gold.<sup>123</sup>

But our men . . . sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the castle pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was with the river of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side and beyond it, for the gold of that country, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, there being in case that they might have dispatched all their ware for gold, if the untame braine of Windham had, or could have given eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado.<sup>124</sup>

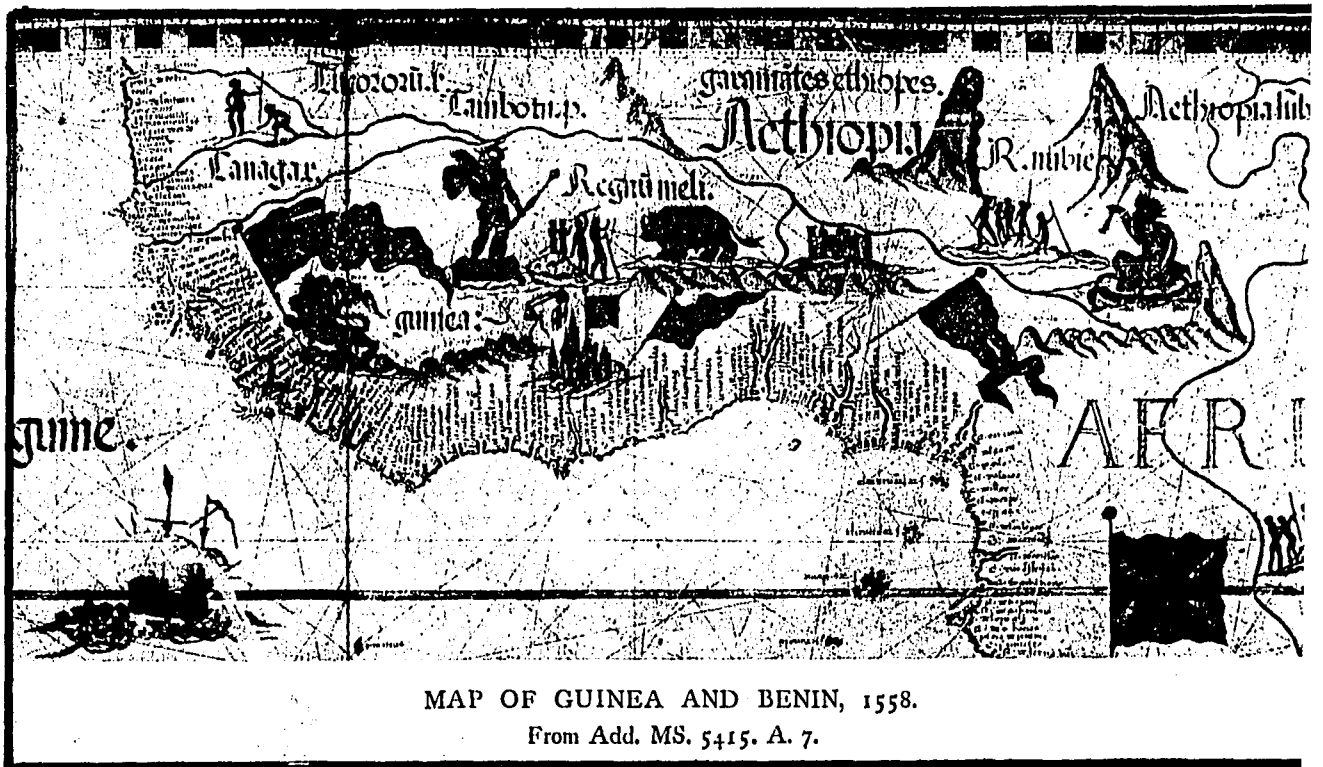
The fleet then moved eastward on the Benin River (probably the Niger) where they traded for eighty tons of peppers. Here a terrible epidemic broke out, with four or

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<sup>122</sup>Hakluyt, 4:33-4.

<sup>123</sup>Short History, pp. 83-4.

<sup>124</sup>Hakluyt, 4: 41.



MAP OF GUINEA AND BENIN, 1558.  
From Add. MS. 5415. A. 7.

Map 9. From Williamson's Maritime Enterprises.

five men dying each day. Wyndham was one of the men who died. Reduced to half their number, the remaining men made a frenzied departure. After a week out, Pinteado died and of the 140 men who had set forth, forty men arrived in Plymouth.<sup>125</sup>

In spite of the large number of casualties, the 150 pounds of gold made the expedition a commercial success.

In The Merchant of Venice, one of Portia's suitors is the Prince of Morocco. He says all the world desires Portia.

From the four corners of the earth they come,  
 To kiss this shrine, this mortal-breathing saint:  
 The Hyranian deserts and the vasty wilds  
 Of wide Arabia are as throughfares now  
 For princes to come view fair Portia:  
 The watery kingdom, whose ambitious head  
 Spits in the face of heaven, is no bar  
 To stop the foreign spirits; but they come,  
 As o'er a brook, to see fair Portia<sup>126</sup>

Travel from the four corners of the earth had become a frequent subject of discussion by now. The North African prince selects the box which symbolizes what most travelers were searching for--gold, the most valuable of all metals. But inside the box he finds a skull and a warning against putting any faith in outward appearances. He has been deceived as many searchers for gold in Africa, and later in America, would be. He has been deceived because:

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<sup>125</sup>Short History, p. 84

<sup>126</sup>2. 6. 39-47



*Portia.* Goe, draw aside the curtaines, and discover  
The severall Caskets to this noble Prince:

**Fig. 24.** The Merchant of Venice, Act II, sc. vii.  
From The Comedies Histories and Tragedies of Wil-  
liam Shakespeare, The Limited Editions Club.

All that glisters is not gold,--  
 Often have you heard that told:  
 Many a man his life hath sold  
 But my outside to behold:  
 Gilded tombs do worms infold.  
 Had you been as wise as bold,  
 Young in limbs, in judgement old,  
 Your answer had not been inscrollid,  
 Fare you well; your suit is cold.<sup>127</sup>

Again Shakespeare is mocking the universal impulse for the pursuit of gold, the impulse that motivated so many of the voyagers. When Pistol announces Hal's accession with "I speak of Africa and golden joys,"<sup>128</sup> he may be referring specifically to the gold trade of the western coast of Africa.

Future voyagers, remembering the disaster, confined themselves to the Guinea coasts, left Benin alone, and avoided the extreme heat of the hinterland. The heat of the African deserts were proverbial.

Yet is is not colde, but rather smothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to live as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell.<sup>129</sup>

In Troilus and Cressida, Ulysses says, "And we were better parch in Afric sun / Than in the pride and salt scorn of his eyes."<sup>130</sup>

The vast expanse of the African deserts made them seem very lonely places. Hakluyt wrote about "Many uninhabitable deserts, continuing for the space of five dayes

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<sup>127</sup>MV 2. 7. 65      <sup>128</sup>2H4 5. 3. 99

<sup>129</sup>Hakluyt, 4: 60.      <sup>130</sup>1. 3. 370-1

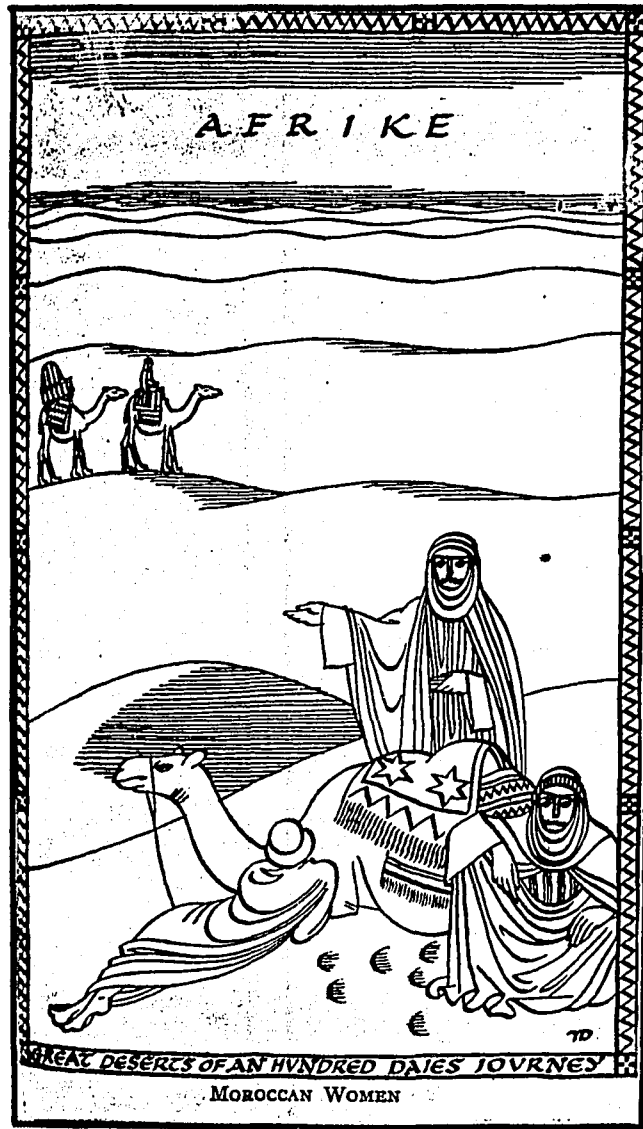


Fig. 25. Afrike: Moroccan Women. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

journey," and of "great deserts of an hundred daies journey."<sup>131</sup> In Cymbeline, Shakespeare seems to use Afric as a synonym for 'desert.' Imogen says she wishes Posthumus and Cloten might fight it out "in Afric," where no one would separate them, implying that her husband would surely get the better of Cloten if there was no one around to interfere.<sup>132</sup>

The reports and the information supplied by Penteado on the voyage of 1553 were of supreme importance to English navigation in Africa. The commercial possibilities that had been revealed caused a strong syndicate to be formed. In October 1554, they sent out a fleet of five vessels under the command of John Locke.<sup>133</sup>

They brought from thence at the last voiage foure hundred pound weight and odde of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finenesse: also sixe and thirtie butts of graines, & about two hundred and fifty Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh above the knee, and weyed about fourescore and ten pound weight a peece.<sup>134</sup>

Elephants became closely associated with Africa since the voyagers always seemed to refer to them, describing in detail their size, their slow gait, their eating habits, and how they were caught. In Troilus and Cressida, Alexander says of Ajax he is "slow as an elephant."<sup>135</sup> In the next act Ulysses refers scathingly to

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<sup>131</sup>Hakluyt, 4:39.      <sup>132</sup>1. 1. 167

<sup>133</sup>Maritime, pp. 284-5.

<sup>135</sup>1. 2. 21

<sup>134</sup>Hakluyt, 4:54.

obstinate, sulky Achilles: "The elephant hath joints, but none for courtesy: his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure."<sup>136</sup> This a reflection of the contradictory reports that were circulated by the voyagers about the elephant's legs not having joints. One legend had it that the way to trap an elephant was "to saw a tree almost in two, a tree against which he habitually rubbed himself; the hunters then easily captured him when he pushed over the tree and could not get up because he had no joints."<sup>137</sup> This method of capturing elephants was disputed by some writers. Pigafetta in his Report of the Kingdom of the Congo (1591) wrote:

They are captured by drawing them into deep trenches in parts where they are accustomed to feed. These trenches are narrow at the bottom, and larger above, so that the animals cannot help themselves, and when leaping forward, fall down again. Earth, grass, and leaves are covered over these trenches, which act as a blind, and the animals passing over them fall into the trap.<sup>138</sup>

This new information supplied by Pigafetta is reflected in Julius Caesar, when Decius Brutus says he will lure Caesar out of the Capital because he likes to hear such stories as how elephants may be trapped with holes.

. . . for he loves to hear  
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,  
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,<sup>139</sup>  
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers.

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<sup>136</sup>2. 3. 105-7.    <sup>137</sup>Siculus, in Cawley, p. 72.

<sup>138</sup>Filippa Pigafetta, A Report of the Kingdom of the Congo and of the Surrounding Countries: Drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of the Portuguese, Duarte Lopez, tr. Margarite Hutchinson (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 47.

Before Locke returned in July or August of 1555, Portugal had lodged an angry protest to these intrusions. Queen Mary lent a sympathetic ear since she had just married Philip of Spain on 25 July 1554. Had Edward VI lived, and had he married Elizabeth of France as had been planned, the story of discovery might have taken a different turn. The death of Edward and the succession of Mary had the effect of making England an ally of Spain.<sup>140</sup> Philip used his influence with Mary to get her to submit to Portugal's demands. On 18 July 1555 the Privy Council sent instructions to the authorities of London and Bristol to stop all voyages to Guinea until further orders. Philip's influence was obvious. If English merchants ignored Portugal's claim to sole ownership of Africa, the Papal Bull would be proven a document of no consequence and Philip's claims in America would also be threatened. What Philip feared was exactly what happened. It was left to private merchants, who might have been sent to the gallows for their acts, to defy the bull of Alexander VI and to assert the right of Englishmen to sail all the seas and do business in all lands.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup>2. 1. 205-8

<sup>140</sup>Edward John Payne, ed. Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen: Select Narratives from the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), xxv.

<sup>141</sup>Maritime, pp. 287-9.

When the Council, afraid to defy Philip, commanded the merchants not to enter any dominion of the King of Portugal or of any other prince without his permission, they obeyed. They did not land in any town or fortress that belonged to the King of Portugal; they dropped anchor off the coast and let the inhabitants come out to them. Even then, they did not trade with them until they were assured they were not subjects of the King of Portugal. They also obtained a trading license from the King of Bynne and left three merchants in his country to study the trading situation.<sup>142</sup> His territory was on the coast of Guinea.

When it was learned that France was sending five ships on a trading voyage to Africa, the Council in London reversed its attitude and stood in favor of the rights of English merchants to make their voyages. Philip would not budge from his position and the Queen offered to make restitution to all merchants for the ware they had loaded onto their ships in preparation for their journeys. The Council's reluctant submission to Philip was a paper submission only. When large armed vessels were being manned and provisioned and laden with goods, the Council, the custom officers, and the port authorities looked the other way.<sup>143</sup> There is good reason to believe that many of the Privy councillors were themselves financially interested

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid.. p. 290.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 292.

in the voyages.<sup>144</sup> The claim to world-monopoly by the Peninsular powers was now definitely broken and the national instinct for expansion was at last fully aroused and could not be held back.

The great success of Locke's voyage encouraged more voyages and merchants continued to make preparations. One London merchant, William Towerson, made three voyages to the Guinea Coast between September 1555 and October 1558. Towerson, in his records, mentions passing other English ships on the Guinea coast, indicating that very little attention was being paid to official restrictions now.<sup>145</sup>

All Towerson's voyages were commercially successful despite battles with the Portuguese on each trip and the loss of lives and ships. Returning from his third voyage, Towerson's ship, with only six healthy men left on board, limped into the port at the Isle of Wight on 20 October 1558.<sup>146</sup>

As the years passed, the voyagers realized they were doing more and more fighting and less and less trading. This early series of Guinea voyages came to an end with George Fenner's expedition of 1566-7, which was a continuous conflict with the negroes and Portuguese, culminating

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<sup>144</sup>Short History, p. 86.

<sup>145</sup>Maritime, pp. 293-9.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., pp. 300-6.

in a desperate battle off the Azores.<sup>147</sup> The "sea-sorrow" rows<sup>148</sup> of these African voyages surpassed even those that Englishmen had experienced in the Arctic regions and trade with the West Coast of Africa ceased for the time being.

The Arctic voyages had at least been free from devastating wars, from which the African coasts were never quite free; and the hot, southern climate was even more deadly than war. The first Guinea voyage of 1553 reached Benin on the west of the Slave Coast, and "of seven score men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died."<sup>149</sup> In the Guinea voyage of 1554, twenty-four died. In the Guinea voyage of 1557 of the three ships only one returned with "not at present above 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we have of our men 21 dead, and many more very sore hurt and sicke."<sup>150</sup>

It can be seen why the African voyages stopped, but these early voyages determined the future destiny of England in international affairs. They proved beyond a doubt that the Portuguese were not able to enforce their claim to a monopoly. The question now arose as to whether Spain could, and it was not long before English voyagers turned to America and proved she could not.

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<sup>147</sup>Short History, p.93.

<sup>149</sup>Hakluyt, 4:44.

<sup>148</sup>TMP 1. 2. 170

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., 4:136.

To Elizabethans Africa meant chiefly the states on the southern coast of the Mediterranean--Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers. In The Tempest, Gonzalo declares, "Our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis."<sup>151</sup> Later Sebastian reproaches the King with having lost his daughter "to an African."<sup>152</sup>

Another name for northern Africa, along the Mediterranean, from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the sea to the Sahara Desert, was Barbary. Though trade with the western coast of Africa had ceased, the commercial venture with Barbary, which had started with Wyndham's voyage of 1551, was considerable and in 1558 the Company of Barbary Merchants was formed in London. There are several reflections of this trade in the plays. One of Antonio's ventures was to Barbary<sup>153</sup> and Prince Hal informs the stupid waiter about sugar, "In Barbary, sir, it cannot come to so much."<sup>154</sup> He is probably referring to the pennyworth of sugar which Francis has given him, and for which he has promised him one thousand pounds. Sugar would, of course, be cheap in Barbary.

Barbary was famous for its breed horse. "They are of excellent beauty, strength, and service."<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup>2. 1. 71      <sup>152</sup>2. 1. 125      <sup>153</sup>MV 3. 2. 272

<sup>154</sup>1H4 2. 4. 78      <sup>155</sup>Sugden, p. 46, quotes Heylyn.

In Hamlet, the King wagered "six Barbary horses" on Hamlet in his fencing-match with Laertes. In King Richard the Second, the groom tells how Bolingbroke rode into London on Richard's "Roan Barbary."<sup>156</sup> In Othello, Shakespeare did not have far to reach for a bit of local color when he made Iago convey to Brabantio the unwelcome news of Desdemona's rashness: "You'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse,"<sup>157</sup> that is, the Moor Othello.

In As You Like It, Rosalind promises Orlando, "I will be more jealous of thee than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen."<sup>158</sup> There is a certain black variety of pigeon called a Barb. And we are told that the men of Barbary are "implacable in hatred, constant in affection." Indeed, the jealousy of the Moors was well-known.<sup>159</sup> So that a Barbary cock-pigeon is a doubly effective symbol of jealousy. And of course Othello was a striking example of a jealous Moor. The Barbary hen, on the other hand, is a particularly harmless and inoffensive bird. Hence, in King Henry the Fourth Part II, Falstaff says, "Pistol will not swagger with a Barbary hen, if her feathers turn back with any show of resistance."<sup>160</sup>

Still another African fowl is referred to when

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<sup>156</sup>5. 5. 78      <sup>157</sup>1. 1. 112      <sup>158</sup>4. 1. 151

<sup>159</sup>Sugden, p. 351.      <sup>160</sup>2. 4. 108

Iago says, "Ere I would say I would drown myself for the love of a guinea-hen, I would change my humanity with a baboon."<sup>161</sup>

The word "barbarian" was used both in the sense of an inhabitant of Barbary and also in the Greek sense of one of a foreign nation who speaks a language not understood in civilized lands, or in the country of which the speaker is a native. Iago speaks of Othello as "an erring barbarian."<sup>162</sup> --a wandering stranger--though, of course, Othello was a Barbarian, or Moor, in the limited sense as well. Coriolanus wishes the crowds "were barbarians," that is, strangers in Rome.<sup>163</sup> And in Troilus and Cressida, Thersites says to Ajax, "thou art bought and sold among those of any wit, like a barbarian slave,"<sup>164</sup> meaning Ajax is a stranger among men more intelligent than he.

The places in Barbary most frequently alluded to in Shakespeare's day were Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Algiers is the city that is associated with Caliban's dam, Sycorax.<sup>165</sup> Shakespeare seems to have Barbary on his mind in The Tempest. In addition to Algiers, he mentions Carthage and the King of Tunis. Adrian says, "She was of Carthage, not of Tunis," and Gonzalo answers, "This Tunis, sir, was Carthage."<sup>166</sup> The confusion probably arises from

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<sup>161</sup>OTH 1. 3. 317      <sup>162</sup>1. 3. 363      <sup>163</sup>COR 3. 1. 238  
<sup>164</sup>2. 1. 51      <sup>165</sup>TMP 1. 2. 258      <sup>166</sup>2. 1. 79-81

the fact that Tunis is a city on the north coast of Africa about ten miles from the site of ancient Carthage, and Carthage was an ancient Phoenician city on what is now the Bay of Tunis.<sup>167</sup>

In A Midsummer Night's Dream, Hermia swears "by that fire which burned the Carthage queen / When the false Trojan under sail was seen";<sup>168</sup> In The Merchant of Venice, Lorenzo croons, "In such a night / Stood Dido with a willow in her hand / Upon the wild sea banks, and waft her love / To come again to Carthage";<sup>169</sup> and in The Taming of the Shrew, Lucentio says to Tranio she is to him "as secret and as dear / As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was."<sup>170</sup> In the same play, Pedant says he will travel "as far as Rome; / And so to Tripoli."<sup>171</sup>

Morocco is a country in northwest Africa which was in ancient times called Mauretania. Iago says that instead of returning to Venice, Othello "goes into Mauritania, and takes away with him the fair Desdemona,"<sup>172</sup> meaning Othello would be returning to his native Africa, specifically Morocco. When the Company of Barbary Merchants was founded in London in 1588, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to Morocco who was well received. The inhab-

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<sup>167</sup>Sugden, p. 102.      <sup>168</sup>1. 1. 173      <sup>169</sup>5. 1. 12

<sup>170</sup>1. 1. 153-5      <sup>171</sup>4. 2. 76      <sup>172</sup>4. 2. 224

itants were a mixed race of Berbers and Moors with a strong infusion of Jews. The Elizabethans regarded them as black.<sup>173</sup> In The Merchant of Venice, when the Prince of Morocco is announced as one of Portia's suitors, she says, "If he have the condition of a saint and the complexion of a devil, I had rather he should shrive me than wive me."<sup>174</sup> Portia is voicing her prejudice against the color of the Prince's skin.

Libya, the general name among the ancients for North Africa, is also mentioned. In Anthony and Cleopatra, Caesar included Bocchus, King of Libya, amongst the allies of Antony.<sup>175</sup> In this, Shakespeare follows Plutarch, but Bocchus, who was King of Mauritania, was faithful to Octavian, while Bogud, his brother, went over to Antony.<sup>176</sup> In A Winter's Tale, Florizel pretends that Perdita "came from Libya," and was the daughter of the warlike Smalus, King of Libya.<sup>177</sup>

Libya was hot and sandy, and the Syrtes, or quicksands of the coast, were well known terrors to sailors. In Troilus and Cressida, Nester avers that were Achilles' brain "as barren / As banks of Libya"<sup>178</sup> he could scarcely be unaware that Hector's challenge was

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<sup>173</sup>Sugden, p. 354.      <sup>174</sup>1. 2. 131-3

<sup>175</sup>3. 6. 69      <sup>176</sup>Sugden, p. 307.      <sup>177</sup>5. 1. 157

<sup>178</sup>1. 3. 328

directed at him.

The Canary Islands are a group of islands off the north-west coast of Africa where a well known wine is produced. Heylyn says, "Canarie wines fume into the head less, please the palate more, and better help the natural weakness of a cold stomach, than any other wines whatsoever."<sup>179</sup> And Hakluyt also commented, "This island hath singular good wine."<sup>180</sup> In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Host says, "I will to my honest knight Falstaff and drink Canary with him."<sup>181</sup> Quickly tells Falstaff that he has brought Mrs. Ford "into such a canary as is wonderful."<sup>182</sup> She is using a more familiar word for one that she doesn't understand, viz. quandary; just as, a little further on, she uses aligant, the name of another wine, for elegant. In Twelfth Night, Sir Toby says, "Thou lackest a cup of Canary; when did I see thee so put down?"<sup>183</sup> To which Sir Andrew replies; "Never in your life, I think; unless you see Canary put me down." In King Henry the Fourth Part II, the Hostess says to Doll, "You have drunk too much canaries; and that's a marvellous searching wine, and it perfumes the blood ere one can say 'What's this?'"<sup>184</sup>

Another section of Africa which received attention was Ethiopia, a term used vaguely for the whole of Africa

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<sup>179</sup>Quoted by Sugden, p. 95      <sup>180</sup>Hakluyt, 5:26.

<sup>181</sup>3. 2. 89      <sup>182</sup>2. 2. 60      <sup>183</sup>1. 3. 85

<sup>184</sup>2. 4. 26-9

south of Egypt and the Sahara desert. What impressed the Elizabethans most was the blackness of the Ethiopians' skin; and, as Elizabeth was blond, to have a dark complexion and hair was regarded as a blemish in a woman, and to call one an Ethiopian was a distinct insult. Shakespeare was fond of the term and used it several times. Sometimes it was merely a literal allusion, as in Pericles, when Thaisa speaks of the Spartan knight's shield bearing the device of "a black Ethiop reaching at the sun."<sup>185</sup> Other times it is a term denoting ugliness, as in Much Ado About Nothing, when the repentant Claudio says that he will hold to his agreement to marry unseen the niece of Leonato, "were she an Ethiope."<sup>186</sup> And Lysander's order to the perplexed Hermia, "Away, you Ethiope!"<sup>187</sup> is intended to convey biting scorn. Cawley says:

In a euphuistic age, particularly fond of chiaroscuro, the image of contrast was naturally seized upon. Shakespeare has two such cases: one occurs in Love's Labour's Lost where Dumain addresses his beloved, 'Thou for whom Jove would swear Juno but an Ethiop were';<sup>188</sup> another, in Two Gentlemen where Proteus declares, 'And Silvia--witness Heaven, that made her fair!--Shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiope.'<sup>189</sup><sup>190</sup>

Romeo also uses the term when he describes his fair love as hanging upon night's cheek like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear.<sup>191</sup>

The tendency went so far that Ethiop became

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<sup>185</sup>2. 2. 18-20

<sup>186</sup>5. 4. 38

<sup>187</sup>MND 3.2. 257

<sup>188</sup>4. 3. 114-5

<sup>189</sup>2. 6. 25-6

<sup>190</sup>Cawley, p. 86.

<sup>191</sup>1. 5. 48-9

almost a synonym for black. Thus Rosalind in As You Like It, speaking of the words in Phebe's letter, calls them "Such Ethiopie words, blacker in their effect / Than in their countenance."<sup>192</sup> The whiteness by contrast of the teeth of black people with their skin is referred to in The Winter's Tale: "his hand as white as. . . Ethiopian's tooth."<sup>193</sup> In Love's Labour's Lost, the King says satirically in connection with Biron's love, "Ethiops of their sweet complexion crack."<sup>194</sup> The Ethiopians actually did boast of their beauty. "The Ethiopians," wrote Martyr, "think black a more beautiful color than white."<sup>195</sup>

Hakluyt wrote:

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowen in old time, and severed from Asia, on the East by the river Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores.<sup>196</sup>

Originally, a Moor meant an inhabitant of Mauretania, in northwest Africa; then its use was extended to include the mixed Berber and Arab stock who lived in the same area. The Moors were spoken of as black up to the seventeenth century and the word was often used as an equivalent of negro, a term which was derived from the Niger River. Sometimes the phrase Black-a-Moor was used, as when Pandarus says, in Troilus and Cressida, "I care not an she were a black-a-moor; 'tis all one to me."<sup>197</sup>

<sup>192</sup>4. 3. 35-6      <sup>193</sup>4. 4. 375      <sup>194</sup>4. 3. 265

<sup>195</sup>De orbe novo, 2:39.      <sup>196</sup>Hakluyt, 4:38.

<sup>197</sup>1. 1. 80

An instance where negro and Moor are synonymous occurs in The Merchant of Venice, when Lorenzo says to Launcelot, "I shall answer that better than you can the getting up of the negro's belly; the Moor is with child by you."<sup>198</sup>

Hakluyt continues:

Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Jalofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the Black Moores, called Aethiopians or Negroes, all which are watered by the river Negro called in old times Niger.<sup>199</sup>

Heylyn describes the people of this region as "of a duskish colour, comely of body, stately of gait, implacable in hatred, constant in affection, laborious and treacherous."<sup>200</sup> In Titus Andronicus, the villain of the piece is "Aaron the damn'd Moor."<sup>201</sup> He has a "fleece of woolly hair";<sup>202</sup> he is "a coal-black Moor";<sup>203</sup> his child by Tamora is "a blackamoor, as loathsome as a toad / Amongst the fairest breeders of our clime";<sup>204</sup> "a black slave";<sup>205</sup> and "a thick-lipped slave."<sup>206</sup> Aaron speaks of himself as "a black dog."<sup>207</sup> He is "barbarous,"<sup>208</sup> "irreligious"<sup>209</sup> and "misbelieving."<sup>210</sup> And because Aaron is a Moor, there is "venomous" malice in his swelling heart.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>198</sup>3. 5. 43-4

<sup>199</sup>Hakluyt, 4:37.

<sup>200</sup>Sugden, p. 351.

<sup>201</sup>5. 3. 201

<sup>202</sup>2. 3. 34

<sup>203</sup>3. 2. 78

<sup>204</sup>4. 2. 67

<sup>205</sup>4. 2. 120

<sup>206</sup>4. 2. 174

<sup>207</sup>5. 1. 122

<sup>208</sup>5. 3. 4

<sup>209</sup>5. 3. 121

<sup>210</sup>5. 3. 143

<sup>211</sup>5. 3. 13

Othello is the "Moor of Venice." Roderigo calls him "the thick-lips";<sup>212</sup> Iago speaks of him as "a black ram"<sup>213</sup> and as "a Barbary horse."<sup>214</sup> Brabantio speaks of his "sooty bosom,"<sup>215</sup> and the Duke says to Brabantio, "Your son in law is far more fair than black."<sup>216</sup> Othello himself says, "Haply for I am black . . . she's gone"<sup>217</sup> and later, of Desdemona, "Her name . . . is now begrimed and black / As mine own face."<sup>218</sup>

When Cleopatra refers to herself as being pinched black by Phoebus' amorous pinches,<sup>219</sup> Shakespeare is using an established tradition of calling all Egyptians black and not distinguishing too sharply between one class of Africans and another.

The word Moor lends itself to puns, a fact which Shakespeare was not likely to overlook. In The Merchant of Venice, Launcelot says, "It is much that the Moor should be more than reason."<sup>220</sup> In Titus Andronicus, when the Nurse asks, "Did you see Aaron the Moor?"<sup>221</sup> Aaron answers, "Well, more or less, or ne'er a whit at all, / Here Aaron is."<sup>222</sup> A pun may be intended in Hamlet when Hamlet asks his mother, "Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed / And batten on this moor?"<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>212</sup><sub>1. 1. 66</sub>

<sup>213</sup><sub>1. 1. 88</sub>

<sup>214</sup><sub>1. 1. 110</sub>

<sup>215</sup><sub>1. 2. 70</sub>

<sup>216</sup><sub>1. 3. 291</sub>

<sup>217</sup><sub>2. 3. 263</sub>

<sup>218</sup><sub>3. 3. 7</sub>

<sup>219</sup><sub>ANT 1. 5. 28</sub>

<sup>220</sup><sub>3. 5. 42</sub>

<sup>221</sup><sub>4. 2. 52</sub>

<sup>222</sup><sub>4. 2. 53-4</sub>

<sup>223</sup><sub>3. 4. 67-8</sub>

Besides the countries and the people of Africa, many animals associated with the land rear their heads in the plays. Among those mentioned most often was the monkey which must have been one of Shakespeare's favorites. He must have frequently studied their antics in taverns, in private homes, and on the streets, where they were led by "ape-bearers."<sup>224</sup> He alludes to their chattering,<sup>225</sup> their busyness,<sup>226</sup> their anger,<sup>227</sup> their libidinosity,<sup>228</sup> and their "foreheads villainous low."<sup>229</sup>

Travelers also brought back stories of the rhinoceros which turns up in Macbeth when Macbeth bids Banquo's ghost to appear in any other form, however terrible, even as "the arm'd rhinoceros."<sup>230</sup>

As for the ostrich, the voyagers gave support to the old story that that bird eats iron. In 1481 William Caxton wrote, "The hostryche by his nature eteth well yron, and greueth him not."<sup>231</sup> Leo Africanus in his Description of Africa, vouched for the belief,<sup>232</sup> and

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<sup>224</sup>WT 4. 3. 93-4

<sup>225</sup>CYM 1. 6. 39-40

<sup>226</sup>MND 2. 1. 181

<sup>227</sup>MM 2. 2. 120

<sup>228</sup>OTH 3. 3. 404

<sup>229</sup>TMP 4. 1. 251 <sup>230</sup>3. 4. 100

<sup>231</sup>William Caxton, Mirroure of the World (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1913), Part II, 16:102.

<sup>232</sup>Joannes Leo Africanus, The history and description of Africa . . . Done in English in the year 1600 by John Pory (London, Hakluyt Society, 1896), 3:995.

in King Henry the Sixth Part II, the fugitive Cade, surprised in Iden's garden by the Lord, adopts a threatening attitude. "I'll make thee eat iron like an ostrich, and swallow my sword like a great pin."<sup>233</sup>

Over the years, legend, myth, and tradition had combined to give Africa the reputation of being the seat of magical properties and wonder-working drugs, as well as the home of serpents and monsters. According to one old conviction, the Egyptians guarded the key to the True Elixir till Diocletian burned their precious records.<sup>234</sup> Shakespeare has Cerimon in Pericles say hopefully over the supposedly-dead Thaisa, who has just been washed ashore in her coffin:

I heard  
Of an Egyptian that had nine hours  
    lien dead,  
Who was by good appliances recovered.<sup>235</sup>

Shakespeare may have known the legend of Diodorus who, in his account of Egypt, recorded that Isis "found out many medicines that would raise the dead to life, with which she . . . raised her son Orus, that was killed by the Titans."<sup>236</sup> In the same vein Othello charges his frightened wife:

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<sup>233</sup>4. 10. 24-8      <sup>234</sup>Cawley, p. 12.

<sup>235</sup>3. 2. 84-6

<sup>236</sup>Siculus Diodorus, The Bibliotheca Historica, tr. John Skelton (London, Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1956), 1:31.

That handkerchief  
 Did an Egyptian to my mother give;  
 She was a charmer, and could almost read  
 The thoughts of people<sup>237</sup>

"Mysterious Egypt, wonder breeder,"<sup>238</sup> "Africa, Mother of Monsters"<sup>239</sup>--these appellations probably arose from the strange collection of one-eyed, headless, or single-footed men whose portraits frequently embellished the medieval maps. Erasmus<sup>240</sup> gave forth an explanation, which Bacon later continued,<sup>241</sup> in which the strange creatures of Africa were a result of the scarcity of water, a condition which brought all kinds of animals together to the few watering spots that did exist. The animals, invigorated by their drink, coupled indiscriminately and, as a result, distorted creatures were born.<sup>242</sup> Ex Africa semper aliquid novi. The authors of the sixteenth century made little attempt, if any, to contradict the legends of old. "With reason is Africa called the Mother of Monsters" says Purchas.<sup>243</sup> In The Interlude of the Four

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<sup>237</sup>3. 4. 55-8

<sup>238</sup>Samuel Daniel, "The Tragedie of Cleopatra" in The Works of the English Poets (London: J. Johnson, 1810), 3:577.

<sup>239</sup>Viscount de Dantarem, Essai sur l'histoire de la cosmographie et de la cartographie pendant le moyen âge (Paris, 1849-52), 1:144.

<sup>240</sup>Cawley, p. 12.

<sup>241</sup>Francis Bacon, The Works of Francis Bacon (London, 1946), 2:492.

<sup>242</sup>Cawley, p. 68.

<sup>243</sup>Purchas, 7:368.

Elements, Experience has "seen strange things many one in Africa."<sup>244</sup> Hakluyt, writing about John Lock's voyage of 1544, said the interior of Africa had "divers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents"<sup>245</sup> and that "many things more might be said of . . . the wonders and monstrous things that are engendered in Africke."<sup>246</sup> He also wrote that there are serpents in Africa that drink the blood of elephants.<sup>247</sup> With such reports it is no wonder that Africa became known as "venomous Africa." The belligerent Volscian says to Coriolanus, "Not Afric owns a serpent I abhor / More than thy fame and envy."<sup>248</sup> In Cymbeline, Pesanio, sympathizing with the distraught Imogen, who has just read her husband's base and baseless charge, declares that slander "outvenoms all the worms of Nile."<sup>249</sup> According to the travelers, the Nile was the place where monsters and serpents were created in great numbers.

A very remarkable feature about the Nile is the annual rising of its waters, by which Egypt is fertilized. The rise begins in Cairo about the end of June, attains its maximum about the end of September, and then gradually subsides until it reaches its minimum

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<sup>244</sup>Rastell, p. 140.      <sup>245</sup>Hakluyt, 4:58.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid., 4:64.      <sup>247</sup>Ibid, 4:56.      <sup>248</sup>1. 8. 3-4

<sup>249</sup>3. 4. 37

level about the end of March, leaving the land covered with a fertile mud or slime.<sup>250</sup> In John Lyly's Campaspe, the Prologue includes: "It was a signe of famine in Egypt, when Nylus flowed lesse than twelve cubites, or more than eighteene." In Antony and Cleopatra, Antony says to Caesar:

Thus do they, sir: they take the flow o' the Nile  
By certain scales i' the pyramid; they know,  
By the height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth  
Or foison follow. The higher Nilus swells,  
The more it promises: as it ebbs, the seedsman  
Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,  
And shortly comes to harvest.<sup>251</sup>

The Arden Edition says, "Malone thinks Shakespeare got his information from Pory's translation of Leo's History of Africa (1600)." An excerpt follows:

Upon another side of the island standeth an house alone by itselpe in the midst whereof there is a four-square cesterne or channel of eighteen cubits deep, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine sluice under ground. And in the midst of the cisterne there is erected a certaine piller, which is marked and divided into so many cubits as the cisterne containeth in depth . . . If the water reacheth only to the fifteenth cubit of the said piller, they hope for a fruitful yeere following; but if it stayeth between the tenth and twelfth cubits, then it is a sign that corne will be solde ten ducates the bushel.<sup>252</sup>

Titus Andronicus says, "My grief was at the height before thou camest, / But now, like Nilus, it disdaineth bounds."<sup>253</sup> In Antony and Cleopatra, when Iras says of her own hand, "There's a palm presages chastity," Charmian

<sup>250</sup>Sugden, p. 367.      <sup>251</sup>2. 7. 17-23.

<sup>252</sup>Arden Edition ANT, p. 90.      <sup>253</sup>3. 1. 70-2

replies sarcastically, "E'en as the o'erflowing Nilus pre-  
sageth famine."<sup>254</sup>

It was generally believed that the slime left  
by the inundation produced serpents, rats, and other ver-  
min spontaneously. Cleopatra cries: "Melt Egypt into  
Nile! and kindly creatures / Turn all to serpents!"<sup>255</sup>  
A little later on she shrieks at the messenger who has  
brought her the bad news of Antony's marriage to Octavia:  
"So half my Egypt were submerged and made / A cistern for  
scaled snakes!"<sup>256</sup> In the final scene the guard says,  
"These fig leaves / Have slime upon them, such as the  
aspic leaves / Upon the caves of Nile."<sup>257</sup>

Another belief was that it was a result of the  
conjunction of the heat of the sun and the Nile's mud  
that spawned monsters.<sup>258</sup> John Donne wrote, "The suns  
hot Masculine flame / begets strange creatures on Niles  
durty slime."<sup>259</sup> In Shakespeare, we find Antony swear-  
ing, "By the fire, / That quickens Nilus' slime, I go  
from hence / Thy soldier, servant."<sup>260</sup> Later Lepidus  
says, "Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud by  
the operation of your sun: so is your crocodile."<sup>261</sup>

<sup>254</sup>1. 2. 47-8

<sup>255</sup>2. 5. 78-9

<sup>256</sup>2. 5. 94-5

<sup>257</sup>5. 2. 356

<sup>258</sup>Cawley, p. 49.

<sup>259</sup>John Donne, The Poems of John Donne (Oxford:  
Clarendon Press, 1912), 1:317.

<sup>260</sup>1. 3. 69-70

<sup>261</sup>2. 7. 30

In Hakluyt we find:

Southward also they reach the river Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the river of Nilus, forasmuch as it increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beasts as the Crocodile.<sup>262</sup>

It was quite customary at this time to classify the crocodile as a serpent. Topsell's History of Serpents, accepted then as authentic natural history, classified this animal in this way. When Hamlet defiantly challenges Laertes at Ophelia's grave to "eat a crocodile,"<sup>263</sup> he is following Diodorus in saying "their flesh is not eatable,"<sup>264</sup> that it is peculiarly repulsive. A note in the Arden Edition of Hamlet makes the point that this item as a revolting thing which Hamlet suggests to be eaten was probably even more revolting to the people of Shakespeare's day since they thought of the crocodile as belonging to the serpent family.

The Elizabethan, of course, could not resist putting oddities on exhibition and soon stuffed crocodiles could be seen in apothecary shops.<sup>265</sup> Thus Romeo, in a fatal moment, recalls one particular shop where he had gazed upon the length of one of these ugly monsters:

An alligator stuff'd and other skins  
Of ill-shaped fishes<sup>266</sup>

Alligators and crocodiles, which were not differentiated one from the other, received a great deal of

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<sup>262</sup>Hakluyt, 4:58.

<sup>263</sup>5. 1. 298

<sup>264</sup>Diodorus, 1:40.

<sup>265</sup>Cawley, p. 57.

<sup>266</sup>5. 1. 43-4

attention. A fable most often attached to the crocodile was that of its weeping.

If the Crocodile findeth a man by the brim of the water, or by the cliff, he slayeth him if he may, and then he weepeth upon him, and swalloweth him at the last . . . <sup>267</sup>

King Henry says, "as the mournful crocodile / With sorrow snares relenting passengers."<sup>268</sup>

Contrary to common belief, the ancients knew nothing of the crocodile's weeping. One of the earliest references occurred in De Proprietatibus Rerum (ca. 1250).<sup>269</sup> Erasmus included the myth in his Adagia<sup>270</sup> and Mandeville wrote, "These serpents [i.e. the 'cockodrills'] slay men, and they eat them weeping." The phrase is explained in A Brief collection out of Sebastian Münster (1574): "The teares of a Crocodile: That is when one doth weepe with eyes withoute compassion, and not with his hart and minde."<sup>271</sup>

In literature women suffered by being compared to the weeping crocodile. The traveler John Sparke alluded to the analogy between women and crocodiles having grown into proverb:

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<sup>267</sup>The Arden Edition: Antony and Cleopatra quotes from Bartholomew, p. 33.

<sup>268</sup>2H6 3. 1. 226-7      <sup>269</sup>Cawley, p. 53.

<sup>270</sup>Thomas Nashe, The Works of Thomas Nashe (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1958), 4:112.

<sup>271</sup>Nashe, p. 112.

His nature is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied unto women when they weepe, Lachrymae Crocodili, the meaning thereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceive, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth.<sup>272</sup>

Othello, in his painful outburst against the weeping Desdemona says, "If that the earth could teem with woman's tears, / Each drop she falls would prove a crocodile."<sup>273</sup>

Another creature associated with Egypt and the Nile was the asp. Cleopatra refers to the asp as "the pretty worm of Nilus that kills and pains not."<sup>274</sup> The painless nature of death by the asp was a detail taken from Plutarch,<sup>275</sup> a detail the voyagers did nothing to modify. Pisanio's words, mentioned above, "Outvenoms all the worms of the Nile,"<sup>276</sup> may be a reference to the asp.

Flies and gnats were also considered creatures of the Nile. Cleopatra prays, if she be false, that she and all her Egyptians may "Lie graveless, till the flies and gnats of Nile / Have buried them for prey."<sup>277</sup> In the last act she says, "Rather on Nilus' mud / Lay me stark-naked and let the water-flies / Blow me into abhorring."<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>272</sup>Hakluyt, 7:22.

<sup>273</sup>4. 1. 250-1

<sup>274</sup>5. 2. 242-3      <sup>275</sup>Lives, 4:129

<sup>276</sup>CYM 3. 4. 36-7      <sup>277</sup>3. 13. 166-7

<sup>278</sup>5. 2. 58-60

Cawley discusses how poets of the sixteenth century looked to the chroniclers for information and reflected this information in a fashion suitable to their own needs, which is exactly what it seems Shakespeare did many times.

In all this, Egypt occupied a very special place. The ancients had written extensively about it; and their information, combining with the Bible's, had endured. Diodorus and Pliny had devoted pages to Nile; Leo and Sandys were so disposed as to incorporate generous sections of their material. With these sections, however, they included plenty of new and interesting discoveries. And poets, following in their turn, were grateful both for what was new and for the confirmation of the old; they found both kinds most useful. The elephant lived for them both as a legendary animal and as a creature of flesh-and-blood. It did not even matter that, with their own eyes, they had beheld him bend his knee; they were, to put it differently, in that fortunate position where refutation was equally valuable with confirmation. Only the scientifically inclined writers of the period made any great attempt to distinguish sharply.

The poets continued to borrow from the chroniclers, and the voyagers continued to supply details and descriptions of the places they had been to for the chroniclers to record. Besides describing new lands and new people, the animals and vegetation of these lands, the most important result of the voyaging and chronicling was the vast amount of information that was learned about navigation. All this information fed the dreams of Englishmen with the wondrous possibilities that lay beyond the seas.

PART III

THE UBIQUITOUS SEA AND SHAKESPEARE

### CHAPTER III

#### DISTANCE, DANGER, DISPERSION, AND DELIVERANCE

The voyages to faraway places made the sea one of the most talked about subjects of Shakespeare's day. What took place on these voyages changed the history of the entire world and the importance of those men who chronicled these voyages cannot be overstated. The sea-histories of Martyr, Hakluyt, Eden, and the other chroniclers of the sixteenth century are as important, as works of discovery in literature, as the discoveries of Columbus, Vespucci, and their followers in the realm of history. They created a permanent record of the heroic actions of the adventurers.

It is said that Lief Ericson explored Labrador from Iceland about A.D. 1001. But the absence of any written record of the details of this voyage gives it a status almost in the sphere of mythology. Martyr, Eden, Hakluyt, and the other chroniclers rescued the voyages of the sixteenth century from a like fate. We can hardly, therefore, overestimate the value of these sea-histories.

The records of these sea voyages were probably available to Shakespeare and the evidence given here seems to indicate that he made use of this material, since there are numerous echoes of it in the words of the plays.

For instance, Hakluyt included in his works a poem that had been written about 1436, "Libel of English policie," which included the following:

Kept than the sea about in speciall,  
Which of England is the towne wall.  
As though England were likened to a citie,  
And the wall environ were the sea.  
Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:  
And than is England kept by Goddes hande.<sup>1</sup>

The passage is echoed in King Richard the Second:

England derives protection from the sea. She is  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall.<sup>2</sup>

Foster Watson wrote:

Here is the point of contact between Shakespeare and Hakluyt. Both are in love with their country and all that symbolises English nationality. . . . He [Hakluyt] devoted the absorbed passion of his life to the deeds of English seamen abroad--upon the seas and beyond the seas . . . This was Hakluyt's great work--to register these maritime achievements, and to fix them in the public mind. These records bit into the intelligence and sympathies of the master minds of the ages contemporary with and following Hakluyt. They became part of the English literary consciousness.<sup>3</sup>

Watson concludes, referring to Hakluyt:

No man of his age saw more clearly . . . the significance of the Elizabethan national sea-developments for the future of England . . . his spontaneity as a lover of noble sea-romance elsewhere as well as in connexion with his own beloved country attaches

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<sup>1</sup>Hakluyt, 1:201.

<sup>2</sup>2. 1. 46-7

<sup>3</sup>Foster Watson, Richard Hakluyt (London: Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 30.

to him the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin.<sup>4</sup>

Although the above refers to Hakluyt, it could also have been said about Shakespeare.

It is my intention to show how the plays of Shakespeare are washed with the sea, how they reflect the dangers and the tragedies so closely connected with sea voyages, and that sea-scenes and sea-similes are everywhere.

To an island country like England, there is little doubt of the importance of the surrounding oceans. Since all contact with foreign countries had to be conducted by means of ships, by necessity England was a nation conscious of the sea. However, the impact that the voyages of discovery eventually had on England and her literature must be recognized. From being situated in the "uppermost part of the earth," when the Mediterranean was the chief avenue of maritime commerce, as Ward says, she now found herself stationed in the current of movement between Europe and the New World--in the center of the newly-charted maps. Unless the psychological effect of this change upon the national character is recognized, the effect of the sea-faring exploits on Elizabethan literature in general, and on Shakespeare in particular, cannot be fully understood.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>5</sup>Bernard Mordaunt Ward, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604 from contemporary documents (London: J. Murray, 1928), p. 236.

Anne Teneer wrote:

It [Richard Tottel's "Songes and Sonnettes"] is interesting . . . as showing how far poetry was removed from the excitements of voyaging and exploration. Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen to death in 1553; Englishmen were beginning to take a more and more active share in sea enterprises, but contemporary poetry is occupied not with new feats in the physical world but with experiments in words, metres, images and conceits.<sup>6</sup>

In the works of other authors of Shakespeare's time--Kyd, Marlowe, Drayton, Daniel, Donne and Drummond--passages with imagery drawn from the sea increased somewhat. But it is in Shakespeare that the full influence of the sea is felt.

It is first in Shakespeare that we find a fuller consciousness of the deeper poetical significance and possibilities of the sea and the sea appearing not merely as an object to be described and capable of arousing this or that feeling but more and more explicitly as a symbol and a source of imagery to interpret deeper experience. This doubtless arises from Shakespeare's profounder insight into nature in general.<sup>7</sup>

It is not mere coincidence that in the plays of Shakespeare there are 335 references to the sea, 56 to tempests, 81 to sea-storms, 92 to sails and sailors, 123 to ships, 122 to drowning, 22 to boats, and 17 to pirates.<sup>8</sup> Shakespeare lived in a time when ships and seas and voyages and pirates were on every one's mind--a time when

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<sup>6</sup>Anne Teneer, The Sea in English Literature from Beowulf to Donne (Liverpool: University Press, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926), p. 178.

<sup>7</sup>John Bourke, The Sea as a Symbol in English Poetry (Eton: Alden & Blackwell, 1954), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Marvin Spevak, A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), pp. 225-9, by count.

men like Chancellor, Wyndham, Frobisher, and Drake thought it was nobler "to suffer / The slings and arrows of" the dangers of foul weather, Portuguese war ships and hostile natives and "to take arms against a sea of troubles, / And by opposing end them."<sup>9</sup> It is as if Shakespeare's strong love for England and all that was England's compelled him to reflect the happenings of his day in his plays.

We should also note that former notions and beliefs concerning cosmography, history, politics, and society were made ridiculous by the new discoveries. The world had been enlarged and expanded by the fanatical self-confidence of the discoverers and proved to be more fantastic than their most fantastic dreams.

Hakluyt himself wrote:

Which of the kings of this land before her Majesty had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? Which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obtained for her merchants large & loving privileges? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and, which is more, who ever heard Englishmen at Goa before now? What English ships did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate?<sup>10</sup>

How this reaching out to strange lands, this conquering of distance, this urgency of movement, captured Shakespeare's imagination is clearly seen in a close examination of the plays. His plays are not about the simple daily life of English shopkeepers of Cheapside

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<sup>9</sup>HAM 3. 1. 57-60

<sup>10</sup>Hakluyt, 1:3.

or of the countrymen of Essex. Nor are they "kitchen plays." The infection of foreign travel and of the literature of the expeditions seems to have entered Shakespeare's writing at the very beginning. Just as the voyagers explored new countries, he went abroad, too, in his imagination, to faraway places and he discovered new routes for drama to follow. If the adventurers disregarded the established rules and regulations, Shakespeare felt free to do the same. The Greek Tragedies, in which the end is known before the beginning, were no longer exciting to men elated with the delights and surprises coming forth in the tales of the adventurers. Audiences looked for fairy tales and the romance of adventure.

Never does the action of an entire play take place in one room, and rarely even in one location. There is constant movement and travel; distance intervenes with no effort between scenes. Shakespeare opened up the horizons of the stage; any location in the world could be reached simply by the poet telling the audience they were there.

Of the forces which run through the plays, I have selected four which appear fairly consistently and which correspond to similar forces connected with the voyages of discovery. These four forces are: distance, danger, dispersion, and deliverance.

The first of these elements is the concept of

vast distances traveled by characters involved in the action of the play. By "vast distances" I mean from country to country or from one location to a distant location in the same country, any significant distance covered as opposed to the action in Shakespeare's only "domestic comedy" The Merry Wives of Windsor where all the action takes place in Windsor.

In the history plays Shakespeare seemed more interested in swift moving action than in accurate history. He moved kings and armies from France to England and back again to France and from one part of England to another part of England simply by asking the audience to use their imaginations.

In King John, King Henry the Fifth, the three parts of King Henry the Sixth, and King Henry the Eighth the characters move back and forth between England and France. The two parts of King Henry the Fourth are a panorama of all England. The action takes place between London, Rochester, Gadshill, Warkworth, Bangor, Shrewsbury, Coventry, York, in the first part, and between Warkworth, London, Westminster, Glostershire, Yorkshire, in the second part. Richard the Second also sweeps through England--London, Gosford Green, Glostershire, Wales, Bristol, Langley, York, Windsor and Pamfret and the action in Richard the Third moves between London, Pomfret, Salisbury, Tamworth, and Bosworth. The audience's imagination never rests long in one place. The author asks

them to "Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts" and follow him wherever he leads them.

Can this cockpit hold  
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram  
Within this wooden O the very casques  
That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
O, pardon! since a crooked figure may  
Attest in little place a million;  
And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,  
On your imaginary forces work.  
Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
Are now confined two mighty monarchies,  
Whose high-upreared and abutting fronts  
The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder:  
Piece-out our imperfections with your thoughts;  
Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
And make imaginary puissance;  
Think, when we talk of horses, that you see them  
Printing their proud hoofs i' th' receiving earth;--  
For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,  
Carry them here and there; jumping o'er times,  
Turning th' accomplishment of many years  
Into an hour-glass: . . .<sup>11</sup>

The audience is to imagine on a stage "The perilous narrow ocean."

In the comedies the distances covered are still greater. The Comedy of Errors takes place in the great seaport city of Ephesus, a city on the west coast of Asia Minor, to which have come Aegeon, Antipholus, and Dromio from Syracuse, a city in Sicily.

Valentine and Proteus in The Two Gentlemen of Verona sail from Verona to Milan and in Love's Labour's Lost the Princess and her attending ladies come from France to Navarre, a small kingdom south of the Pyrenees, and then return to France. Romeo travels from Verona to Mantua. Puck sets out to "put a girdle round about the earth."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>H5 prol. 23-43

<sup>12</sup>MND 2. 1. 175

In The Taming of the Shrew a rich young tourist from Florence named Lucentio arrives in Padua. Later, Petruchio takes his bride Katharina on a long, tiring journey to his country house. Later still, the action returns to Padua. In The Merchant of Venice, Antonio's ships are at sea while the action of the play shifts between Venice and Belmont on the coast of Italy. Portia's suitors come from Naples, France, England, Scotland, Germany, Morocco, and Arragon.

Much Ado About Nothing takes place in Messina, a town in Sicily. The prince of Arragon arrives with two lords from Italy. Viola and Sebastian in Twelfth Night, who have landed in Illyria, on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, are natives of Messaline.<sup>13</sup> Viola's friend, a sea captain, "was bred and born / Not three hours' travel from this very place."<sup>14</sup>

All's Well That Ends Well takes place in France, in Italy, and in a province called Rossillion in southern France on the Spanish border; Measure for Measure takes place in Vienna where Lord Angelo supposes the Duke to have "travell'd to Poland";<sup>15</sup> and The Winter's Tale opens in the land of Sicilia where King Leontes is entertaining the King of Bohemia and the child born to Queen Hermione is shipped to "some remote and desert place,

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<sup>13</sup>No such place is known, Sugden, p. 342.

<sup>14</sup>1. 2. 22

<sup>15</sup>1. 2. 14

quite out / Of our dominions"<sup>16</sup> in faraway Bohemia. The play ends back in Sicilia. The King of Naples in The Tempest is returning by ship from the wedding of his daughter in Tunis. Prospero was formerly the Duke of Milan and Sycorax was banished from Argier. In the end Prospero and all his relatives and followers sail for Naples.

In the tragedies vast distances and travel are again a substantial element. Titus Andronicus returns to Rome from a victory over the Goths. Romeo flees from Verona to Mantua and then returns to Verona. After Julius Caesar is murdered in Rome, Brutus sets up his camp in Sardis in Asia Minor from where he marches forth to meet Mark Antony at Philippi.

Hamlet's uncle, the new king of Denmark, gives permission for Laertes to sail for France, dispatches two courtiers to Norway, and later sends Hamlet to England. On his way to England Hamlet meets the army of the Prince of Norway, who is passing through Denmark on his way to Poland. Hamlet and Laertes both return to Denmark where the famous and fatal duel takes place.

Troilus and Cressida presents a view of the most famous battle in classical antiquity--the Trojan War. The scenes shift back and forth from within Troy to outside Troy's walls where the Greeks have been beseiging the city. Seven years previously they had " . . . from

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<sup>16</sup>2. 3. 176

th' Athenian bay / Put forth toward Phrygia: . . . "17

In Othello a messenger announces that the Ottomites are "Steering with due course toward the isle of Rhodes . . . Their purpose / Toward Cyprus . . . "18

Othello sails from Venice to Cyprus and Desdemona follows on another ship. After the tragic deaths of Desdemona and Othello, Lodovico ends the play saying, "Myself will straight aboard, and to the state / This heavy act with heavy heart relate."19

The action in Macbeth opens in ancient Scotland --Forres, Inverness, Fife, Dunsinane--and shifts to England in the fourth act. Ross comes from Scotland "to transport the tidings."20 In the end Malcolm declares he will be "calling home our exiled friends abroad."21

The story of King Lear takes place in ancient Britain. Cordelia leaves for France, the Earl of Kent is banished from the kingdom of Britain, Lear travels from the Duke of Albany's palace to the Duke of Gloucester's castle, and the Earl of Gloucester and Lear make their ways separately to Dover where Cordelia and the French troops have landed.

Antony and Cleopatra opens in Alexandria where Mark Antony has come from Rome. Messengers arrive from Rome with bad news and Antony returns to that city. The invading Pompey is in Sicily and hears that Antony is on his way to Rome. Back in Alexandria a messenger again

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17Pro., 7-8

181. 3. 33,39

195. 2. 371-2

204. 3. 87

215. 8. 66

arrives from Rome. Antony returns to Egypt and from there declares war on Caesar. After the death of Antony, Caesar arrives in Alexandria from Rome.

Coriolanus, in Rome, hears the Volscians of Italy are planning an attack. Coriolanus captures the Volscian city of Corioli. Back in Rome he is rejected as consul and is banished from the city. He travels to Antium and later returns as a leader of the Volscian army to attack Rome.

In Cymbeline, Posthumus is banished from ancient Britain by King Cybeline and sails for Italy. Iachimo sails from Italy to Britain; Imogen sets out to meet her husband at Milford Haven, far to the west of Wales; and in the end Posthumus returns from Italy to Britain and Imogen returns from Wales.

Pericles sets sail from Tyre, an island on the coast of Syria, to Tarsus in southeast Asia Minor, in voluntary exile. From here he goes to sea again and lands in Pentapolis, on the north coast of Africa, where he marries Thaisa. They later sail for Tyre. Marina, born at sea, is left at Tarsus and Thaisa finds herself in Ephesus. Pericles returns to Tyre, Marina is later transported by pirates to Mitylene. Pericles returns to Tarsus to find his daughter but she is gone. Returning to Tyre, he stops at Mitylene. In the end Pericles, Marina, and Thaisa sail back to Tyre.

Shakespeare's characters are undoubtedly travelers. Messengers fly from one location to another; King Henry voyages to the Holy Land to expiate his guilt;<sup>22</sup> a Duke arrives from Austria to France;<sup>23</sup> and an envoy arrives in France from the Pope.<sup>24</sup> Suffice to say, Shakespeare knew no stage boundaries when it was necessary to move his characters and scenes.

In our day tempests and storms are not a great danger in sea traveling. Ships are large and sturdy and built to withstand a great amount of torrential abuse. But in Shakespeare's time storms were a constant and major threat to all seamen. Any seafarer who embarked on a journey knew that there would be many threatening situations to overcome before he was safely home again. During the years of the early explorations, thousands of lives and many tons of valuable merchandise were destroyed by storms at sea. It is little wonder, then, that Shakespeare's "ubiquitous tempests" (as George Wilson Knight calls them), sea-storms, sea-struggles, shipwrecks, and sea-drownings are a substantial component of the plays. Cawley says:

. . . the dangers, the disadvantages of travel. Constantly the sea is referred to as some great malevolent, malignant spirit; it is in turn dissembling, uncertain, ravenous, perfidious, merciless, trustless, greedy, hostile, churlish and wrathful . . . Shakespeare gives us a quick glimpse

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<sup>22</sup>R2

<sup>23</sup>JN

<sup>24</sup>JN

of the situation in Antonio's concern for Sebastian in Illyria; the former's haste to follow has been due to his fear of<sup>25</sup>

What might befall your travel,  
Being skillless in these parts; which to a stranger,  
Unguided and unfriended, often prove  
Rough and unhospitable.<sup>26</sup>

Many times was the sea "rough and unhospitable" to the "unguided and unfriended" men who sailed to the new world.

In the plays, sea-storms and shipwrecks are frequently involved in the plot. For instance, in The Comedy of Errors, with heavy grief, Aegeus arrives in Ephesus and describes the shipwreck he had experienced.

A league from Epidamnum had we sail'd,  
Before the always-wind-obeying deep  
Gave any tragic instance of our harm:  
But longer did we not retain much hope;  
For what obscured light the heavens did grant  
Did but convey unto our fearful minds  
A doubtful warrant of immediate death;  
· · · · ·  
The sailors sought for safety by our boat,  
And left the ship, then sinking-ripe, to us:  
· · · · ·  
For, ere the ships could meet by twice five leagues,  
We were encounter'd by a mighty rock;  
Which being violently borne upon,  
Our helpful ship was splitted in the midst;<sup>27</sup>

Aegeus' description and others that will be quoted here give us a frightening picture of what it must have been like for the voyagers in their light crafts sailing against the mighty waves. We get an idea from

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<sup>25</sup>Robert Ralston Cawley, Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), p. 30.

<sup>26</sup>TN 3. 3. 8-11      <sup>27</sup>1. 1. 63-69, 76-77, 100-3.



**Fig. 26. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.**

these passages of what men went through in physical hardships and emotional anguish to make the discovery of America possible.

Venice is a city closely associated with the sea, even interwoven with it, and though The Merchant of Venice takes place within the city, we are aware of the sinister forces of tempests upon which the action depends. We know, like Shylock, the dangers of the sea:

. . . he hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies; I understand, moreover, upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England,--and other ventures he hath, squandered abroad. But ships are but boards, sailors but men: there be land-rats and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves, I mean pirates; and then there is the peril of waters, winds, and rocks.--<sup>28</sup>

Shylock's fears are justified. Salarino says:

I reason'd with a Frenchman yesterday,  
Who told me,--in the narrow seas that part  
The French and English, there miscarried  
A vessel of our country richly fraught.<sup>29</sup>

And later:

SOLANIO

Now, what news on the Rialto?

SALARINO

Why, yet it lives there uncheckt, that Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wrackt on the narrow seas; the Goodwins, I think they call the place; a very dangerous flat and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried . . . <sup>30</sup>

Tubal, who "spoke with some of the sailors that escaped the wrack,"<sup>31</sup> tells Shylock that Antonio "hath an argosy cast away, coming from Tripolis."<sup>32</sup> All Antonio's ships have failed: "But is it true, Solanio?" asks Bassanio.

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<sup>28</sup>1. 3. 18-24      <sup>29</sup>2. 7. 27-30      <sup>30</sup>3. 1. 1-5

<sup>31</sup>3. 1. 97-8      <sup>32</sup>3. 1. 96

Have all his ventures fail'd? What, not one hit?  
 From Tripolis, from Mexico, and England,  
 From Lisbon, Barbary, and India?  
 And not one vessel scape the dreadful touch  
 Of merchant-marring rocks?<sup>33</sup>

Ships "wrackt on the narrow seas" and "merchant-marring rocks" were the images most closely connected with sea travel.

In Twelfth Night Antonio, thinking Viola is Sebastian, recalls how he rescued him:

That most ungrateful boy there, by your side,  
 From the rude sea's engaged and foamy mouth  
 Did I redeem; a wreck past hope he was.<sup>34</sup>

In Measure for Measure there is another typical Shakespearean maneuver in which the sea interferes with the normal course of events. Mariana's marriage to Angelo has been tragically thwarted by a sea-disaster.

The Duke asks Isabella:

Have you not heard speak of Mariana, the sister of  
 Frederick the great soldier who miscarried at sea?  
 . . . . .  
 She should this Angelo have married; was affianced  
 to her by oath, and the nuptial appointed: between  
 which time of the contract and limit of the solemnity,  
 her brother Frederick was wrackt at sea, having  
 in that perish'd vessel the dowry of his sister.<sup>35</sup>

There is another description of a storm in The Winter's Tale. The ship in which Antigonus carried the infant princess from Sicilia out to sea is driven by a storm onto the coast of Bohemia. The Shepherd's son describes

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333. 2. 265-70

345. 1. 75-7

353. 1. 109-10, 114-9

what he saw:

I would you did but see how it chafes, how it rages,  
 how it takes up the shore!--but that's not to the  
 point. O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls!  
 Sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em; now the  
 ship boring the moon with her main-mast, and anon  
 swall'd with yest and froth, as you'd thrust a cork  
 into a hogshead . . . But to make an end of the ship,  
 --to see how the sea flap-dragon'd it:--but, first,  
 how the poor souls roar'd, and the sea mockt them;  
 and how the poor gentleman roar'd and the bear  
 mockt him, both roaring louder than the sea or  
 weather.<sup>36</sup>

Pericles, to avoid a conspiracy against his life,  
 flees from Tyre by ship. He "puts himself unto the ship-  
 man's toil / With whom each minute threatens life or death,"<sup>37</sup>  
 and Thaliard reports, "He 'scaped the land, to perish at  
 sea."<sup>38</sup> Later, returning to Tyre, Pericles is shipwrecked:

He, doing so, put forth to seas,  
 Where when men been, there's seldom ease;  
 For now the wind begins to blow:  
 Thunder above and deeps below,  
 Make such unquiet, that the ship  
 Should house him safe is wrackt and split;  
 And he, good prince, having all lost,<sup>39</sup>  
 By waves from coast to coast is tost.<sup>39</sup>

He is cast up at Pentapolis:

Yet cease your ire, you angry stars of heaven!  
 Wind, rain, and thunder, remember, earthly man  
 Is but a substance that must yield to you;  
 And I, as fits my nature, do obey you:  
 Alas, the sea hath cast me on the rocks,  
 Washt me from shore to shore, and left me breath  
 Nothing to think on but ensuing death:  
 Let it suffice the greatness of your powers  
 To have bereft a prince of all his fortunes;  
 And having thrown him from your watery grave,  
 Here to have death in peace is all he'll crave.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>3. 3. 89-103

<sup>37</sup>1. 3. 24-5

<sup>38</sup>1. 3. 29

<sup>39</sup>2. Pro. 27-34

<sup>40</sup>2. 1. 1-11



*Pericles.*      The sea-mans Whistle  
Is as a whisper in the eares of death,  
Unheard.

Fig. 27. Pericles, Act III, sc. 1. Limited Editions Club edition.

Pericles tells Thaisa he is a "gentleman of Tyre," who, "looking for adventures in the world, / Was by the rough seas reft of ships and men,"<sup>41</sup> Recalled to Tyre, Pericles and his bride run into another sea-storm:

Their vessel shakes  
 On Neptune's billow; half the flood  
 Hath their keel cut: but fortune's mood  
 Varies again; the grisled north  
 Disgorges such a tempest forth,  
 That, as a duck for life that dives,  
 So up and down the poor ship drives:  
 The lady shrieks, and, well-a-near,  
 Does fall in travail with her fear:  
 And what ensues in this fell storm  
 Shall for itself itself perform.  
 I will relate, action may  
 Conveniently the rest convey;  
 Which might not what by me is told  
 In your imagination hold  
 This stage the ship, upon whose deck  
 The sea-tost Pericles appears to speak.<sup>42</sup>

The audience is again being asked to use their imaginations and think of the stage as a ship on which Pericles is tossing on the waves. In mid-tempest the child Marina is born and Pericles, thinking Thaisa has died, takes the baby to Tarsus to be cared for by Cleon and Dionysia. He says, "We cannot but obey / The powers above us. Could I rage and roar as doth the sea she lies in, yet the end / Must be as 'tis."<sup>43</sup> The inevitableness of our destinies is often brought up in the plays.

When we look into The Tempest we find that Miranda's description of the storm which has just subsided is re-

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<sup>41</sup>2. 3. 83-5

<sup>42</sup>3. Pro. 44-60

<sup>43</sup>3. 3. 10-13

markably similar to that of the shepherd's son in The Winter's Tale:

If by your art, my dearest father, you have  
 Put the wild waters in this roar, ally them.  
 The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,  
 But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,  
 Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffer'd  
 With those that I saw suffer! a brave vessel,  
 Who had, no doubt, some noble creature in her,  
 Dash'd all to pieces. O, the cry did knock  
 Against my very heart! Poor souls, they perish'd!  
 Had I been any god of power, I would  
 Have sunk the sea within the earth, or ere  
 It should the good ship so have swallow'd and  
 The fraughting souls within her.<sup>44</sup>

Prospero tells Miranda the long mournful story of their "sea sorrow. For the voyagers sea sorrows must have become almost commonplace, they were so much a part of traveling. Gonzalo puts it this way: he says grief

Is common; every day some sailor's wife,  
 The master of some merchant and the merchant,  
 Have just our theme of woe;<sup>45</sup>

Francisco gives a description of how one voyager, Ferdinand, survived:

I saw him beat the surges under him;  
 And ride upon their backs; he trod the water,  
 Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted  
 The surge most swoln that met him; his bold head  
 'Bove the contentious waves he kept . . .<sup>46</sup>

He speaks of the "enmity" of the sea and of the "contentious waves" Even though the play takes place on land, the audience is very conscious of the fact that a terrible storm has taken place and that they are now

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<sup>44</sup>1. 2. 1-13

<sup>45</sup>2. 1. 3-5

<sup>46</sup>2. 1. 111-15

seeing the consequences of that storm. Another off-stage sea-storm is described by Cassius in Julius Caesar. We hear Cassius telling Brutus that Caesar is a man like other men, not a god. He tells how he once saved Caesar from drowning:

The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it  
 With lusty sinews, throwing it aside  
 And stemming it with hearts of controversy;  
 But ere we could arrive the point proposed,  
 Caesar cried, 'Help me, Cassius, or I sink!'  
 I, as Aeneas our great ancestor,  
 Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder  
 The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber  
 Did I the tired Caesar.<sup>47</sup>

Cassius uses the incident to assert his own strength and Caesar's weakness. There is also the implication that all, great as well as common people, can be victims of the sea when there are troubled waters and an "angry flood."<sup>48</sup> Later, Casca describes the violence of the tempest that is raging around them:

Are you not moved, when all the sway of earth  
 Shakes like a thing unfirm? O Cicero,  
 I have seen tempests, when the scolding winds  
 Have rived the knotty oaks; and I have seen  
 Th' ambitious ocean swell and, rage and foam;  
 To be exalted with the threat'ning clouds;  
 But never till to-night, never till now,  
 Did I go through a tempest dropping fire.  
 Either there is a civil strife in heaven;  
 Or else the world, too saucy with the gods,  
 Incenses them to send destruction.<sup>48</sup>

In this play about a conspiracy against a ruler, we hear that the ocean swell is "ambitious" and that there is "civil strife" in heaven and though the storm is a land

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<sup>47</sup>1. 2. 100-15

<sup>48</sup>1. 3. 3-13

storm, it is still an excuse for sea-imagery that depicts the dangers of the sea.

When Othello is sent to defend the Island of Cyprus against the Turks, he is caught in a great storm of which the First Gentleman says, "It is a high-wrought flood; / I cannot 'twixt the heaven and the main / Descry a sail."<sup>49</sup> Montano adds to this:

If it hath ruffian'd so upon the sea,  
What ribs of oak when mountains melt on them  
Can hold the mortise?<sup>50</sup>

There is fear that Othello's ship has been lost and Cassio cries out:

Thanks, you the valiant of this warlike isle,  
That so approve the Moor! O, let the heavens  
Give him defence against the elements,  
For I have lost him on a dangerous sea!<sup>51</sup>

The dangers of the sea are again referred to in Macbeth, when the Sergeant comes in and describes the battle in which the "brave Macbeth" fought. He says:

As whence the sun 'gins her reflection  
Shipwrecking storms and direful thunders break;  
So from that spring, whence comfort seem'd to come,  
Discomfort swells.<sup>52</sup>

The Weird Sisters specialize in sea-disasters--one will torment a sailor, gone eastward to Aleppo, "master of the Tiger." This is such a striking topical reference that I will digress just long enough to give an excerpt from a letter written by M. Ralph Fitch that is in Hakluyt:

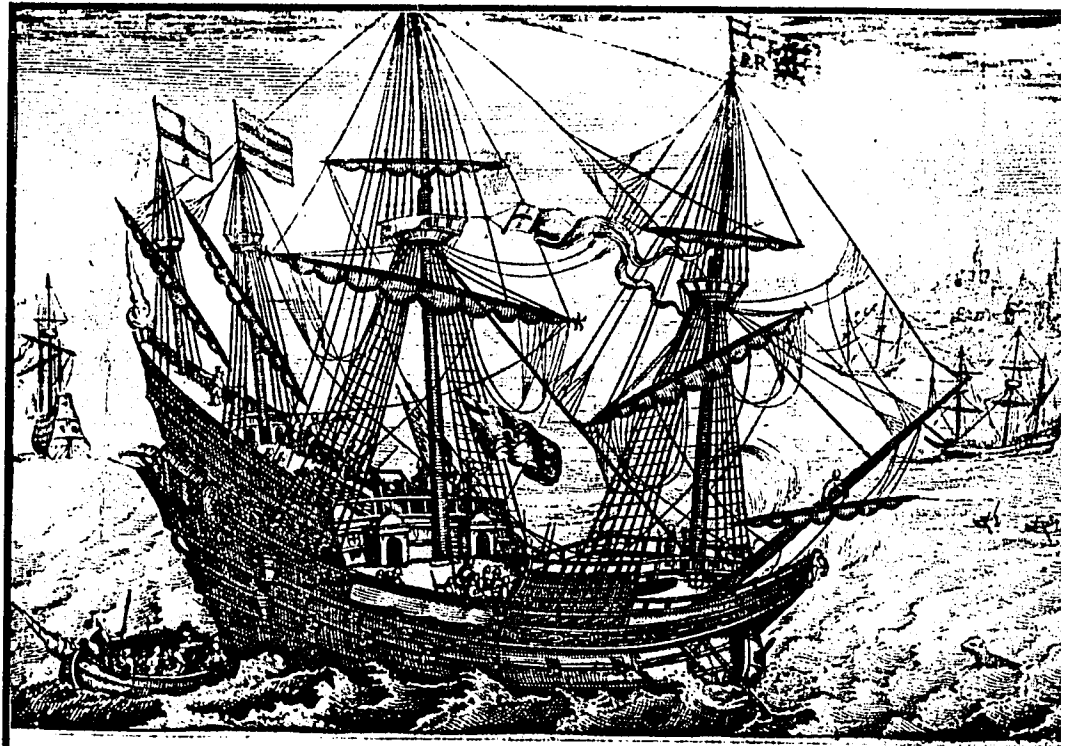
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<sup>49</sup>2. 1. 2-4

<sup>50</sup>2. 1. 7-9

<sup>51</sup>2. 1. 43-6

<sup>52</sup>1. 2. 25-8



A GALLEON

Fig. 28. From Shakespeare's England.

In the yeere of our Lord 1583 I, Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newberie, marchant (which had beene to Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter . . . did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syrie: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo.<sup>53</sup>

We might in passing take note that these three "sailors" were a jeweller, a painter, and a merchant.

In Macbeth, the ship is appropriately given the name of a ferocious animal, one with the strength of a tempest. The witch says she will follow the sailor, sailing in a sieve and the others promise to give her winds. She says:

I will drain him dry as hay:  
Sleep shall neither night nor day  
Hang upon his pent-house lid;  
He shall live a man forbid:  
Weary se'n nights nine times nine  
Shall he dwindle, peak and pine:  
Though his bark cannot be lost,  
Yet it shall be tempest-tost.--  
Look what I have.

SECOND WITCH

Show me, show me.

FIRST WITCH

Here I have a pilot's thumb,  
Wrackt as homeward he did come.<sup>54</sup>

Once again, in King Lear, we see how the language of the sea is intertwined even in land-tempests. The Earl of Kent asks "Where's the king?" And a Gentleman replies:

Contending with the fretful elements;  
Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea,  
Or swell the curled waters 'bove the main,  
That things might change or cease; tears his  
white hair,

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<sup>53</sup>Hakluyt, 3:282.

<sup>54</sup>1.3.11-29

Which the impetuous blasts, with eyeless rage,  
Catch in their fury, . . . <sup>55</sup>

The fury of the storm is tyrannical: "Here is the place, my lord," says Kent, "The tyranny of the open night's too rough / For nature to endure."<sup>56</sup>

After the murder of the Duke of Gloster, in King Henry the Sixth Part II, Queen Margaret complains because her husband, overcome with grief, is indifferent to her. She cries:

Was I for this night wrackt upon the sea,  
And twice by awkward winds from England's bank  
Drove back again unto my native clime?  
The pretty-vaulting sea refused to drown me;  
Knowing that thou wouldst have me drown'd on shore,  
With tears as salt as sea, through thy unkindness:  
When from the shore the tempest beat us back,  
I stood upon the hatches in the storm. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Besides the danger of sea-storms, there was also the ever-present danger of pirates. Piracy was sanctioned and abetted by the Queen, who shared in the profits; it was this policy that, when Spain could stand it no longer, precipitated the Spanish Armada. Every nation that had a fleet indulged in this sport--Spain, Portugal, France, and England alike--and such attacks came under the general heading of "reprisals" for similar acts by another country.<sup>58</sup>

Hamlet, in his letter to Horatio, tells him of his encounter with pirates in a sea-fight on his return

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<sup>55</sup>3. 1. 4-9

<sup>56</sup>3. 4. 1-3

<sup>57</sup>3. 2. 82-103

<sup>58</sup>E. F. Benson, Sir Francis Drake (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1927), p. 30.



**Fig. 29. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.**

to Denmark.<sup>59</sup> Hamlet's reference to pirates does not stand alone. In The Merchant of Venice, Shylock speaks of pirates as one of the perils of the sea;<sup>60</sup> in Antony and Cleopatra the messenger says to Caesar, "Menecrates and Menas, famous pirates / Make the sea serve them."<sup>61</sup> Later Pompey says, "I must / Rid the sea of pirates."<sup>62</sup> In Richard the Third, Queen Margaret says, "Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out / In sharing that which you have pill'd from me!"<sup>63</sup> The Duke of York describes them:

Pirates may make cheap pennyworths of their  
pillage,  
And purchase friends, and give to courtezans,  
Still revelling, like lords, till all be gone;  
While as the silly owner of the goods  
Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands,  
And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof,  
While all is shared, all is borne away,  
Ready to starve, and dare not touch his own.<sup>64</sup>

The banished Earl of Suffolk sails for France and is captured by pirates. Before being taken away by them to be beheaded he says:

Small things make base men proud: this villain here,  
Being captain of a pinnace, threatens more  
Than Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.<sup>65</sup>

In Twelfth Night, Antonio, a somewhat unhappy figure, is associated with sea-fights and a sense of misfortune. "Once in a sea-fight," he says, "'gainst the count his galleys / I did service."<sup>66</sup> He is suspected

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<sup>59</sup>4. 6. 16

<sup>60</sup>1. 3, 24

<sup>61</sup>1. 4. 48-9

<sup>62</sup>2. 6. 36

<sup>63</sup>1. 3. 157

<sup>64</sup>2H6 1. 1. 222-9

<sup>65</sup>2H6 4. 1. 106-8

<sup>66</sup>3. 3. 26-7

in Illyria of being a pirate. The First Officer says:

Orsino, this is that Antonio  
That took the Phoenix and her fraught from Candy  
And this is he that did the Tiger board.

. . . . .

DUKE OF ILLYRIA

Notable pirate! thou salt-water thief!  
What foolish boldness brought thee to their  
mercies,  
Whom thou, in terms so bloody and so dear,  
Hast made thine enemies?<sup>67</sup>

Of course pirates had always roamed the seas. However, these pirate allusions in the plays may be due to the current topicality of the subject. The raids on the Spanish treasure-ships and Spanish colonies at this period were a matter of great concern among the members of the Queen's Privy Council because the plundering was making the Spanish King very belligerent.

There were few topics that escaped being mocked by Shakespeare if it suited his purpose. In Measure for Measure there is the amusing dialogue about the "sanctimonious pirate" and the ten commandments:

LUCIO

Thou concludest like the sanctimonious pirate, that went to sea with the Ten Commandments, but scraped one out of the table.

SECOND GENTLEMAN

'Thou shalt not steal'?

LUCIO

Ay, that he razed.

FIRST GENTLEMAN

Why, 'twas a commandment to command the Captain and all the rest from their functions: they put forth to steal.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>5. 1. 58-70

<sup>68</sup>1. 2. 7-14

In this play the head of a notorious pirate is to be sent to Angelo instead of Claudio's head. If someone must die, let it be a pirate.

Another perilous aspect of the sea was sea-fights. No one who sailed the seas, sailed without fear of an attack. There are several sea-fights in the plays. For instance, in King Henry the Sixth Part II, the stage direction for Act 4, scene 1, reads: "Alarum. Fight at sea." The Captain says:

For, whilst our pinnace anchors on the Downs,  
Here shall they make their ransom on the sand,  
Or with their blood stain this discolour'd shore.--<sup>69</sup>

Besides the sea-fight that Hamlet describes, there are two disastrous sea-fights in Antony and Cleopatra. A messenger comes to Caesar and describes the battle on the coast:

No vessel can peep forth but 'tis as soon  
Taken as seen . . .<sup>70</sup>

When Lepidus, Caesar, and Antony are on Pompey's galley, Menas whispers to Pompey a suggestion:

These three world-sharers, these competitors,  
Are in thy vessel: let us cut the cable;  
And, when we are put off, fall to their throats;  
All then is thine.<sup>71</sup>

The sea was a dangerous place to be, even as the guest of Pompey on his ship. The dangers in this play are mostly real sea dangers, rather than just imagery as in some of the other plays. Mark Antony prepares to fight Caesar in

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<sup>69</sup>4. 1. 9-11      <sup>70</sup>1. 4. 53-4      <sup>71</sup>2. 7. 72-5

a sea-battle and a soldier warns him, "Do not fight at sea; / Trust not to rotten planks."<sup>72</sup> After a sea-fight between Caesar and Antony, Scarus describes it:

On our side like the token'd pestilence  
Where death is sure. Yon ribaudred nag of Egypt,--  
Whom leprosy o'ertake!--i' the midst o' the fight,  
When vantage like a pair of twins appear'd,  
Both as the same, or rather ours the elder,--  
The breese upon her, like a cow in June,--  
Hoists sails and flies.

. . . . . She once being looft,  
The noble ruin of her magic, Antony,  
Claps on his sea-wing, and, like a doting mallard,  
Leaving the fight in height, flies after her:  
I never saw an action of such shame;  
Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before  
Did violate so itself.<sup>73</sup>

The sea-fights are a reminder of England's precarious position as an island as well as of the dangers encountered by the voyagers.

The voyages of exploration took men away from their sweethearts, wives, children, parents, and friends. It was not until late in the sixteenth century that some of the colonizers started to take their families with them or sent for them after getting themselves settled in the New World. Others returned to their homes in England after a single voyage and never set forth on the sea again. And still others never saw their families again. Some of the plays pick up this theme of separation---there is the repeated situation of a family separated, usually by the sea. In The Comedy of Errors, two

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<sup>72</sup>3. 7. 61-2      <sup>73</sup>3. 10. 9-24

sets of twins--Antipholus of Ephesus and Antipholus of Syracuse, Dromio of Ephesus and Dromio of Syracuse--have been separated by a shipwreck and Aegeon has been separated from one of his twin sons, and from his wife, Aemilia. Aegeon says:

Our helpful ship was splitted in the midst;  
So that, in this unjust divorce of us,  
Fortune had left to both of us alike  
What to delight in, what to sorrow for.<sup>74</sup>

Throughout the play Aegeon's opening dirge of sea sorrow lingers, together with the knowledge of his impending death sentence. Yet against this tragedy, there is marvelous comedy and at the end, when one of the twins does not recognize his father, there is still an echo of the tempest in Aegeon's words--"crack'd" and "splitted."

Not know my voice! O time's extremity,  
Hast thou so crack'd and splitted my poor tongue  
In seven short years, that here my only son  
Knows not my feeble key of untuned cares?<sup>75</sup>

In this play, as in Pericles and in The Winter's Tale a tempest is joined with a tale of the birth of children. Pericles leaves his new-born child, who was born during a tempest, with Cleon and Dionyza and says:

My gentle babe Marina,--whom,  
For she was born at sea, I have named so, here  
I charge your charity withal, leaving her  
The infant in your care . . .<sup>76</sup>

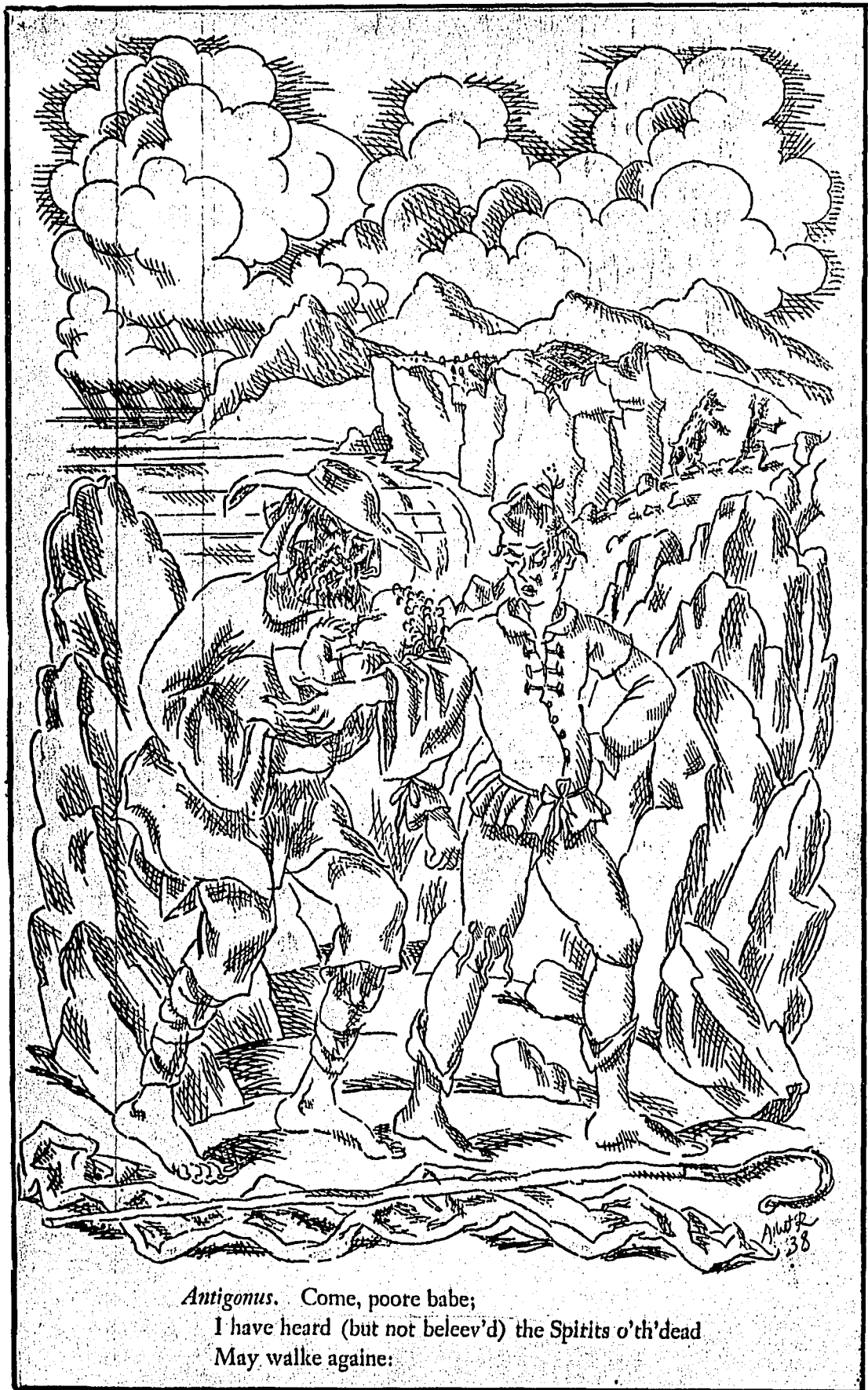
In The Winter's Tale, Antigonus sails away from Sicilia with

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<sup>74</sup>1. 1. 103-6

<sup>75</sup>5. 1. 307-11

<sup>76</sup>3. 3. 12-15



*Antigonus.* Come, poore babe;  
I have heard (but not beleev'd) the Spirits o'th'dead  
May walke againe:

Fig. 30. *The Winter's Tale*, Act III, sc. iii. From Limited Editions Club edition.

the infant child who, during a sea-storm, is left upon the shore of Bohemia. With a broken heart, Antigonus cries as he leaves:

The storm begins:--poor wretch,  
That, for thy mother's fault, art thus exposed  
To loss and what may follow . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . Thou'rt like to have  
A lullaby too rough:--I never saw  
The heavens so dim by day.--A savage clamour!--77

There are several possible interpretations for the repeated image of new born babes tied in with the raging sea. For the individual, the image may be one of the sea as life itself on which man embarks at birth; for England, it may have been the sea of stormy suffering on which the new-born colonies were tossed.

There are other separations. In Twelfth Night, a tempest again separates twins--Viola and Sebastian--who come separately to the shores of Illyria. The separation at sea is described by the Captain:

Assure yourself; after our ship did split,  
When you, and those poor number saved with you,  
Hung on our driving boat, I saw your brother,  
Most provident in peril, bind himself--  
Courage and hope both teaching him the practice--  
To a strong mast that lived upon the sea;  
Where, like Arion on the dolphin's back,  
I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves  
So long as I could see.<sup>78</sup>

Later, Sebastian remembers the horror he saw: ". . . some hour before you took me from the breach of the sea was my

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<sup>77</sup>3. 3. 49-51, 54-6

<sup>78</sup>1. 2. 9-17

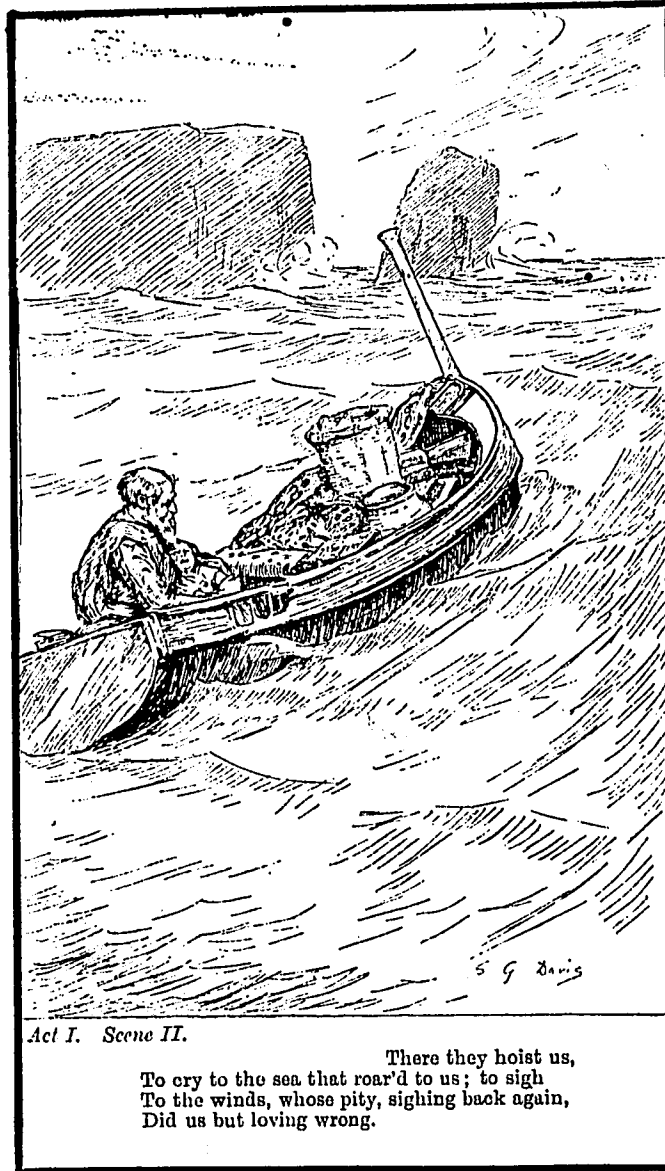


Fig. 31. The Tempest, Act I, sc.  
 11. From the Swan Edition.

sister drown'd."79

Prospero, in The Tempest, had been cast away on the waters and removed from his homeland by his brother. He tells Miranda:

. . . they hurried us aboard a bark,  
Bore us some leagues to sea; where they prepared  
A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigg'd,  
Nor tackle, sail, nor mast; there they hoist us,  
To cry to the sea that roar'd to us; to sigh  
To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,  
Did us but loving wrong.<sup>80</sup>

In the storm Ferdinand is separated from his father. He says, ". . . with mine eyes, never since at ebb, held/  
The king my father wrackt."<sup>81</sup> Prospero explains to Miranda about Ferdinand:

This gallant which thou see'st  
Was in the wrack; and, but he's something stain'd  
With grief, that's beauty's canker, thou mightst  
call him  
A goodly person: he hath lost his fellows,  
And strays about to find 'em.<sup>82</sup>

In The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Valentine entreats Proteus to accompany him "To see the wonders of the world abroad,"<sup>83</sup> and the sea separates the lovers, Proteus and Julia, just as their love begins. Julia wishes to follow Proteus but is told "Alas, the way is wearisome and long!"<sup>84</sup> In As You Like It, Orlando separates himself from his brother Oliver; the senior Duke, living in banishment, is separated from his brother Duke Frederick; and Celia separates herself from Frederick who is her father. These separations are all achieved by

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79<sup>2</sup>. 1. 23      80<sup>1</sup>. 2. 45-51      81<sup>1</sup>. 2. 436-7  
82<sup>1</sup>. 2. 414-7      83<sup>1</sup>. 1. 6      84<sup>2</sup>. 1. 8

the actors traveling a great distance to the Forest of Arden. Rosalind says Touchstone would "be a comfort to our travel,"<sup>85</sup> and Celia answers, "He'll go along o'er the wide world with me."<sup>86</sup> During their travels, Touchstone says "travellers must be content"<sup>87</sup> with their hardships. Though there is no water or sea-storm that separates the two sets of brothers and the daughters from their fathers in this play, when the happy reunion in Act 5 is highlighted by four marriages, there is the interesting comment from Jaques that:

There is, sure, another flood toward, and these couples are coming to the ark.<sup>88</sup>

We have not completely escaped the sea, though the reference is in imagery rather than in fact. The same Jacques calls marriage a "long voyage!" The influence of the sea in Shakespeare's imagery is as prevalent as in the plots and incidents and will be discussed in a separate chapter.

On the subject of dispersion, it should be noted that armies are also separated by the sea. At the end of Act 4 in King Richard the Third, a messenger rushes in and announces: "The Breton navy is dispersed by tempest."<sup>89</sup>

The tempest in which Othello found himself caused "A segregation of the Turkish fleet."<sup>90</sup>

<sup>85</sup>1. 3. 128

<sup>86</sup>1. 3. 129

<sup>87</sup>2. 4. 15-17

<sup>88</sup>5. 4. 35-6

<sup>89</sup>4. 4. 521

<sup>90</sup>OTH 2. 1. 10

The desperate tempest hath so bang'd the Turks,  
That their designment halts: a noble ship of Venice  
Hath seen a grievous wrack and sufferance  
On most part of their fleet.<sup>91</sup>

Other armies are dispersed. Hastings, in King Richard  
the Fourth Part II, cries:

My lord, our army is dispersed already:  
Like youthful steers unyoked, they take their  
course  
East, west, north, south . . .<sup>92</sup>

And again, in the words of King Henry:

Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York distrest;  
Like a ship that, having scaped a tempest,  
Is straightway calm'd and boarded with a pirate:<sup>93</sup>  
But now is Cade driven back, his men dispersed.

In this speech three sea perils--tempest, pirate, dispersion--are mentioned in three lines.

From all the dangers of the sea--tempests, pirates, sea-battles--from the separation of families and the dispersion of armies, there is in the end usually some form of deliverance. In the stories mentioned here that started with separations of families there are happy endings of reunions and marriages. Aegeon is united with his wife and sons. There is a joyous celebration, and the two Dromios go off together happily, as the story ends.<sup>94</sup> Pericles, his queen, and daughter are delivered from calamity and reunited in joy. Pericles is overcome with happiness:

Lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me  
O'erbear the shores of my mortality,

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<sup>91</sup>2. 1. 21-4

<sup>92</sup>4. 2. 102-4

<sup>93</sup>2H6 4. 9.31-4

<sup>94</sup>ERR 5. 1



Fig. 32. *Pericles*, Act V, sc. ii. From Limited Editions Club edition.

And drown me with their sweetness.--O, come  
 hither,  
 Thou that begett'st him that did thee beget;  
 Thou that wast born at sea, buried at Tarsus,  
 And found at sea again!<sup>95</sup>

Perdita is reunited with her parents and marries Flori-  
 zel. The entire court of Cicilia is happy in a spring-  
 time of rejoicing.<sup>96</sup> Viola welcomes her lost brother  
 and the duke realizes that she is the one he really  
 loves. Twelfth Night ends in final joy and all share  
 "in this most happy wrack."<sup>97</sup> "Journeys end in lovers'  
 meeting,"<sup>98</sup> sings Clown. They are sea-journeys, the  
 storm-tossed life of man voyaging in search of paradise  
 on earth.

Prospero forgives all those who conspired  
 against him, Miranda marries Ferdinand, and all sail  
 off to a happier life. Prospero promises "calm seas,  
 auspicious gales, / And sail so expeditious, that shall  
 catch / Your royal fleet far off."<sup>99</sup> Love, reconcilia-  
 tion, and happiness take place in a strange, faraway,  
 new land, which in this play seems strongly to suggest  
 America.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona ends with the famil-  
 iar formula wherein all the lovers are united and all  
 misbehaviors are forgiven. Marriage, reconciliation,  
 forgiveness, reunion of families, these aspects of del-  
 iverance appear in the final scenes of All's Well that  
Ends Well, Measure for Measure, and As You Like it.

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<sup>95</sup>PER 5. 1. 191      <sup>96</sup>WT      975. 1. 263  
<sup>98</sup>2. 3. 43      <sup>99</sup>TMP 5. 1. 314-7

There are also other kinds of deliverance, such as the Capulets and the Montagues being delivered from their family hatreds of each other. Too late, after the deaths of Romeo and Juliet, they offer their friendship to each other and the two fathers clasp hands with bitter regret over their loss. In Titus Andronicus, Lucius becomes a "gracious governor" to a city that has been torn by violence and the play ends with Rome once more at peace. After the death of Macbeth and Gertrude, the young prince becomes the new king of Scotland and peace comes again to Scotland. Timon of Athens ends with Timon's "faults forgiven" and peace comes to the city of Athens.

In the final scene of Cymbeline, the King finds his two sons again and forgives Belarius for stealing them. He receives the confession of the villainous Iachimo, listens to the remorse of Posthumus and see Imogen reunited with her husband. He makes friends again with the Roman ambassador and Rome and Britain will be "friendly together" and peace and plenty will come again to the land.

The same reunions and rejoicing that are in the plays were part of the scenes in which the voyagers returned from their perilous adventures and were reunited with their families. And the peace and deliverance that we see in the plays were the same as that which came to

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England after the defeat of the Spanish Armada which was a direct result of the challenge of Spain's strength by the explorers. Once the reader is aware of these forces which I have pointed out--distance, danger, dispersion, and deliverance--it may be that a rereading of the plays would reveal to the reader some new insights and interpretations that reflect Shakespeare's awareness and sensitivity to the events of his time.

## CHAPTER IV

### SEA IMAGERY: TEMPESTS, TARS, TRADE, AND TREASURE

The sea exercised a profound influence on Shakespeare's writing not just as an object suggesting actual events and experiences, but also as a source of vivid imagery and of striking symbol. Often man is imaged as a voyager on a rough, tossing sea; his fate is a series of rising and ebbing tides over which he has no control; and the frail ship on which he sails through life is often inadequate to withstand the dangers he faces. A speech sprinkled with sea-imagery and sea ventures if given by Brutus when he tells Cassius he wants to march forth and meet the enemy:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.  
And we must take the current when it serves,  
Or lose our ventures.<sup>1</sup>

And Coriolanus reminds his mother that she used to say, "That, when the sea was calm, all boats alike / Show'd mastership in floating."<sup>2</sup>

One of the most frequent sea-images is that of the tempest. I will review some of the tempest-imagery that appears in the history plays, an imagery that is also as

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<sup>1</sup>JC 4. 3. 217-23      <sup>2</sup>4. 1. 6-7

prevalent in all the comedies and all the tragedies as it is in the histories.

King John tells the story of a medieval king of England who had a bloody and disastrous reign. Outside the French town of Angiers, the citizens are asked to decide if Arthur or John is the true king of England.

King John asks:

France, hast thou yet more blood to cast away?  
Say, shall the current of our right run on?  
Whose passage, vext with thy impediment,  
Shall leave his native channel, and o'erswell  
With course disturb'd even thy confining shores,  
Unless thou let his silver water keep  
A peaceful progress to the ocean.<sup>3</sup>

The citizens merely reply they are the true subjects of the king, whoever he may be. Then a suggestion is made: let Queen Elinor's niece marry the French king's son and unite the two kingdoms.

O, two such silver currents, when they join,  
Do glorify the banks that bound them in;  
And two such shores to two such streams made one,  
Two such controlling bounds shall you be, kings  
To these two princes, if you marry them.  
This union shall do more than battery can  
To our fast-closed gates; for, at this match,  
With swifter spleen than powder can enforce,  
The mouth of passage shall we fling wide ope,  
And give you entrance: but without this match,  
The sea enraged is not half so deaf,<sup>4</sup>

After the battle at Angiers, the French King Philip be-  
moans the English victory:

So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,  
A whole armado of convented sail  
Is scatter'd and disjoin'd from fellowship.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>2. 1. 334-40

<sup>4</sup>2. 1. 441-51

<sup>5</sup>3. 4. 1-3

The story of King Richard the Second is of the disposition and murder of a king. In the first scene King Richard listens to the argument between Henry Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk:

High stomach'd are they both, and full of ire,  
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.<sup>6</sup>

After the death of John of Gaunt, the nobles grow increasingly restive under Richard's tyranny. The earl of Northumberland cries:

. . . most degenerate king!  
But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,  
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;  
We see the wind set sore upon our sails,  
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.

Lord Ross adds:

We see the very wrack that we must suffer;  
And unavowed is the danger now,  
For suffering so the causes of our wrack.<sup>7</sup>

Later, King Richard, aware of a rebellion taking place in England, is convinced that heaven would never permit an anointed king to be destroyed.

Not all the water in the rough rude sea  
Can wash the balm from an anointed king<sup>8</sup>

His loyal nobles cannot stir Richard from his exalted position. Sir Stephen Scroop says:

Glad I am that your highness is so arm'd  
To bear the tidings of calamity.  
Like an unseasonable stormy day,  
Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,  
As if the world were all dissolved in tears;

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<sup>6</sup>1. 1. 18-9    <sup>7</sup>2. 1. 262-9    <sup>8</sup>3. 2. 54-5

So high above the limits swells the rage  
Of Bolingbroke . . . 9

King Henry the Fourth Part I begins a year after Richard's death and concerns a rebellion in the west of England against King Henry's crown. In this play there is one of the passages in which the sea is used as a symbol of human life, representing the failures and successes of human fortunes and the hopes and despairs of human feelings, the ups and downs of life which are similar to the motions of the tides. Prince Hal says to Falstaff:

. . . the fortune of us that are the moon's men doth ebb and flow like the sea, being govern'd, as the sea is, by the moon. . . . now in as low an ebb as the foot of the ladder, and by and by in as high a flow as the ridge of the gallows.<sup>10</sup>

Part Two continues the story and closes with the death of King Henry and the crowning of Prince Hal. In the first act, the Earl of Northumberland, who failed to aid his son Hotspur, learns of his death on the battlefield of the Scottish rebellion; his "trade with danger," his life-voyage on "dangerous seas" is over. Lord Bardolph says:

We all that are engaged to this loss  
Knew that we ventured on such dangerous seas,  
That if we wrought out life, 'twas ten to one;  
And yet we ventured, for the gain proposed  
Choked the respect of likely peril fear'd;<sup>11</sup>

In the royal palace at Westminster, King Henry is ill,

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<sup>9</sup>3. 2. 105-11

<sup>10</sup>1. 2. 32-6

<sup>11</sup>1. 1. 180-4

and sleepless with concern over the state of his kingdom.

He addresses sleep:

Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast  
 Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains  
 In cradel of the rude imperious surge,  
 And in the visitation of the winds,  
 Who take the ruffian billows by the top,  
 Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them  
 With deafening clamour in the slippery shrouds,  
 That, with the hurly, death itself awakes?--  
 Canst thou, O partial sleep, give thy repose  
 To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude;  
 And in the calmest and most stillest night,  
 With all appliances and means to boot,  
 Deny it to a king?<sup>12</sup>

After King Henry's death, Prince Hal becomes King Henry the Fifth. The new king asks the chief justice, who once had occasion to send Prince Hal to prison, to be his chief adviser now.

The tide of blood in me  
 Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now:  
 Now doth it turn, and ebb back to sea.  
 Where it shall mingle with the state of floods,  
 And flow henceforth in formal majesty.<sup>13</sup>

King Henry the Fifth is the story of Prince Hal as king of England. The play deals with his military expedition to France. At first he hesitates to go to France for fear the Scots will invade England while he is gone. The Archbishop of Canterbury reassures him. He reminds the king of the time when the King of Scots went to France

To fill King Edward's Fame with prisoner kings  
 And make her chronicle as rich with praise  
 As is the ooze and bottom of the sea  
 With sunken wrack and sumless treasuries.<sup>14</sup>

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123. 1. 18-30

135. 2. 129-33

141. 2. 163-6

After his victory in France, King Henry returns briefly to England where he is given a hero's welcome. Then he returns to France to start peace negotiations. The Chorus chants:

Now we bear the king  
Toward Calais: grant him there; there seen,  
Heave him away upon your winged thoughts  
Athwart the sea. Behold, the English beach  
Pales in the flood with men, with wives and boys,  
Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea,  
Which, like a mighty whiffler 'fore the king,  
Seems to prepare his way.<sup>15</sup>

But even this happy king knows the ocean of world-glory will not bring him peace of mind, "the tide of pomp, / That beats upon the high shore of this world,"<sup>16</sup> cannot give a king quiet rest.

The three parts of King Henry the Sixth deal chiefly with civil war--the Wars of the Roses. In Part I after the Earl of Suffolk has described Margaret in glowing terms, the young king decides to marry her. He says:

Your wondrous rare description, noble earl,  
Of beauteous Margaret hath astonisht me:  
Her virtues, graced with external gifts,  
Do breed love's settled passions in my heart:  
And like as rigour of tempestuous gusts  
Provokes the mightiest hulk against the tide,  
So am I driven, by breath of her renown,  
Either to suffer shipwrack, or arrive  
Where I may have fruition of her love.<sup>17</sup>

In Part II, the Duke of Suffolk urges the Duke of Gloster to resign his position. England, he says, is in a bad state.

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<sup>15</sup>5. Pro. 6-13

<sup>16</sup>4. 1. 268-9

<sup>17</sup>5. 5. 1-9

The commonwealth hath daily run to wrack;  
The Dauphin hath prevailed beyond the seas.<sup>18</sup>

Part III continues the story of the Wars of Roses until it is climaxed by the murder of King Henry in the Tower of London. Political as well as private disaster is often imaged as a shipwreck. Queen Margaret meets the remnants of her army near Tewksbury after the Yorkist Edward has taken the crown.

Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,  
But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.  
What though the mast be now blown overboard,  
The cable broke, the holding-anchor lost,  
And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood?  
Yet lives our pilot still: is't meet that he  
Should leave the helm, and, like a fearful lad,  
With tearful eyes add water to the sea,  
And give more strength to that which hath too much;  
Whiles, in his moan, the ship splits on the rock,  
Which industry and courage might have saved?

· · · · ·  
We will not from the helm to sit and weep;  
But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,  
From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wrack.  
As good to chide the waves as speak them fair.  
And what is Edward but a ruthless sea?  
What Clarence but a quicksand of deceit?  
And Richard but a ragged fatal rock?  
All these the enemies to our poor bark.  
Say you can swim,--alas, 'tis but awhile!  
Tread on the sand,--why, there you quickly sink,  
Bestride the rock,--the tide will wash you off,  
Or else you famish; that's a threefold death.  
This speak I, lords, to let you understand,  
If case some one of you would fly from us,  
That there's no hoped-for mercy with the brothers,  
More than with ruthless waves, with sands, and rocks.<sup>19</sup>

The calms and storms and dangers of the sea are like the calms and storms and dangers of life. They come and go,

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<sup>18</sup>1. 3. 124-5

<sup>19</sup>5. 4. 1-34

but the tidal movement itself is a permanent factor. In some instances the tidal movement is represented as an irresistible power of fate or providence to which we are all subjected and against which it is useless to struggle.

"What fates impose, that men must needs abide; / It boots not to resist both wind and tide."<sup>20</sup> On the battlefield King Henry compares the human struggle with the struggle between wind and sea:

This battle fares like to the morning's war,  
When dying clouds contend with growing light,  
What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,  
Can neither call it perfect day nor night.  
Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea  
Forced by the tide to combat with the wind;  
Now sways it that way, like the selfsame sea  
Forced to retire by fury of the wind:  
Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind;  
Now one the better, then another best;  
Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,  
Yet neither conqueror nor conquered:  
So is the equal poise of this fell war.<sup>21</sup>

On the same battlefield Edward says to the followers of the militant, fighting queen:

Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen,  
That led calm Henry, though he were a king,  
As doth a sail, fill'd with a fretting gust,  
Command an argosy to stem the waves.<sup>22</sup>

Gloster sees himself separated from his soul's desire, the crown, as if a sea were between them:

Why, then, I do but dream on sovereignty  
Like one that stands upon a promontory,  
And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,  
Wishing his foot were equal to his eye;  
And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,  
Saying, he'll lade it dry to have his way;  
So do I wish the crown, being so far off.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>4. 3. 59-60

<sup>21</sup>2. 5. 1-13

<sup>22</sup>2. 6. 32-5

<sup>23</sup>3. 2. 134-40

To get the crown, he'll "drown more sailors than the mermaid shall."<sup>24</sup>

The account of the Wars of Roses continues in King Richard the Third, where Richard dominates the action. He contrives, in the beginning, to have his brother, the Duke of Clarence, sent to the Tower. There, Clarence has a terrifying nightmare in which he dreams he is drowning in the English Channel, with the noisy rush of water in his ears:

As we paced along  
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,  
Methought that Gloster stumbled; and, in falling,  
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard  
Into the tumbling billows of the main.  
Lord, Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!  
What dreadful noise of waters in mine ears!  
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes!

. . . . .  
And often did I strive  
To yield the ghost: but still the envious flood  
Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth  
To seek the empty, vast, and wandering air;  
But smother'd it within my panting bulk,  
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.<sup>25</sup>

In the fourth act, Richard tells Queen Elizabeth that he is going to marry her daughter. The despairing queen, "a poor bark," cries:

And I, in such a desperate bay of death,  
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,  
Rush, all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.<sup>26</sup>

King Henry the Eighth is the last of the history plays. It describes the events that led up to the birth of King Henry's daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth. The King calls a solemn council to consider the legality of his

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<sup>24</sup>2. 2. 186

<sup>25</sup>1. 4. 15-22, 36-40

<sup>26</sup>4. 4. 233-5



*Clarence.* Lord, Lord, me thought what paine it was to drowne,  
What dreadfull noise of waters in my cares,  
What ugly sights of death within mine eyes.

Fig. 33. King Richard the Third, Act I, sc. iv.  
Limited Editions Club edition.

marriage to Katherine. After the Queen's violent explosion against Wolsey, the king assures the court he will not press for a divorce if his marriage is lawful. He explains how he has given the matter much thought and describes his spiritual discord:

Thus hulling in  
The wild sea of my conscience, I did steer  
Toward this remedy. . . .<sup>27</sup>

In her private chambers, Queen Katherine pities her ladies-in-waiting:

Alas, poor wenches, where are now your fortunes!  
Shipwrackt upon a kingdom . . .<sup>28</sup>

The traitorous Wolsey advises her not to be rebellious:

The hearts of princes kiss obedience,  
So much they love it; but to stubborn spirits  
They swell, and grow as terrible as storms.<sup>29</sup>

Wolsey has miscalculated; his treachery causes his downfall.

Alone, he cries out in agony:

Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness!  
. . . . .

I have ventured,  
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,  
This many summers in a sea of glory,  
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride  
At length broke under me; and now has left me,  
Weary and old with service, to the mercy  
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.<sup>30</sup>

Later Wolsey advises Cromwell:

Say, Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory,  
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour--  
Found thee a way, out of his wrack, to rise in;

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<sup>27</sup>2. 4. 199-201      <sup>28</sup>3. 1. 149-50

<sup>29</sup>3. 1. 162-4      <sup>30</sup>3. 2. 351, 358-64

A sure and safe one, though thy master mist it.  
Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me,  
Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition.<sup>31</sup>

At Queen Anne's coronation the ceremony is described by one of the men in the crowd: "such a noise arose / As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest, / As loud, and as many tunes . . . "32

In Shakespeare's plays the profoundest ideas and feelings find imaginative expression in his sea imagery. When we think of phrases such as "tempest of my soul,"<sup>33</sup> "the windy tempest of my heart,"<sup>34</sup> "in the angry tempest of thy angry frown,"<sup>35</sup> "the tempest in my mind,"<sup>36</sup> and "thy tempest-tossed body,"<sup>37</sup> we may indeed agree with Bourke who says:

. . . he left the very language suffused in a sense with the movements and sounds of sea so that we seem to hear in the greatest English poetry the sound of a greater sea of which our souls have sight in a season of calm weather.<sup>38</sup>

Shakespeare<sup>o</sup> seemed to have a very affectionate feeling toward the men who guided the ships of exploration through the sea-storms and sea-disasters--the sea-tars. Sailors have always been superstitious and one of their superstitions concerned the purpoise, which was considered a predictor of storms. "They ner'er come, but I look to be washed,"<sup>39</sup> says the fisherman in Pericles, meaning the

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<sup>31</sup>3. 2. 436-41

<sup>32</sup>4. 1. 72-4

<sup>33</sup>R3 1. 4. 44

<sup>34</sup>3H6 2. 5. 86

<sup>35</sup>TIT 1. 1. 458

<sup>36</sup>LR 3. 4. 12

<sup>37</sup>ROM 3. 5. 137

<sup>38</sup>Bourke, p. 43

<sup>39</sup>2. 1. 25-6

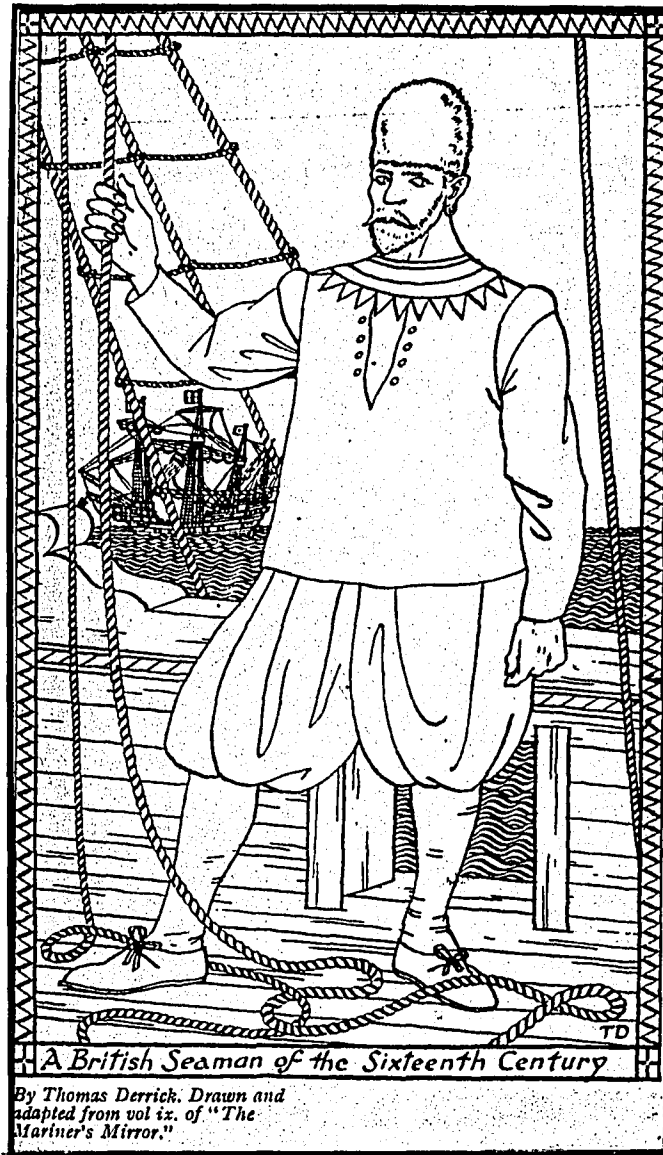


Fig. 34. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

decks of the ship will be washed.

The sailor also believed certain people were singled out for a land-death and therefore could not die at sea. In The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Proteus says to Speed:

Go, go, be gone, to save your ship from wrack,  
Which cannot perish having thee aboard,  
Being destined to a drier death on shore.<sup>40</sup>

In The Tempest, Gonzalo says of the Boatswain, "he hath no drowning mark upon him,"<sup>41</sup> to the great relief of the rest of the crew, to whom this means they will land safely.

Edward Haie, a "gentleman, and principall actour in the voyage" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert of 1583, paraphrased Gilbert's famous last words, "We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land,"<sup>42</sup> when he wrote:

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to man's times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea, nor famine can confound.<sup>43</sup>

The sailor's superstitions included women who shared with priests the unfortunate reputation of causing misfortune at sea.<sup>44</sup> In Pericles, the sailors demand that the queen's body be heaved overboard. The First Sailor informs Pericles:

Sir, your queen must overboard: the sea works high, the wind is loud, and will not lie till the ship be clear'd of the dead.

PERICLES

That's your superstition.

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<sup>40</sup>1. 1. 14

<sup>41</sup>1. 1. 28

<sup>42</sup>Raleigh, p. 59.

<sup>43</sup>Hakluyt, 6:31.

<sup>44</sup>Cawley, Unpathed, p. 20 .

## FIRST SAILOR

Pardon us, sir; with us at sea it hath been still observed; and we are strong in custom. Therefore briefly yield her; for she must overboard straight.<sup>45</sup>

The superstition about women combines here with the prejudice against carrying a corpse on ship-board.

We are given other insights into the lives of sailors of Shakespeare's time. There was then a kind of "insurance" by which the sailors hoped to make enough money to give their families some sort of legacy if they should fail to return on a future trip. A voyager could arrange, by an agreement not so very different from our annuities, to lay down a sum of money which would be confiscated at his failure to return. But if he was lucky enough to escape the seas, he might have his sum quintupled. The system came to be known as the "five for one," a system more like gambling than insurance, but nevertheless it was popular.<sup>46</sup> The phrase is used by Gonzalo:

Each putter-out of five . . . which now we find  
Each putter-out of five for one will bring us.<sup>47</sup>

"Five for one" was the sailor's way of making the most of a journey that was by no means comfortable, safe, or enjoyable. Hunger was his greatest enemy. By the end of the voyage, rations were scarce and the last biscuits were as hard as rocks. Shakespeare apparently was well

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<sup>45</sup>3. 1. 49-54

<sup>46</sup>Cawley, Unpathed Waters, p. 209.

<sup>47</sup>3. 3. 47-9.

aware of this situation for he mentions it twice, first in As You Like It, when the melancholy Jacques uses a sea simile to refer to the brain of the "worthy fool"-- "as dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage";<sup>48</sup> and again in Troilus and Cressida, when he uses the memorable figure of the sailor pounding his biscuit with his fist.<sup>49</sup>

Shakespeare must have thought of the sailor of his time as plying his liquor lustily, even when he was expected to be on duty. In Hakluyt's account of Henry May's landing on Bermuda in 1593, he wrote:

. . . the pilots making themselves at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelve leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heighth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away.<sup>50</sup>

In Richard the Third, there is a vivid image of a "drunken sailor on a mast, / Ready, with every nod, to tumble down / Into the fatal bowels of the deep."<sup>51</sup> It is extremely doubtful, says Cawley, that Shakespeare was only following literary convention when he represented the sailors in The Tempest as being drunk during the storm. The demand, "Must our mouths be cold?" indicates a condition which was probably all too prevalent and unquestionably accounted for many of the shipwrecks.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>2. 7. 36, 39-40      <sup>49</sup>2. 1. 40-1

<sup>50</sup>Hakluyt, 7:162      <sup>51</sup>3. 4. 100-2

<sup>52</sup>Cawley, Unpathed Waters, p. 198.

In The Taming of the Shrew, there is a picture of the "old salt" ashore. Petruchio, who behaves with shipman's manners throughout the play, is married to Katharina, and Grumio describes the wedding at the church:

. . . when the priest  
Should ask, if Katharina should be his wife,  
'Ay, by gogs-wouns!' quoth he; and swore so loud,  
That, all amaz'd, the priest let fall the book;  
. . . . .  
But after many ceremonies done,  
He calls for wine: 'A health!' quoth he; as if  
He had bee aboard, carousing to his mates  
After a storm; quaft off the muscadel,<sup>53</sup>

Knight suggests that such an image, at such a critical point, seems to infer that Shakespeare, even when actual tempests were not present, was all the time, as it were, seeing his story as a sea-adventure.<sup>54</sup>

The financial gain of the voyages for the explorers themselves and for the investors and merchants was another subject of topical interest. There is the frequent tying-in of sea voyages with merchandise, trading, and wealth. Petruchio's struggle is basically a struggle with a tempest--the 'wild-cat' Katharina. He courts her even though she is "as rough / As are the swelling Adriatic seas."<sup>55</sup> To Hortensio, "who would not wed her for a mine gold," Petruchio says:

Hortensio, peace! thou know'st not gold's effect:  
Tell me her father's name and 'tis enough;

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<sup>53</sup>3. 2. 157-60, 168-72

<sup>54</sup>George Wilson Knight, The Shakespearian Tempest (London: A. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 109.

<sup>55</sup>1. 2. 72-3

For I will board her, though she chide as loud  
As thunder when the clouds in autumn crack.<sup>56</sup>

Here we have a voyage of love, where the sea is associated with gold and the ship is the object of desire--to be "boarded." Petruchio is not afraid of that "irksome, brawling scold." He says, "Have I not heard the sea, puft up with winds, / Rage like an angry boar chafed with sweat?"<sup>57</sup> Love is imaged as a product of trade, and Petruchio braves the "tempest" for the rich merchandise of Katharina's fortune. This is a merchant's transaction. After Baptista has blessed the match between Katharina and Petruchio, the following is heard:

GRUMIO.

Was ever match clapt us so suddenly?

BAPTISTA.

Faith, gentlemen, now I play a merchant's part,  
And venture madly on a desperate mart.

TRANIO.

'Twas a commodity lay fretting by you:  
'Twill bring you gain, or perish on the seas.

BAPTISTA.

The gain I seek is, quiet in the match.<sup>58</sup>

Grumio and Tranio bargain for Bianca and Grumio lists all his riches. Then the two suitors vie with each other by boasting of their ships:

GRUMIO

. . . besides an argosy  
That now is lying in Marseilles' road--  
What, have I choked you with an argosy?

TRANIO

Grumio, 'tis known my father hath no less  
Than three great argosies; besides two galliasses,  
And twelve tight galleys; these I will assure her,  
And twice as much, whate'er thou offer'st next.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>1. 2. 92-5      <sup>57</sup>1. 2. 200-1      <sup>58</sup>2. 1. 314-23

<sup>59</sup>2. 1. 367-73

There is another "trade" image in Twelfth Night when Sir Toby says:

Will you encounter the house? my niece is desirous  
you should enter, if your trade be to her.

VIOLA

I am bound to your niece, sir; I mean, she is the  
list of my voyage.<sup>60</sup>

Images that combine words such as "merchant," "venture," and "commodity" with "gain" and "sea" are recurrent. For instance, when Hostess says to Doll Tearsheet, ". . . one must bear, and that must be you: you are the weaker vessel, as they say, the emptier vessel," Doll replies:

Can a weak empty vessel bear such a huge full hogs-head? there's a whole merchant's venture of Bourdeaux stuff in him; you have not seen a hulk better stuff in the hold.<sup>61</sup>

And Romeo says to Juliet:

I am no pilot; yet wert thou as far  
As that vast shore washt with the furthest sea,  
I would adventure for such merchandise.<sup>62</sup>

In A Midsummer Night's Dream, Titania, in a lovely passage, tells of the little Indian boys' mother. The passage is another example of the association of merchandise, floods, and sea-voyages.

Set your heart at rest:  
The fairy-land buys not the child of me.  
His mother was a vot'ress of my order:  
And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,  
Full often hath she gossip'd by my side;  
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,  
Marking th' embarked traders on the flood;

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<sup>60</sup>3. 1. 76-9

<sup>61</sup>2H4 2. 4. 59-63

<sup>62</sup>2. 1. 124-6

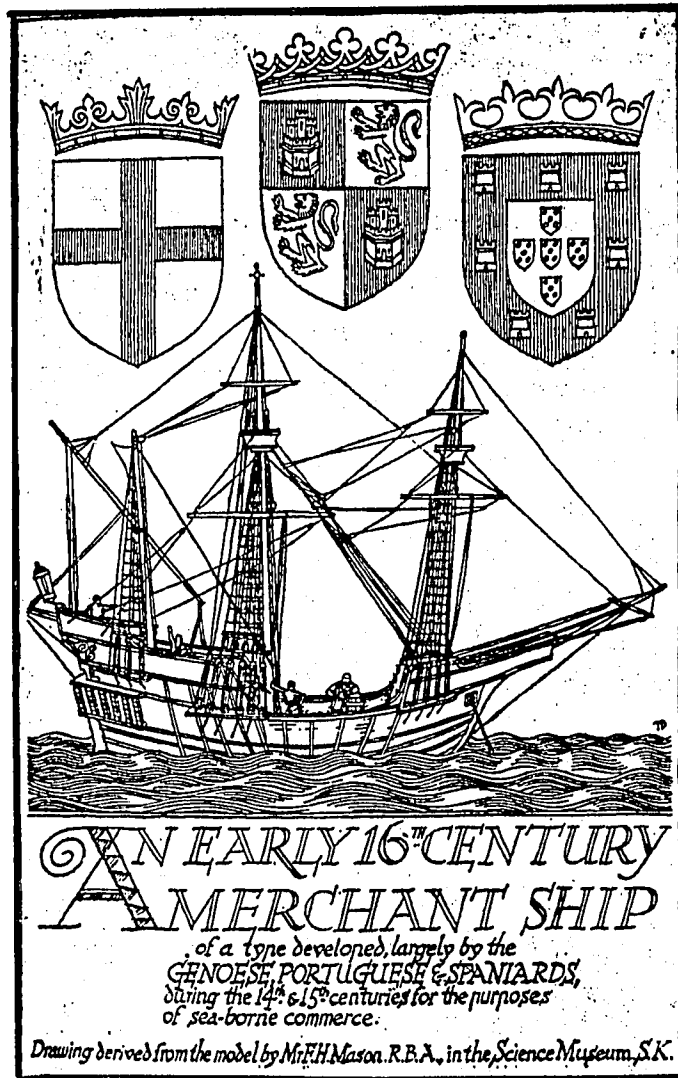


Fig. 35. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

When we have laught to see the sails conceive  
 And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind;  
 Which she, with pretty and with swimming gait  
 Following,--her womb then rich with my young squire,--  
 Would imitate, and sail upon the land,  
 To fetch me trifles, and return again,  
 As from a voyage, rich with merchandise.<sup>63</sup>

Titania is laughing at the "traders on the flood," mocking their "voyage" on the storm-tossed sea of life. "Lord, what fools these mortals be!" Puck says later.<sup>64</sup>

Mistress Ford contributes her share to the imagery of tempest and merchandise associated with the sea, when she says of Falstaff:

What tempest, I trow, threw this whale, with so many  
 tuns of oil in his belly, ashore at Windsor?<sup>65</sup>

"Tuns of oil" would be a very marketable product.

The "merchant/sea-voyage" theme is very important in The Merchant of Venice. The play opens with an image of Antonio's argosies, as Salarino says:

Your mind is tossing on the ocean;  
 There, where your argosies with portly sail,--  
 Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood,  
 Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,  
 Do overpeer the petty traffickers,  
 That curtsey to them, do them reverence,  
 As they fly by them with their woven wings.<sup>66</sup>

In another frequent reference, the sea is associated with treasure. With Spanish and Portuguese ships being raided for their treasures it is no wonder that there are repeated references to jewels, pearls, and gold, since these riches were closely connected in thought with the adventurers.

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<sup>63</sup>2. 1. 122-35

<sup>64</sup>3. 2. 115

<sup>65</sup>WIV 2. 1. 62-4

<sup>66</sup>1. 1. 8-14

In The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Valentine tells Proteus of his love for Silvia:

. . . why man, she is mine own;  
And I as rich in having such a jewel  
As twenty seas, if all their sand were pearl,  
The water nectar and the rocks pure gold.<sup>67</sup>

And Troilus says of Cressida:

Tell me, Apollo, for thy Daphne's love,  
What Cressid is, what Pandar, and what we?  
Her bed is India; there she lies, a pearl:  
Between our Ilium and where she resides,  
Let it be call'd the wild and wandering flood.  
Ourself the merchant; and this sailing Pandar,  
Our doubtful hope, our convoy, and our bark.<sup>68</sup>

In the next act, he calls her a pearl again:

. . . she is a pearl  
Whose price hath launcht above a thousand ships,  
And turn'd crown'd kings to merchants.<sup>69</sup>

When Timon speaks of gold, he says:

Tis thou that rigg'st the bark and pough'st the  
foam.<sup>70</sup>

When these plays were written ships full of merchandise were on everyone's mind, just as the dangers of the sea and sea-storms and pirates must have been a part of every discussion about voyages to the New World.

A **ship** that was captured at sea was often called a "prize." Pistol says:

Clap on more sails; pursue; up with your fights;  
Give fire; she is my prize, or ocean whelm them all!<sup>71</sup>

And Iago speaks of Othello's marriage:

Faith, he to-night hath boarded a land carack;  
If it prove lawful prize, he's made for ever.<sup>72</sup>

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67 2. 4. 166-9      68 1. 1. 95-105  
69 2. 2. 81-4      70 TIM 5. 1. 51      71 WIV 2. 2. 135

In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Mistress Ford says, "Boarding call you it? I'll be sure to keep him above deck," to which Mistress Page answers, "So will I: if he come under my hatches, I'll never to sea again."<sup>73</sup> Here the ladies are, in imagery, treasure laden ships and Falstaff is a pirate. Mr. Page continues the metaphor: "If he should intend this voyage toward my wife, I would turn her loose to him."<sup>74</sup>

The sea is frequently associated with treasure brought back by the voyagers, often the treasures of America, or, as in Henry the Eighth, the treasures of the "Indies." As a result of the explorations, England, during Elizabeth's reign, acquired possession of a large part of the "Indies." Shakespeare puts the dream of possessing the Indies and its riches as far back as Henry the Eighth's reign. In the play, there is a procession along a street in Westminster. One gentleman, looking at the Queen, says:

Heaven bless thee!  
 Thou hast the sweetest face I ever lookt on.--  
 Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel;  
 Our king has all the Indies in his arms,  
 And more and richer, when he strains that lady:  
 I cannot blame his conscience.<sup>75</sup>

The king is truly fortunate to possess "all the Indies" and all their riches. The Arden Edition has this footnote: "presumably the East Indies (which included India)

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<sup>72</sup>OTH 1. 2. 50-1      <sup>73</sup>2. 1. 90-3      <sup>74</sup>2. 1. 174-6  
<sup>75</sup>4. 1. 43-8



Fig. 36. Treasure of the Indies, drawn by Thomas Derrick. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

and the West Indies (which included America), both regarded as sources of fabulous wealth."<sup>76</sup> Henry the Eighth reigned between 1509 and 1547. Since these years came after the voyages of Columbus and Vespucci, King Henry's subject's reference to the riches of "all the Indies" is not impossible, but when Cardinal Beaufort, in King Henry the Sixth Part II, says, "Had Henry got an empire by his marriage, and all the wealthy kingdoms of the west,"<sup>77</sup> he is a little premature, for this play would be taking place some time before 1471. The Arden Edition comments, "perhaps an anachronistic allusion to the golden realms of Spanish America (Brooke)."<sup>78</sup>

Falstaff, living in an even earlier time, also knows about the "West Indies" and its riches. Meeting Host, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, and Robin at the Garter Inn, he tells them about the love letters he has written to both Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page:

. . . she is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty. I will be cheaters to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me; they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both. Go bear thou this letter to Mistress Page; and thou this to Mistress Ford: we will thrive, lads, we will thrive.<sup>79</sup>

I have given in the last two chapters numerous quotations as examples of the use of the sea and the voyages both in plot and imagery in Shakespeare's plays. For

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<sup>76</sup> Arden Edition, p. 130. <sup>77</sup>1. 1. 52-4

<sup>78</sup>Arden Edition, p. 11. <sup>79</sup>1. 3. 66-71

a further study of this aspect of Shakespeare's plays, I refer the reader to the works of Treneer, Knight, Whall, Cawley, and Bourke, among others listed in my bibliography.

PART IV

THE ELIZABETHAN VOYAGERS AND SHAKESPEARE

## CHAPTER V

### THE "GENTLEMEN ADVENTURERS"

#### John Hawkins

The Golden Age of English expeditions to America, which had its beginning during the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was made possible by the experience and knowledge gained from the voyages through the Arctic regions to Russia which started in 1553 and from the expeditions to the Gold and Ivory Coasts of Africa which started in 1552; by the realization that Spain and Portugal were not the sole possessors of all newly-discovered lands and were not strong enough to withstand the English challenge to their claim; and by the spread of information through pamphlets and books, especially Eden's, of the limitless possibilities that existed in the new world beyond the seas. Also helpful was the fact that Queen Elizabeth's government did not frown on overseas expedition. When she came to the throne in 1558, she was not bound to Spain, as Mary Tudor had been, with either marital or religious ties. Moreover, she was more nationalistic than Mary and did not object to English expeditions abroad. In 1561, she even became a partner in an expedition to the coast of Guinea with

little concern about Portugal's objections.<sup>1</sup> However, though she did not object to these expeditions abroad, she had very little understanding of the Latin notion of a colonial empire across the sea securely joined to a mother country. Tales of daring Spanish and French exploration excited many Englishmen and made them eager to try their own luck at exploration and settlement in the new lands, but Elizabeth remained disinterested in this aspect of voyaging.<sup>2</sup>

She did, however, in 1563, give Thomas Stukely permission to organize an expedition to America. Before he left he told his Queen that his aim was independent sovereignty in America. She raised no objections and merely asked if he would remember her in his new kingdom.

. . . being of an aspiring mind, & Florida being then newly discovered by the Spaniards, a project came into his head to go over & people that part of America, not doubting but that he should be a prince at least. To facilitate his design, he craves assistance of Queen Elizabeth, . . . telling her at the same time, that he preferred rather to be sovereign of a mole hill than the highest subject to the greatest monarch in Christendom, for adds he, I am certain to be a prince before my death. To which the queen replies, I hope I shall hear from you when you are settled in your kingdom. Stukeley: I will write to you. Queen Elizabeth: In what language? Stukeley: In the stile of princes--To our dear sister. At which the queen smiled.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>McCann, pp. 139-40.

<sup>2</sup>Sidney Lee, Elizabethan and Other Essays (New York: A M S Press, 1970), p. 304.

<sup>3</sup>Rev. William Stukeley, The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley, M.D., and the antiquarian and other correspondence (Durham, England: Publications for the Society by Andrews & Co., 1882-7), Surtees Society Publication Vol. 73, p. 277.

The Queen had no idea she could rule over subjects who settled on the opposite shore of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>4</sup>

Stukeley, it turned out, preferred pirateering on the high seas to building a new empire. But his unrebuked statement that he would build an English kingdom in America for himself, not for his Queen, is significant as an insight into Queen Elizabeth's attitude. Future events, however, would prove that the idea of colonization could not succeed until the English crown acknowledged responsibility for the American colonists and assumed an obligation to govern and control the new settlements. Queen Elizabeth declined official responsibility to the end.<sup>5</sup> Richard Hakluyt, the literary champion of the colonial idea, tried to change her viewpoint by pointing to the Spanish and French Sovereigns, but he failed. The idea of linking overseas colonies with a mother country fell outside her political horizons, and her ideas during her entire reign did not change. In view of the Queen's attitude, the courage and accomplishments of the explorers seem truly remarkable.

But since she did not oppose the voyagers, their expeditions, in this respect at least, were made easier than they had been under Mary and Philip.

John Hawkins of Plymouth, son of the pioneer of

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<sup>4</sup>Lee, Essays, p. 304

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



the Brazil trade of 1530, became the foremost merchant seaman of England in the first part of Elizabeth's reign. He made three voyages to America between October 1562 and January 1569.<sup>6</sup> On each voyage he stopped at the Guinea Coast for a cargo of slaves and then sailed westward across the ocean. On the first voyage (1562-3), with three vessels and a crew of one hundred men, he transported about three hundred African slaves, whom he had captured from their homes in Sierra Leone, to Hispaniola (Hayti), where he sold them to the Spanish masters of sugar plantations and ranches for great quantities of "hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantities of pearles."<sup>7</sup>

For Hawkins's second voyage (1564-5), Queen Elizabeth lent him one of her own large ships, the Jesus of Lubeck, and she and some of her principal councillors had shares in this venture.<sup>8</sup> After sailing along the west coast of Africa, the fleet left Sierra Leone and crossed the ocean, finally reaching the "Islands of the Canyballs," among them Dominica, Margarita, and Cuba, and then going on to the coast of Florida.<sup>9</sup>

Among the "Gentlemen Adventurers" on this voyage was John Sparke, who served as an officer on the Jesus and as recorder. He wrote the story of the expedition which is found in Hakluyt,<sup>10</sup> the story which, in

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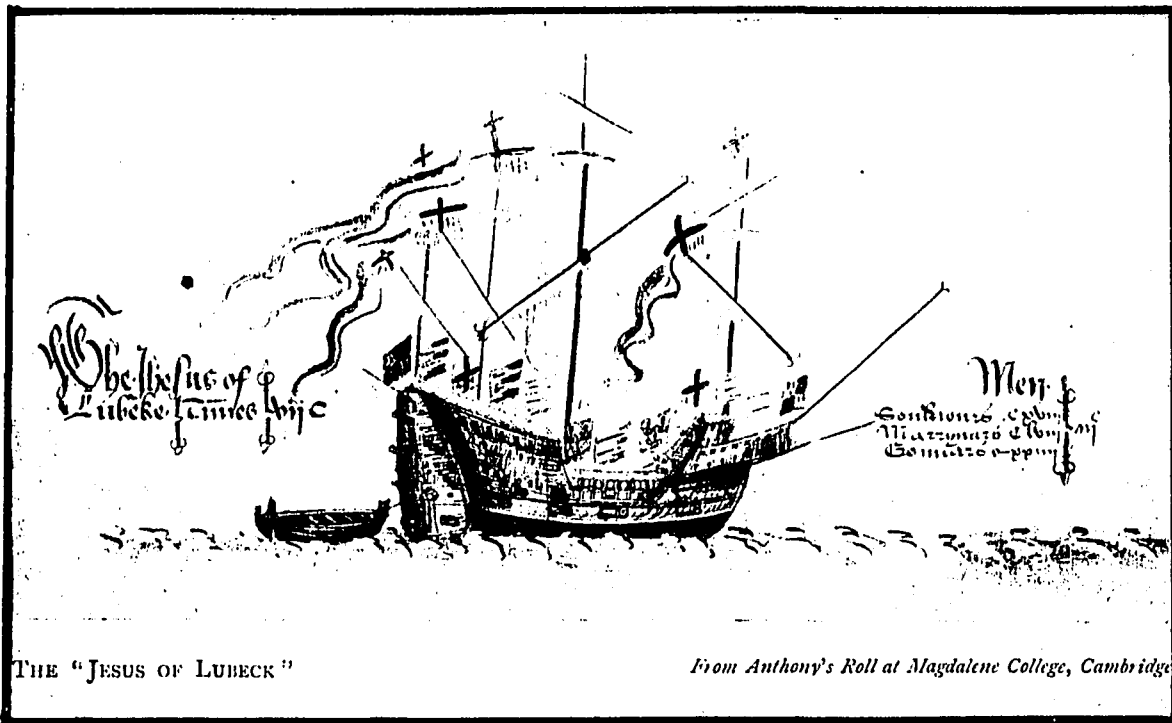
<sup>6</sup>Hakluyt, 7:5-61.

<sup>7</sup>Hakluyt, 7:63.

<sup>8</sup>Payne, pp. 2-3.

<sup>9</sup>Hakluyt, 7:6-52.

<sup>10</sup>Quinn, p. 12.



THE "JESUS OF LUBECK"

*From Anthony's Roll at Magdalene College, Cambridge*

Fig. 38. In E. F. Benson's Sir Francis Drake.

glowing terms, described the fine climate, the attractive vegetation, the fertile soil, everything they encountered.

The Cannibals, who were "eaters of the flesh of men,"<sup>11</sup> and who were encountered by Hawkins, are mentioned several times in the plays. In Coriolanus, the Second Serving Man says, "And he had been cannibally given, he might have broil'd and eaten him too."<sup>12</sup> And the Duke of York, in King Henry the Sixth Part III, says, "That face of his the hungry cannibals / Would not have toucht."<sup>13</sup> After the murder of Prince Edward, Queen Margaret calls the murderers "Butchers and villains! Bloody cannibals!"<sup>14</sup> Cannibals are also mentioned in King Henry the Fourth Part II and in Othello.<sup>15</sup>

On the island called Margarita, in the West Indies, Hawkins found potatoes, of which Sparke wrote:

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneys or carets.<sup>16</sup>

When Thersites, in Troilus and Cressida, says, "How the devil luxury, with his fat rump and potato-finger, tickles these together!"<sup>17</sup> he is referring to something that was unknown in his time. The elongated shape of the sweet potato reminded Shakespeare of a "potato-finger," but since the sweet potato was intro-

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<sup>11</sup>Hakluyt, 7:42.      <sup>12</sup>4. 5. 188      <sup>13</sup>1. 4. 152

<sup>14</sup>5. 5. 61      <sup>15</sup>2H4 2. 4. 165; OTH 1. 3, 143

<sup>16</sup>Hakluyt, 7:22      <sup>17</sup>5. 2. 56=7

duced into England either by John Hawkins in 1563 or by Sir Francis Drake in 1568<sup>18</sup> (there is dispute among the authors as to who actually gets the credit), Thersites, in a Grecian camp near Troy in the time of King Priam, was not likely to have seen one. Nor could he have been thinking of a common potato which was not known in Europe until Raleigh brought it from America in 1586 and cultivated it for the first time in Youghal in Ireland.<sup>19</sup>

In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Falstaff says, "My doe with the black scut!--Let the sky rain potatoes."<sup>20</sup> Falstaff, in the time of Henry the Fourth, was no more familiar with a potato than Thersites had been in the time of King Priam. Only the unknown Indians in a world yet to be discovered were cultivating the root.

The accounts of the voyagers mentioned the potato frequently. Martyr said, "There are certain roots which the natives call potatoes and which grow spontaneously."<sup>21</sup> In his Herball, John Gerarde wrote about the potato: "They comfort, nourish, and strengthen the bodie, procure bodily lust, and that with greediness."<sup>22</sup> Gerarde may have been responsible for the innocent po-

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<sup>18</sup>Recliffe M. Salaman, The History and Social Influence of the Potato (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1949), p. 144.

<sup>19</sup>Salaman, p. 150.      <sup>20</sup>5. 5. 18-19

<sup>21</sup>Martyr, De orbe novo, 1:263.

<sup>22</sup>John Gerarde, The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes (London: John Norton, 1597), p. 780.

tato assuming the reputation of being an aphrodisiac. This is of course what Falstaff has in mind when Mistresses Ford and Page enter and he calls on the sky to rain potatoes.

Gerarde, herbalist and surgeon, who drew upon the reports of the discoverers for his book, and who was the keeper of the physic garden in the Hall of the Royal College of Physicians, gave the first English description and the first engraved illustration of the potato in 1597, with the comment, "It groweth naturally in America, where it was first discovered."<sup>23</sup>

Near Rio de la Hacha, Hawkins, like Thomas Lok on his voyage to Guinea in 1554, also found "crocodils." In writing about Hawkins's voyages, Hakluyt reinforced the legend which claimed these creatures were capable of weeping.<sup>24</sup>

In Florida, Hawkins heard of unicorns:

Of those unicornes they have many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which coming to the river to drinke, puteth the same into the water before he drinketh . . . it is thought that there are lions and tygers as well as unicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the unicornes: for there is no beast but hath his enemy.<sup>25</sup>

When Sebastian says, "Now I will believe / That there are unicorns . . ." <sup>26</sup> he is alluding to travellers' tales and offering an example of one he finds incredible.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Gerarde, p. 781.      <sup>24</sup>See Chapter II

<sup>25</sup>Hakluyt, 7:49.      <sup>26</sup>TMP 3. 3. 22

<sup>27</sup>Arden Edition, p. 87.

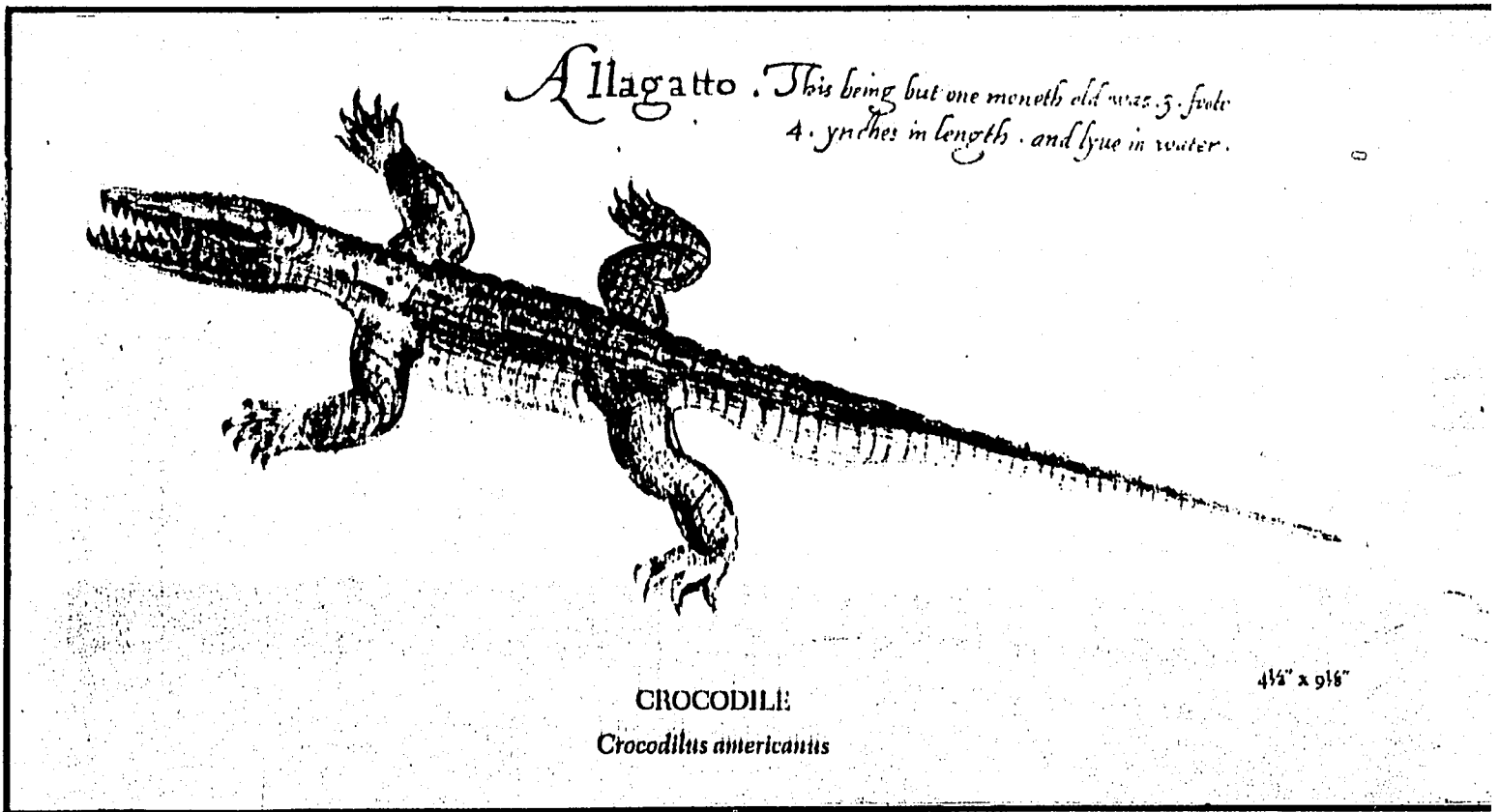


Fig. 39 John White's painting of Crocodylus americanus. In Lorant's The New World.

When Decius Brutus says that Caesar "loves to hear / That unicorns may be betray'd with trees," he is indirectly referring to the enmity between the unicorn and the lion, mentioned by Hakluyt. Steevens, in the New Variorum edition, quotes the passage in Spenser's The Faerie Queene (2. 5. 10) which describes how a lion, charged by a unicorn, stands in front of a tree, and at the last moment steps aside.

Like a lyon, whose imperiall powre  
A prowde rebellious Unicorn defyes,  
T'avoide the rash assault and  
wrathful stowre Of his fiers foe,  
him to a tree applyes,  
And when him ronning in full course  
he spyes, He slips aside;  
the whiles that furious beast  
His precious horne, sought of his enimyes,  
Strikes in the stocke,  
ne thence can be releast,  
But to the mighty Victor yields  
a bounteous feast.<sup>28</sup>

Timon also speaks of the fury which overtakes the unicorn when he is betrayed by a tree: ". . . wert thou the unicorn, pride and wrath would confound thee, and make thine own selfe the conquest of thy fury."<sup>29</sup>

Sparke also wrote:

Of the sea-fowle above all other not common in England, I noted, the pellicane, which is fained to be the lovingst bird that is; which rather than her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly.<sup>30</sup>

The pelican legend was a favorite of Lyly to illustrate

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<sup>28</sup>Furness, Julius Caesar, p. 100.

<sup>29</sup>TIM 4. 3. 336

<sup>30</sup>Hakluyt, 7:51.

self-sacrifice; in Euphues he alludes to Elizabeth as "the good pelican that to feed hir people spareth not to rend hir owne persone."<sup>31</sup>

Though crocodiles, unicorns, and pelicans had been heard of before, the reports of the voyagers reinforced these images and called attention to them. Since they became a part of discussions about the voyages, it was natural that they should be reflected in the plays. The pelican legend had two variations. In contrast to the female who kills her young with caresses and "loueth too much her children,"<sup>32</sup> there was the image of the young as ungrateful and selfish. This image of filial impiety we see in King Richard the Second and in King Lear. John of Gaunt says:

Oh spare me not, my brother Edward's son,  
For that I was his father Edward's son;--  
That blood already, like the pelican,  
Hast thou tapt out, and drunkenly caroused.<sup>33</sup>

And Lear cries:

It is the fashion, that discarded fathers  
Should have thus little mercy on their flesh?  
Judicious punishment! t'was this flesh begot  
Those pelican daughters.<sup>34</sup>

Sparke's description of the pelican continues:

"From the nether jaw whereof downe to the breast passeth

<sup>31</sup>John Lyly, The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. R. Warwick Bond, Vol. II Euphues and His England (Oxford, 1902), p. 215.

<sup>32</sup>Furness, Variorum Edition of King Lear, Wright quotes from Batman vppon Bartholome (fol. 186b), p. 189.

<sup>33</sup>2. 1. 124-7      <sup>34</sup>3. 4. 72-5

a skinne of such a bigness, as is able to receive a fish as big as ones thigh."<sup>35</sup> Laertes says:

To his good friends thus wide I'll ope my arms,  
And, like the kind life-rendering pelican,  
Repast them with my blood.<sup>36</sup>

Furness comments: "By the pelican's dropping upon its breast its lower bill to enable its young to take from its capacious pouch, lined with fine flesh-colored skin, this appearance is, on feeding them, given."<sup>37</sup>

The first two voyages of Hawkins aroused some irritation among the Spaniards, but this was as nothing compared to the deep and lasting wrath provoked in the English by the unfortunate incident which occurred on his third voyage (1567-9). On this expedition, Hawkins had with him his young cousin, Francis Drake, a Devonshire man like Hawkins himself.<sup>38</sup> After touching at Dominica and Margarita, as they had done before, they went on to the mainland to dispose of their slaves. This was in September, 1568. Suddenly they were caught by a horrendous hurricane and put in at the harbor of San Juan de Ullua where they ran into a Spanish fleet commanded by Alvarez de Baçon. The English were tricked, by a false agreement, into thinking they were safe; but

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<sup>35</sup>Hakluyt, 7:51.

<sup>36</sup>HAM 4. 5. 147-9.

<sup>37</sup>Furness, Caldecott quotes Dr. Sherwen, p. 342.

<sup>38</sup>James Anthony Froude, English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915), p. 69.

instead they were fired upon. A fierce battle ensued with heavy losses on both sides.<sup>39</sup>

Only two of the original six ships escaped. One of these was the Minion, commanded by Hawkins, which fled with two hundred men crowded on her. They knew if they all remained on board none would survive. One hundred men volunteered to land and to take their chances on surviving. The rest, on short rations, might hope to reach England.<sup>40</sup> After their food ran out, those left on board were forced to eat "rats, cats, mice and dogs . . . par-rats and monkeyes."<sup>41</sup> even as "poor Tom" in King Lear ate "mice and rats and such small deer."<sup>42</sup> After meeting up with several English ships at Vigo, they were given fresh hands and fresh supplies and reached England in February 1569. Drake had arrived a little while earlier on the Judith.<sup>43</sup>

The Englishmen who had been captured by the Spaniards at Ullua were either slain or tortured. Men were hung up by the arms alive, stabbed, whipped, racked, burnt, or made galley-slaves. Occasionally a stray friar would show some kindness, but "the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards"<sup>44</sup> are detailed in almost every report of an encounter with them. Drake found

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<sup>39</sup>Hakluyt, 7:53-62.      <sup>40</sup>Froude, p. 80.

<sup>41</sup>Hakluyt, 7:61.      <sup>42</sup>3. 4. 142

<sup>43</sup>Froude, p. 82.      <sup>44</sup>Hakluyt, 7:57.

a Negro who had been whipped raw, set in the sun, and tortured to death by mosquitoes. There was also the report of an Indian who was smeared with brimstone, fired, restored to health, anointed with honey, chained to a tree "where mosquitoes flocked about him like moats in the sun and did pitifully sting him," and those mosquitoes being like wasps, "than which death had been better, as he said,"<sup>45</sup> In The Winter's Tale, Autolycus raves about what he would do to the Shepherd's son:

He has a son,--who shall be flay'd alive; then, 'nointed over with honey, set on the head of wasps' nest; then stand till he be three quarter and a dram dead; then recover'd again with aqua-vitae or some other hot infusion; then, raw as he is, and in the hottest day prognostication claims, shall he be set against a brick-wall, the sun looking with a southward eye upon him--where he is to behold him with flies blown to death.<sup>46</sup>

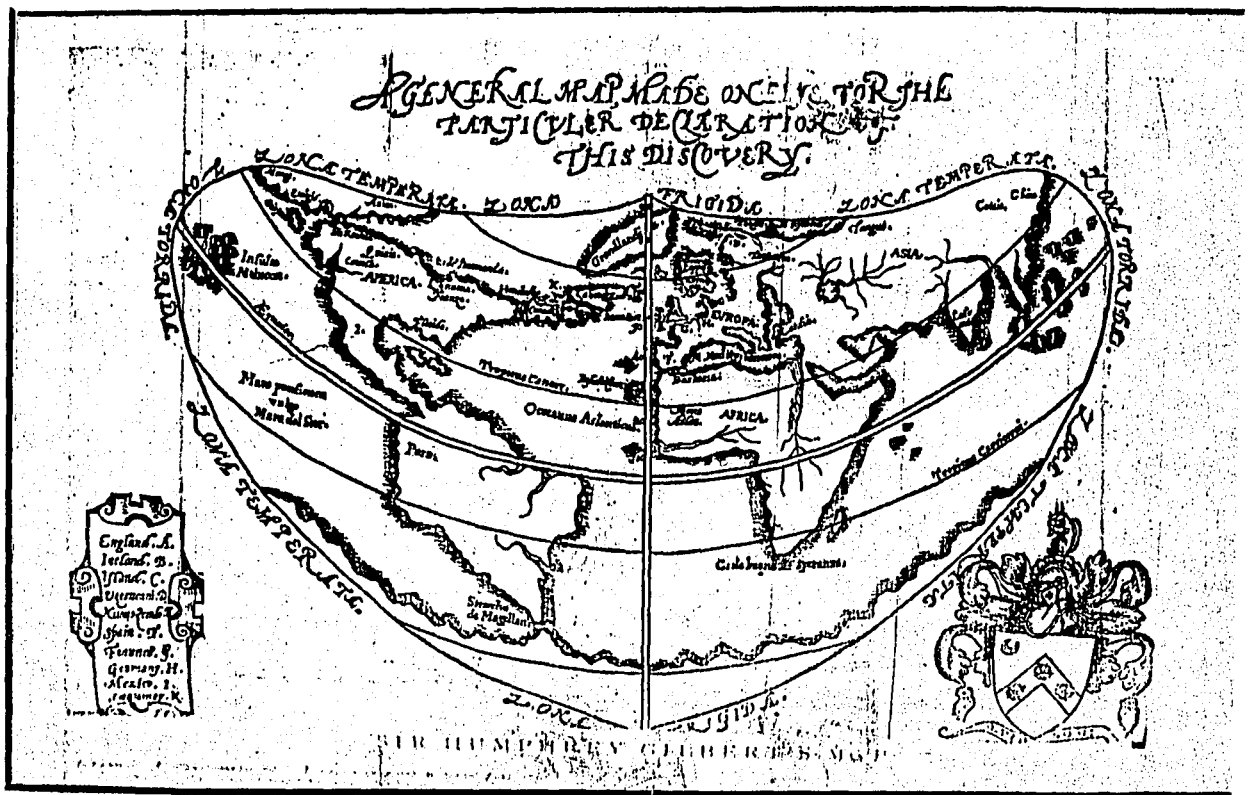
#### Humphrey Gilbert

Another "Gentleman Adventurer" of the Elizabethan era was Humphrey Gilbert who, like the other intrepid explorers of his time, was an ardent patriot, devoted to his Queen and country. In 1565 or 1566 Gilbert wrote the first draft of a treatise which presented the possibilities of a Northwest Passage through America to Cathay. A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cathaia, and the Other Indies brought to the Queen's notice Gilbert's plan for the discovery of

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<sup>45</sup>Rogers in Shakespeare's England, 1:85.

<sup>46</sup>4. 3. 795-804



the passage coupled with the idea of colonization of the intermediate lands. This discourse started a ten-year period of discussion on the subject which culminated in the voyages of Martin Frobisher.<sup>47</sup>

In Eden's Decades, Baccallaos, just north of Conception Bay in Newfoundland, was referred to as just a place to catch codfish.<sup>48</sup> Despite this general opinion, Gilbert suggested establishing a permanent supply station there where ships could stop on the way to Asia:

. . . moreover, we might from all the aforesaid places, have a yeerely retourne, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part, wheras it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage.<sup>49</sup>

Gilbert never disputed Spain's monopoly of the land below the 49° latitude. He was interested in a route to Cathay through the Arctic Ocean and suggested planting an English colony along the way for protection and for convenience. He also thought a "plantation" would be a good place where criminals could be turned into honest men and where relief could be provided for the overpopulation in London.

. . . and settle there such needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallowes.<sup>50</sup>

This humane motive was probably in the minds of other

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<sup>47</sup>Short History, p. 126.

<sup>48</sup>First Three English, p. 161.

<sup>49</sup>Hakluyt. 5:116, <sup>50</sup>Hakluyt, 5:116.

promoters of the movement, such as Raleigh, Sir George Peckham and Christopher Carleill, but in order to attract investors, they also enlarged upon the commercial advantages to be gained in the New Land.<sup>51</sup>

Nothing came of Gilbert's proposal and he spent the next ten years as a soldier in Ireland where he was involved in a scheme for the plantation of Ulster.<sup>52</sup> Though nothing concrete came of the proposal at the time, it did have an effect on future events.

Since the 1527 voyage of John Rut there had been no English expedition to discover a Northwest Passage to Asia. Gilbert's treatise was not published until 1576, but two years before the printing of the Discourse, another "Gentleman Adventurer," Michael Lok, became interested in the discovery of a Northwest Passage. Lok was a member of one of the families that had pioneered in the Guinea voyages during the reign of Mary.<sup>53</sup> About this time he met Captain Martin Frobisher, who, like Lok, was convinced of the existence of a Northwest Passage. The two decided to join forces.<sup>54</sup>

In the spring of 1575, Lok, Gilbert, and Dr. John Dee, a famous English mathematician and astronomer,

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<sup>51</sup>Short History, p. 126.      <sup>52</sup>Short History, p. 127.

<sup>53</sup>James A. Williamson, The Tudor Age (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1953), p. 263.

<sup>54</sup>Short History, p. 118.

met. Their project for the discovery of the Northwest Passage was not distasteful to the Queen because it would not enter Spanish waters, and, if successful, would lead, they believed, to the eastern end of Asia where great riches lay. However, according to the Moscovy Company's charter, only that company could trade with Asia by any northern route and it declined to grant permission for anyone else to do so. However, Lord Burghley intervened and the expedition was agreed upon. A licence was obtained and enough money raised to equip two small vessels, the Gabriel and the Michael, each of twenty-five tons, and a pinnace of ten tons. Frobisher, in command of the expedition, sailed from England in June, 1576.<sup>55</sup>

The 8 June day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of us, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance and made the best shew we could; Her Majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window.<sup>56</sup>

Elizabeth must have felt kindly toward her subjects who were fighting the state's battles at their own cost and bringing back rich gifts for her. Perhaps as she waved to Frobisher from her window, she was thinking:

Sail upon the land  
To fetch me trifles, and return again,  
As from a voyage, rich with merchandise.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>B. M. Ward, p. 237.

<sup>56</sup>Hakluyt, 5:131.

<sup>57</sup>MND 2. 1. 134

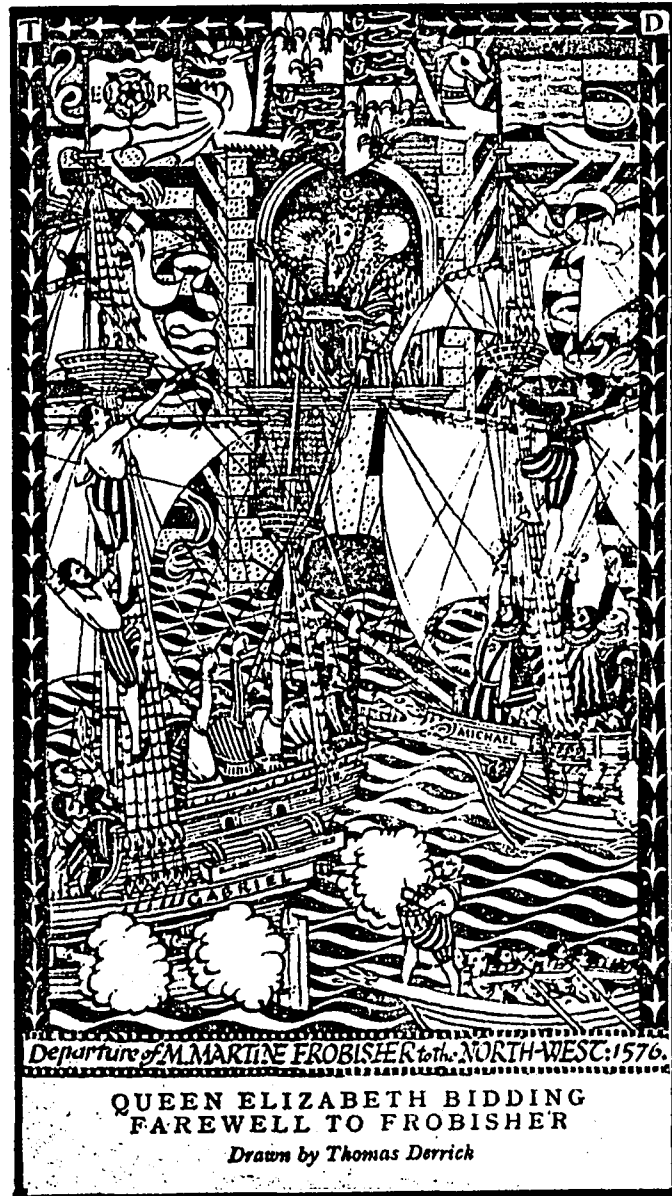


Fig. 40. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

Frobisher crossed the ocean and on 11 July rounded the southern point of Greenland, then crossed to the western side of Davis Strait where he landed with the Gabriel on Baffin Island which he called Meta Incognita. In this region he found an opening which he assumed was a passage to the Pacific. Shortly afterwards in a storm he lost the company of the Michael, and his pinnace was also lost. In what is now Frobisher's Gulf, he was forced to turn back. The loss of five members of his small crew to the Eskimos left him with only thirteen men and he returned to England. The Michael returned to Bristol 1 September and Frobisher returned 2 October 1576.<sup>58</sup>

One of the sailors in this first voyage brought home a piece of black pyrite, which an Italian alchemist named Agnello, in defiance of London goldsmiths, pronounced to contain gold.<sup>59</sup> Now it was easier to raise funds and with Lord Burghley's support a charter of incorporation was obtained for the original adventurers under the name Company of Cathay with full monopoly rights in the new trade. Michael Lok became governor and Frobisher captain-general and admiral of the ships and navy of the company, each with a grant of one per cent of all merchandise imported by way of the Passage.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>McCann, p. 155.      <sup>59</sup>DNB 7:722.

<sup>60</sup>Short History, p. 118.

The Queen not only granted a patent but invested her own money in the expedition.<sup>61</sup>

Frobisher's instructions on his second voyage, which sailed 27 May 1577, were to put more effort into searching for gold ore than for the Northwest Passage. The search for the Passage now took second place. Only if he failed to find the gold ore was he to look further for the Passage. He sailed with the Aid of 200 tons, which belonged to the Queen, the Gabriel, and the Michael. The expedition landed at a spot different than the one where they had picked up the original ore, but they loaded onto their ships two hundred tons of the mineral they found there anyway, and returned to England. The two hundred tons of ore caused a great deal of excitement. Samples of the "ore" were sent to the Mint to be tested and Lok declared that there would be a profit of forty pounds a ton. Dee himself signed a statement in which he claimed to have obtained seven ounces of silver from 2 cwt. of ore.<sup>62</sup>

A large part of the treasure was deposited in Bristol Castle, the rest in the Tower of London, but in time it was found that the ore was "poor in respect of that brought last year, and that which we know may be brought next year."<sup>63</sup> It was resolved to send out

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<sup>61</sup>Tudor Age, p. 265.      <sup>62</sup>B. M. Ward, p. 238.

<sup>63</sup>Henry Richard Fox Bourne, Sir Philip Sidney: (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891), p. 158.



Fig. 41. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

another and much larger expedition the next year.

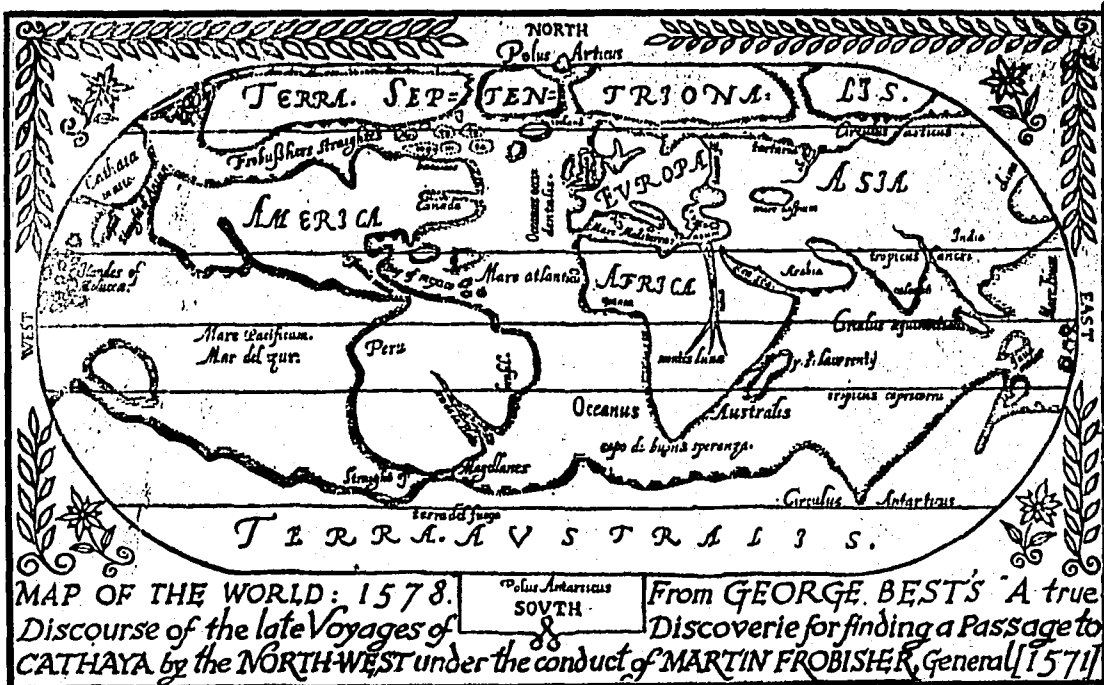
In May of 1578 Frobisher sailed for the third time, this time with fifteen ships, the largest English fleet that had ever sailed across the ocean. On this voyage was Captain Edward Fenton who was to remain with one hundred men to build a permanent garrison to protect the "gold mines." When the fleet returned in October, loaded with more "gold ore" the mineral was found to be worthless and panic set in. No further support could be found to finance the operation and the twelve hundred tons of ore remained untouched. The fort that Frobisher had planned to build never materialized. The Company of Cathay was bankrupt.<sup>64</sup>

Among the losers in this venture was Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who had invested three thousand pounds in the voyage, for which he had given Lok a bond, making him the largest investor in the enterprise. The "gold ore" having been proved worthless, Lok was accused of being "a false accountant to the company, a cozener of my Lord of Oxford, no venturer at all in the voyages, a bankrupt knave." The accusation was made by Frobisher and his followers.<sup>65</sup> Lok accused Frobisher of dishonesty but it was Lok who was tried for having given false testimony about the value of the ore.

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<sup>64</sup>Short History, p. 120.

<sup>65</sup>Bourne, p. 161.



Map 11. 1578 Map of George Best who was with Frobisher. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

All the testimony seemed to point to the fact that he knew the ore was worthless when he sold Lord Oxford his shares. Lok protested, claiming he was innocent.<sup>66</sup> The last that is known of Lok is as a petitioner from the Fleet Prison. He was condemned at the suit of Wm. Borowgh to pay 200 pounds for a ship bought of him for Frobisher's last voyage, but he claimed it was not his debt.<sup>67</sup>

Lord Oxford's investment of a bond for three thousand pounds may be echoed in The Merchant of Venice when Antonio gives his bond for three thousand ducats to Shylock--shy<sup>68</sup> Lok. Antonio seems to be a likely representation of Lord Oxford; Shylock may be Lok; and Portia may be Queen Elizabeth.<sup>69</sup> The "three thousand ducats for which Antonio entered into bond," is exactly the same amount for which Oxford entered into bond in pounds.

As Antonio broods, Solanio addressed him with words that could well have been said to Oxford after Frobisher had left:

Belive me, sir, had I such venture forth,  
The better part of my affections would  
Be with my hopes abroad. I should be still  
Plucking the grass, to know where sits the wind;  
Peering in maps for ports, and piers, and roads;  
And every object that might make me fear  
Misfortune to my ventures, out of doubt  
Would make me sad.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Short History, pp. 117-20.

<sup>67</sup>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616 (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862), 2:xix.

To Lord Oxford, whose fortune was dwindling rapidly at the time of his investment, the loss of three thousand pounds would have been a very serious matter. When Bassanio asks Antonio for money to help him make possible his dream of marrying Portia, Antonio tells him:

Thou know'st that all my fortunes are at sea;  
Neither have I money nor commodity  
To raise a present sum: therefore go forth;  
Try what my credit can in Venice do.<sup>71</sup>

Bassanio finds Shylock and asks him for a loan and Shylock answers, "Three thousand ducats for three months, and Antonio bound."<sup>72</sup> And then he expresses his doubts about Antonio's ventures abroad:

But ships are but boards, sailors but men: there be  
land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves and land-  
thieves; I mean pirates . . .<sup>73</sup>

When Lord Oxford returned from the Continent in 1576, he was attacked by pirates and during his absence one of his servants was discharged for defrauding him.<sup>74</sup> By experience, then, he knew both "water-thieves" and "land-thieves."

What I am suggesting is that some of the incidents in Lord Oxford's life may have been known to

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<sup>68</sup>NED 8:799:Shy--of questionable character, disreputable, 'shady'.

<sup>69</sup>Eva Turner Clark, Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's plays (New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1931), p. 198.

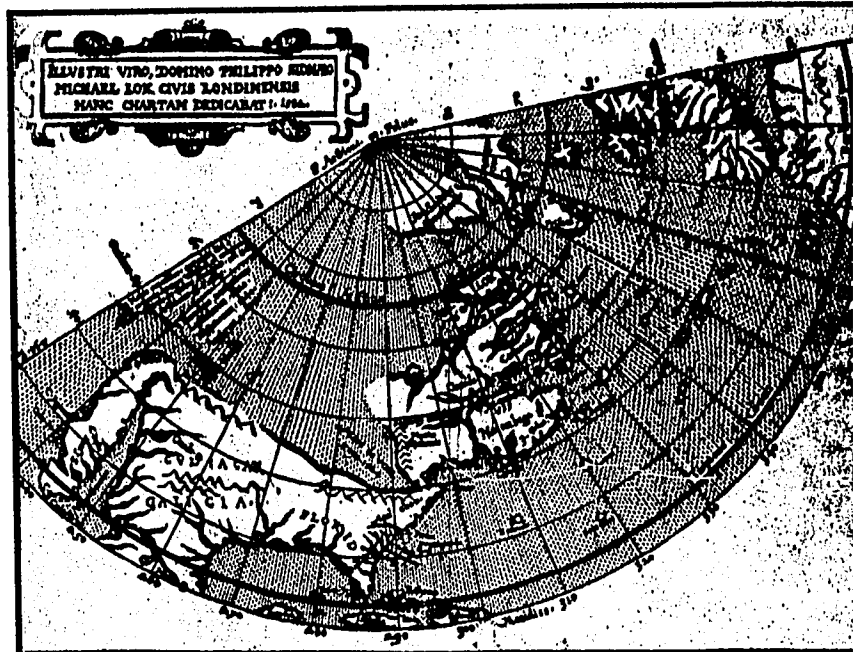
<sup>70</sup>1. 1. 16-23

<sup>71</sup>1. 1. 177-80

<sup>72</sup>1. 3. 9-10

<sup>73</sup>1. 3. 21-3

<sup>74</sup>Clark, p. 198.



Map 12. MICHAEL LOCK'S MAP

*From " Divers Voyages touching  
the discoverie of America," by  
Richard Hakluyt (1582)*

Shakespeare and that he may have drawn on them while writing this play. The reflections are subtle, but they are very suggestive. It is also possible that the Queen herself, who was an investor in the Cathay Company, must have been interested in the outcome of the voyage of 1578, and that her interest in the legal procedures against Lok, which sent him to the Fleet,<sup>75</sup> is reflected in Portia's interest in the legal procedures against Shylock, though in a different manner. For further discussion on this interpretation of The Merchant of Venice, the reader is referred to Clark and Ogburn.

There are other reflections in the plays of Frobisher's voyages. For instance, on his second trip, on Anne Warwickers Island, off the shore of Meta Incognita, he had seen creatures which he took to be "Anthropophagi, or devourers of mans flesh."<sup>76</sup> Martyr, in describing Columbus's voyage of 1492 also mentioned the tribes that molested the islanders of Hispaniola:

The wylde and myscheuous people called Canibals or Caribes, whiche were accustomed to eate flessche (and called of the olde writers anthropophagi) molest them exedyngly, inuadynge theyr country, takynge them captive, kyllyng and eatyng them.<sup>77</sup>

Shakespeare refers several times to the Anthropophagi who the voyagers claimed inhabited certain regions of America. Othello says:

Wherein of antres vast, and deserts idle,

<sup>75</sup>DNB 12:92.      <sup>76</sup>Hakluyt, 5:151.

<sup>77</sup>First Three English, p. 66.

Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch  
 heaven,  
 It was my hint to speak,--such was the process;  
 And of the Cannibals that each other eat,  
 The Anthropophagi,<sup>78</sup>

The word appears again in The Merry Wives of Windsor:

SIMPLE

Marry, sir, I come to speak with Sir John Falstaff  
 from Master Slender.

HOST

There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his stand-  
 ing bed, and truckle bed; 'tis painted about with the  
 story of the Prodigal, fresh and new. Go knock and  
 call; he'll speak like an Anthropophaginian unto  
 thee: knock, I say.<sup>79</sup>

Host means Simple will be given a savage reception if he  
 disturbs Falstaff.

Neither Martyr nor Dionise Settle, who wrote the  
 report of Frobisher's second voyage, actually invented the  
 term "anthropophagi." They could have seen it in Ptolemy's  
 Geography. On "Tabvla Asiae VIII" in the 1540 issue from  
 Basel, there are

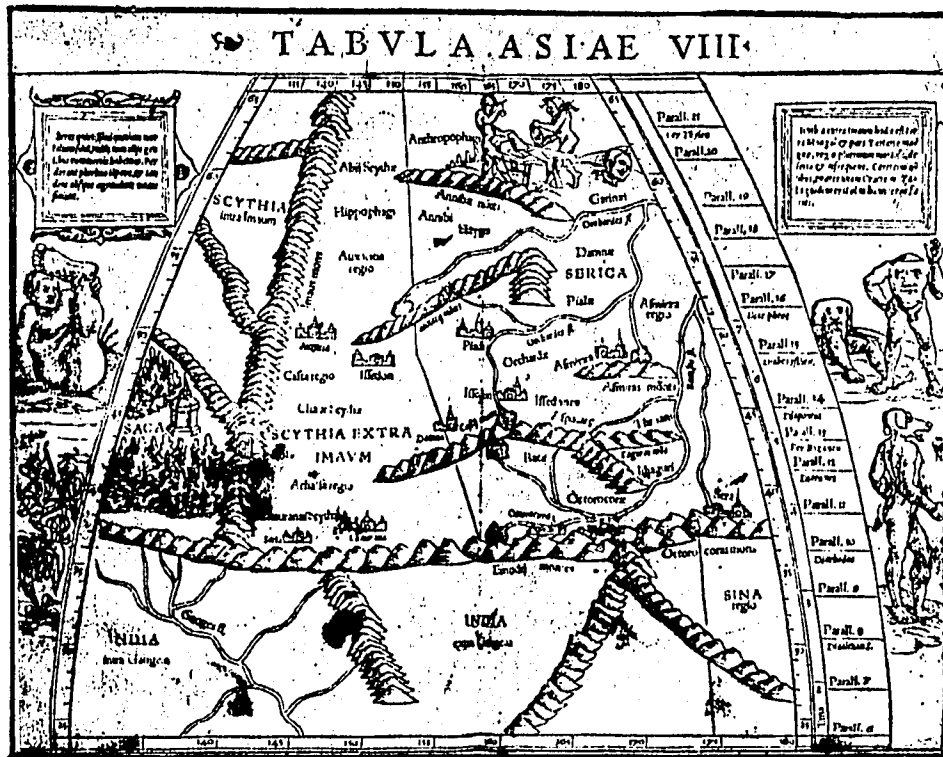
the anthropophagi chopping as busily as ever, with  
 heads and limbs flying in all directions. Shaksper's  
 "deserts idle" [Othello's speech above] are recalled  
 by one of the legends in the corner, which informs  
 us that the region is 'most mountainous, deserted,  
 and unfrequented' and that it 'lacks cities.' The  
 margin is entertainingly filled in with ostriches,  
 dog-headed men, hunters, and a strange human being  
 with one leg, which he holds most uncomfortably over  
 his head in such a fashion presumably as to use the  
 gigantic foot as a sunshade.<sup>80</sup>

As an interesting side-light, in 1624 a writer

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<sup>78</sup>1. 2. 142      <sup>79</sup>4. 5. 5-10

<sup>80</sup>J. Milton French, "Othello Among the Anthro-  
 phagi," in PMLA, XLIX. (1934), pp. 807-9.



Map 13. From Ptolemy's Geographie. In PMLA vol. xlix (1934).

with the initials E. S. (B. of D.) describing Anthropophagus said, "They are like Hamlet's ghost, hic et ubique,<sup>81</sup> here and there, and everywhere."<sup>82</sup> L. T. S. in Athenaeum, 13 November, 1875, said, "the author is here speaking of time-servers and flatterers."<sup>83</sup> Can this be another meaning Host intended for Falstaff?

Because of the bankruptcy of the Cathay Company and the screaming of the investors, Frobisher's three voyages, considered failures, were berated and his contribution to geography overlooked. But he was not overlooked by Hakluyt. His voyages were commercial failures, but they did enlarge English concepts of the northern American continent.

The "Gentlemen Adventurers" were men who invested money in the voyages; they "ventured" their money in hopes of making a profit, but many lost more than they gained. The term referred to those investors who did not engage in the voyages, as well as those who did. In a report of Humphrey Gilbert's voyage and "a discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English Colonies upon the North parts of America," Sir George Peckham wrote:

I must now according to my promise shew foorth some

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<sup>81</sup>HAM 1. 5. 157

<sup>82</sup>C. M. Ingleby, Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse; being materials for a history of opinion on Shakespeare and his works, A.D. 1591-1693 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1879), p. 159.

<sup>83</sup>Athenaeum, 13 November, 1875, p. 42.

probable reason that the adventurers in this journey are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore convenient that I doe divide the adventurers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentleman by themselves, and the Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants.<sup>84</sup>

In the Claendar State Papers, 3 May 1578, we read:

94. Account of the money received and paid by [Michael Lok] for the second and third voyages of Captain Frobisher to the North-west. The account for the second voyage shows a balance of 901*l.* not paid. The receipts for the third voyage up to this date, amount to 2,968*l.* 12*s.* The Queen heads the list with 1,350*l.*; Lord Pembroke paid 202*l.* 10*s.*; Walsyngham, 182*l.* 7*s.*; Sir Thos. Gresham, 170*l.*; Earl of Warwick and Edm. Hogan, 135*l.* each; Lord Burghley, 100*l.*; Sir Fras. Knollys, Philip Sydney, John Somers, Sec. Wilson, Sir Henry Wallop, Robt. Kyndersley and Christ. Hudson, each 67*l.* 10*s.*; Richard Yonge, 50*l.*; the Countess of Warwick and Mathew Fyeld, 35*l.* each; and Lady Pembroke, Mat. Kyndersley, and Wm. Dowgle, 33*l.* 15*s.* each. The payments for the third voyage up to this date, amount to 2,646*l.* 3*s.*, including three sums of 400*l.*, 596*l.*, and 60*l.* to Frobisher; several payments to Fenton; 25*l.* to Jonas for a quarter; 20*l.* to Capt. Hall, and 22*l.* 10*s.* to Robt. Denham.<sup>85</sup>

Among the losers in Frobisher's voyages were the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Sussex, Francis Walsingham, Philip Sidney, and Lord Burghley whom I have chosen as representatives of the adventurers whose reflections I see in the plays. Sometimes, as in the case of Lord Burghley, the resemblance seems quite complete in one character, sometimes the man referred to may be seen in two charac-

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<sup>84</sup>Hakluyt, 6:62-3.

<sup>85</sup>Calendar State Papers, 2:37.

ters in the same play; and sometimes two men of the poet's day may suggest the personality of a single character in a play.

### Lord Leicester

Robert Dudley, later to be Lord Leicester, and Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth, who were about the same age, had been childhood friends from their early years.<sup>86</sup> Before Elizabeth's accession to the throne they had gone through a desperate time when they were both imprisoned in the Tower during the same years. She afterwards spoke of his goodness to her then and of how "he never ceased his former kindness and service, and even sold his possessions to provide me with funds." They had known each other since she was eight years old, he nine, and they had always been congenial in many ways. One quality they especially shared: an insatiable vanity; and they both had a capacity for duplicity.<sup>87</sup>

On 4 June 1550 Dudley married Amy Robsart. In spite of the fact that he was married, from the moment of Elizabeth's becoming queen in 1558, Dudley was her favorite and remained so until his death, despite the Queen's attraction to other members of her court. In

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<sup>86</sup>Unless otherwise stated, facts about the lives of the five gentlemen discussed in this chapter are from the Dictionary of National Biography.

<sup>87</sup>Dorothy Ogburn, Charlton Ogburn, This Star of England: "William Shake-Speare" Man of the Renaissance (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1952), p. 48.



Fig. 42. Robert Dudley. In Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

1558 Dudley was named Master of the Horse and was later sworn into the Privy Council. The Queen made no secret of her infatuation and there was little doubt in some minds that she planned to marry him. Her Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Sussex, was the greatest single force in England to work continuously to prevent this marriage which he felt would not only fail to bring happiness to the Queen, but would be greatly detrimental to England.<sup>88</sup> On 8 September 1560, Lady Amy died in an accident in her home in Cumnor Place. Her death removed the chief obstacle to the marriage of the Queen and Dudley. Though a jury of inquest ruled that Lady Amy's death was accidental, there had been suspicious circumstances in her death and malicious rumors persisted.

In 1564 Dudley was created Baron Denbigh and the next day, Earl of Leicester. In August 1565 the Queen paid her first visit to Kenilworth, which she had granted Leicester in 1563, and was received with great pomp and pageantry. In the following years Leicester became rich and all-powerful in the court. In May 1573, having given up all hope of marrying the Queen, he secretly married Lady Douglas Sheffield, a widow. The Queen did not know of this marriage. In July 1575 Leicester again entertained the Queen at Kenilworth where elaborate pageants and gay festivities on an extravagant scale prevailed for

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<sup>88</sup> Ogburn, p. 48.

eighteen days.

In 1577 Leicester invested in Francis Drake's expedition to the New World. The next year, having dissolved his marriage to Lady Sheffield, Leicester married Lettice Knollys, widow of the Earl of Essex. Again, the fact of his marriage was kept from the Queen. In August 1579 the French ambassador, M. de Simier, broke the news to her and a storm broke loose. She was furious and Leicester was temporarily confined to a castle in Greenwich until the Queen recovered from her anger.

In May 1582 Leicester was the principal adventurer in Edward Fenton's voyage to the coast of Brazil. He invested 3000 pounds in this enterprise which was a complete failure. Among the other adventurers in this voyage were the Earl of Oxford, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lord Burghley.<sup>89</sup>

There have been at least two writers who have connected Oberon's vision in A Midsummer Night's Dream with the festivities that took place at Kenilworth in 1575.<sup>90</sup>

The little allegory which we are about to consider comprises, in a few hints perfectly intelligible to contemporary ears, a long and intricate story of queens, princes, favourites, and courtiers, the most distinguished in their day: but, involving nothing beyond their domestic history, it is no

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<sup>89</sup>B. M. Ward, p. 241.

<sup>90</sup>James Boaden, On the Sonnets of Shakespeare (London: T. Rodd, 1837), and Rev. N. J. Halpin, Oberon's Vision in the "Midsummer Night's Dream" (London: Shakespeare Society, 1843).

wonder that, as they died away, and disappeared from the busy stage of life, the details of their foibles and their errors, their passions and their crimes, should fade and wax dim in the public recollection, or that the poetical record of their frailties, purposely obscure at first, should gradually lose its distinctness, and at length present to the ordinary reader nothing more than a series of beautiful but unappropriated imagery. . . . A leading inducement to engage in this discussion was a desire to attract attention to a subject which, if suspected at all, has heretofore received far less consideration than it deserves: I mean that condition of our earlier drama which, in the language of the Euphuist, may be called "the application of pastimes;" that is to say, the personalities of the drama--the appropriation of the characters and incidents of dramatic entertainments to the characters and incidents of the times then current. That condition . . . pervades, to an extent not lightly credible, the whole of the Shakespearian period.<sup>91</sup>

It was during Elizabeth's summer progress in 1575 and her residence in Kenilworth Castle, that the Earl of Leicester again made an earnest attempt to win the Queen's hand in marriage, even though he was still married to Lady Sheffield and was secretly courting Lady Knollys. A marriage between Elizabeth and the young Duke of Alençon of France had long been the subject of negotiations, and, though Elizabeth had at first discouraged the match because of the disparity of years, she granted his request to visit her in 1574. Leicester was alarmed by the presence of this dangerous rival and he put all his efforts into the festivities at Kenilworth,

Something happened on the eleventh day of her visit which gave her great offense. It appears that she

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<sup>91</sup>Halpin, pp. vi, viii.

found out about Leicester's secret love-life. "Female jealousy was visible to Oberon," says Halpin. The fiery shaft was

Quenched in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,  
And the imperial Vot'ress passed on  
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.<sup>92</sup>

But the bolt, which left her unscathed, did not pass to another without fatal effect.

It fell upon a little western flower. The incident of one lover engaged with two mistresses at once is the obvious interpretation of Cupid shooting at one shaft which wounded another. Leicester is clearly the hero, and Queen Elizabeth the fair Vestal.<sup>93</sup> The 'little western flower' is Lady Lettice.

The story involves the fate of princes, statesmen, and nobles, and is ushered in with portents, which, as was generally believed, omened the fortunes of the great. The mermaid singing her enchantments was the old and apposite type of those female seductions generally so fatal to their objects. The "stars shooting madly from their spheres" were the prodigies which foreboded disasters to the great. The phenomenon seems to signify a Star (a high and mighty potentate) wildly rushing from the sphere of the bright and lofty Moon (the queen), darting beneath the attraction of the Earth (a lady inferior to the Queen), and falling in a heap on the lap of Love in idleness, an emblematic flower, signifying a mistress in concealment. The prodigies are poetical-imagery, picked up from the actual pageantry which

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<sup>92</sup>2.1.162-4

<sup>93</sup>Halpin, pp. 28-9.



Fig. 43. Queen Elizabeth as Diana. In  
Eva Turner Clark's The Satirical Comedy  
Love's Labour's Lost.

accompanied the real transactions. Halpin's interpretation is one of many. I give it here to illustrate one way in which Shakespeare's writing can be seen to reflect topical interests, in this case the activities of Leicester.

Halpin compares the poetical allegory (in juxtaposition) with a simple paraphrase of the literal meaning which he has given it, and says, "If the result be not a conviction that the parallel is too exact to be the offspring of chance, and the harmony too unconstrained and natural to be the accord of any thing but truth, I shall freely confess that my imagination has very grossly imposed upon my senses."<sup>94</sup>

Text.

My gentle Puck, come hither  
 Thou remember'st  
 When once I sat upon a promontory,  
 And saw  
a mermaid  
on a dolphin's back,  
Uttering such dulcet and  
harmonious sounds  
That the rude sea grew civil  
at her song:  
And certain stars shot madly  
from their spheres  
To hear the sea-maid's music.

Paraphrase.

Come hither, Puck. You doubtless remember when, once upon a time, sitting together on a rising ground, or bray, by the side of a piece of water, we saw what to us appeared (though to others it might have worn a different semblance) a mermaid sitting on a dolphin's back, and singing so sweetly to the accompaniment of a band of music placed inside of an artificial dolphin, that one could very well imagine the waves of the mimic sea before us would, had they been ruffled, have calmed and settled themselves down to listen to her melody; and, at the same time, there was a flight of artificial fireworks resembling stars, which plunged very strangely out of their natural element down into the water, and, after remaining there a while, rose again, into the air, as if wishing to hear once more the sea-maid's music.

<sup>94</sup>Halpin, p. 91.

PUCK

I remember

OBERON

That very time I saw--(but thou couldst not.)Flyingbetween the cold Moonand the Earth,Cupidall arm'da certain aim he tookAt a fair Vestal  
throned by the West;And loosed a love-shaft  
smartly from his bow.As it should pierce  
a hundred thousand hearts:  
But I might seeyoung Cupid's fiery  
shaftQuenched in the chaste  
beamsof the wat'ry Moon;  
And the Imperial Votress  
passed on,In maiden meditation,fancy-free.Yet

PUCK

I remember such things to have been exhibited amongst the pageantry at Kenilworth Castle, during the Princely Pleasures given on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1575.

OBERON

You are right. Well, at that very time and place, I, (and perhaps a few other of the choicer spirits,) could discern a circumstance that was imperceptible to you (and the meaner multitude of guests and visitants):

in fact, I saw--wavering in his passion

between (Cynthia, Queen Elizabeth, and, (Tellus, or) the Lady Douglas, Countess of Sheffield, (Endymion, or) the Earl of Leicester,

all-armed, in the magnificence of his preparations for storming the heart of his Royal Mistress.

He made a predetermined and a well-directed effort for the hand of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen of England,

and presumptuously made such love to her--rash under all the circumstances--as if he fancied that neither she nor any woman in the world could resist his suit: but it was

evident to me, (and to the rest of the initiated,) that the ardent Leicester's desperate venture was lost in the pride, prudery, and jealousy of power, which invariably swayed

the tide of Elizabeth's passions; and the Virgin Queen finally departed from Kenilworth Castle

unshackled with a matrimonial engagement,

and as heart-whole as ever.

And yet (continues Oberon), curious to observe the col-

marked I  
where the bolt of Cupid  
fell:  
It fell  
upon a little western  
flower,  
Before milk-white;  
now purple with Love's  
wound:  
And maidens  
call it  
love-in-idleness.  
Fetch me the flower.

lateral issues of this amorous preparation, I watched (whatever others may have done) and discovered the person on whom Leicester's irregular passion was secretly fixed: it was fixed upon Lettice, at that time the wife of Walter Earl of Essex, an Englishwoman of rank inferior to the object of his great ambition; who, previous to this unhappy attachment, was not only pure and innocent in conduct, but unblemished also in reputation; after which she became not only deeply inflamed with a criminal passion, and still more deeply (perhaps) stained with a husband's blood, but the subject, also, of shame and obloquy.

Those, however, who pity her weakness, and compassionate her misery, still offer a feeble apology for her conduct, by calling it the result of her husband's voluntary absence, of the waste of affections naturally tender and fond, and of the idleness of a heart that might have been faithful if busied with domestic loves.

You cannot mistake, after all I have said--  
 Go--fetch me that flower.<sup>95</sup>

When the negotiations for the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Alençon were renewed in 1578, Leicester was again upset, even though he knew that she would never marry him and had himself just married the

<sup>95</sup>2. 1. 147-169, Halpin, 91-5.

Countess of Essex. The attentions of the Duke's ambassador, Simier, to the Queen was very irritating to Leicester. There is a passage in Love's Labour's Lost that may also refer to Leicester.

HOLOFERNES.

The dear was, as you know, sanguis,--in blood; ripe as a pomewater, who now hangeth like a jewel in the ear of caelo,--the sky, the welkin, the heaven; and anon falleth like a crab on the face of terra,--the soil, the land, the earth.

SIR NATHANIEL.

Truly, Master Holofernes, the epithets are sweetly varied, like a scholar at the least: but, sir, I assure ye, it was a buck of the first head.

HOLOFERNES.

Sir Nathaniel, haud credo.

DULL.

'Twas not a haud credo; 'twas a pricket.<sup>96</sup>

This passage could be translated to mean that the "deer"--Elizabeth's "deer" (the favorite expression at the time for "dear")--was "in blood," ardent, "ripe" for matrimony, and was in the seventh heaven of matrimonial bliss, but had, after Simier told Elizabeth of his marriage, soon fallen to earth, like "a crab," that is, a crabapple. Nathaniel says he was a "buck of the first head": that is, a deer whose antlers were just formed (Simier having caused Leicester to "wear horns," to be cuckolded). Dull objects that he was "a pricket," which is a buck in his second year--Leicester having been married two years. Holofernes offers to compose an epitaph on the death of the "deer," who was "killed"

(deprived of the Queen's favor).<sup>97</sup>

The preyful princess pierced and prickt  
 a pretty pleasing pricket;  
 Some say a sore; but not a sore,  
 till now made sore with shooting.  
 The dogs did yell: put l to sore,  
 then sorel jumps from thicket;  
 Or pricket, sore, or else sorel;  
 the people fall a-hooting.  
 If sore be sore, then l to sore  
 makes fifty sores: O sore l  
 Of one sore I an hundred make  
 by adding but one more l.<sup>98</sup>

The city of Leicester, from which Robert Dudley took his title of Earl of Leicester, was on the river of Sore, now spelled Soar. Combining the first letter of Leicester's name with the name of the river, we get "sorel." A sorel is a three-year-old buck; a pricket is a buck in the second year; sorel and pricket, then, are simply other terms for "deer." The Earl of Leicester, the Queen's "deer," was irritated over the Queen's interest in the French marriage--he was "sore."

In King Henry the Sixth Part II, there may be another allusion to Leicester. Among the events of 1579 alluded to in this play are the presence in England of Simier, the arrival in August of Alençon, the general unpopularity of the projected marriage, the opposition of the Earl of Leicester (Duke of Gloster) to the French marriage, the Queen's irritation when she discovered that the Earl of Leicester was secretly married

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<sup>97</sup>Ogburn, p. 205.      <sup>98</sup>4. 2. 58-69

to the widowed Countess of Essex (Duchess of Gloster), and the Queen's boxing the Countess of Leicester's ear.

As a result of the Queen's anger on discovering his marriage, Leicester was for a time confined in Greenwich Park. After his release he was again in the Queen's favor, but she never forgave his wife. The boxing of the Countess's ear is another incident which suggests that when dealing with some scenes, Shakespeare was aware of parallel situations in his own time. Violet Wilson writes:

. . . the new Countess of Leicester certainly did not demean herself in a manner likely to soothe the feelings of her injured cousin. Instead, her marriage being openly acknowledged, she did all in her power to demonstrate that Lettice, Countess of Leicester, was every whit as great a personage as Elizabeth, Queen of England. She came to Whitehall in dresses whose magnificence exceeded those of the Queen's Majesty. Elizabeth expressed her displeasure, but my Lady of Leicester paid no heed. Elizabeth, goaded beyond endurance, soundly boxed the Countess of Leicester's ears, at the same time declaring that as but one sun lighted the earth, so there should be but one at the Court, which henceforward would be closed to the Countess of Leicester.<sup>99</sup>

The following is a scene from King Henry the Sixth Part II. Queen Margaret is speaking about the Duchess of Gloster:

Not all these lords do vex me half so much  
As that proud dame, the lord Protector's wife.  
She sweeps it through the court with troops of  
ladies,

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<sup>99</sup>Violet A. Wilson, Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber (London: John Lane, 1922), p. 122-3.

More like an empress than Duke Humphrey's wife:  
 Strangers in court do take her for the queen:  
 She bears a duke's revenues on her back,  
 And in her heart she scorns our poverty:  
 Shall I not live to be avenged on her?  
 Contemptuous base-born callet as she is,  
 She vaunted 'mongst her minions t'other day,  
 The very train of her worst wearing gown  
 Was better worth than all my father's lands,  
 Till Suffolk gave two dukedoms for his daughter.<sup>100</sup>

The following speeches are addressed to the Duke  
 of Gloster, whose wife is also present.

## DUKE OF SUFFOLK

The commonwealth hath daily run to wrack;  
 The Dauphin hath prevail'd beyond the seas;  
 And all the peers and nobles of the realm  
 Have been as bondmen to thy sovereignty

## CARDINAL BEAUFORT

The commons hast thou rackt; the clergy's bags  
 Are lank and lean with thy extortions.

## DUKE OF SOMERSET

Thy sumptuous buildings, and thy wife's attire,  
 Have cost a mass of public treasury.

## DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Thy cruelty in execution  
 Upon offenders hath exceeded law,  
 And left thee to the mercy of the law.

## QUEEN MARGARET

Thy sale of offices and towns in France--  
 If they were known, as the suspect is great--  
 Would make thee quickly hop without thy head.

[Exit Gloster. The Queen drops her fan.]

Give me my fan: what, minion! can ye not?

[She gives the Duchess a box on the ear.]

I cry you mercy, madam; was it you?

## DUCHESS OF GLOSTER

Was't I! yea, I it was, proud Frenchwoman:  
 Could I come near your beauty with my nails,  
 I'd set my ten commandments in your face.<sup>101</sup>

This punishment meted out to the Countess by  
 the irate Queen has no basis in the real Duchess of  
 Gloucester's history.<sup>102</sup> There is also a historical

<sup>100</sup> 1.3. 73-85

<sup>101</sup> 1. 3. 122-140

<sup>102</sup> Clark, p. 185.

parallel in Leicester's serving as partial prototype of the Protector, for his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had succeeded in supplanting Somerset, Protector for the ten-year-old King Edward VI, Elizabeth's brother and his ambition knew no bounds.<sup>103</sup>

Gloster's passive attitude in the face of his wife's humiliation may be intended to indicate Leicester's standing tamely by when Elizabeth insulted Lettice. In the play the Cardinal taunts Gloster about his cowardice and in the world of the court Queen Elizabeth had often spoken of her Robin, as she called Leicester, as a little dog that followed her around. In March 1560, Bishop de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote about Leicester:

He is the worst and most procrastinating young man I ever saw in my life, and not at all courageous or spirited.<sup>104</sup>

The accusations of the Cardinal, of Somerset, and of Buckingham, in the passage above, seem to hold true for Leicester as well.

For a discussion of Leicester as a possible model for Achilles in Troilus and Cressida, for Claudius in Hamlet, for Shallow in The Merry Wives of Windsor, for Julius Caesar in Antony and Cleopatra, and for Theseus in A Midsummer Night's Dream, the works of the Ogburns and of Mrs. Clark should be consulted.

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<sup>103</sup>Ogburn, p. 314.

<sup>104</sup>Quoted by Ogburn, p. 314.

Earl of Sussex

Thomas Radcliffe, the third Earl of Sussex, was knighted by Henry VIII in 1544. At the coronation of Queen Elizabeth on 15 January 1559, he officiated as chief sewer (household officer) by hereditary right. He was one of the brightest and gayest of the youthful noblemen that thronged the Queen's court. Most of Sussex's life was spent in fighting for the Queen in Ireland and in Scotland. At the end of 1570 he received permission to return to court and was sworn in as a member of the Privy Council. In July 1572 he was created Lord Chamberlain of the household. A perfect courtier and diplomat, Sussex was at the same time a scholar saturated in the new learning, a patron of the drama in its infancy, and a supporter of many rising literary geniuses. From 1572 to 1583, the time of his death, he was the patron of one of the most important troupes of actors which appeared at court, a troupe generally spoken of as the Lord Chamberlain's Company.

Sussex's strong opposition to the Queen's marriage to Leicester caused an enmity to grow between these two men which lasted until the death of Sussex. The attitude of "honest Sussex," as he was called, was due to a true devotion to the Queen's best interests and to a desire to preserve and strengthen her throne.

In Cymbeline, Posthumus Leonatus, "a Gentleman,

husband to Imogen," may be a composite of the Earl of Sussex and the Earl of Oxford. The play begins with a conversation between Two Gentlemen who are discussing everyone's satisfaction that Imogen did not marry Cloten, the son of Cymbeline's Queen. Instead she has married Posthumus, "a poor but worthy gentleman," who has been banished from the country because of the marriage. The courtiers in the play are secretly happy about this, just as the English courtiers of Elizabeth's court were happy that she had not married Alençon. The general attitude of Englishmen toward Elizabeth's possible marriage to Alençon is echoed in the first scene.

FIRST GENTLEMAN.

. . . All  
Is outward sorrow; though, I think the king  
Be toucht at very heart.

SECOND GENTLEMAN.

None but the king?

FIRST GENTLEMAN

He that hath lost her too: so is the queen,  
That most desired the match: but not a courtier,  
Although they wear their faces to the bent  
Of the king's looks, hath a heart that is not  
Glad of the thing they scowl at.

SECOND GENTLEMAN

And why so?

FIRST GENTLEMAN

He that hath mist the princess is a thing  
Too bad for bad report:<sup>105</sup> and he that hath her--

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<sup>105</sup>"Francis Duke of Alençon . . . was, upon the whole, the most despicable personage who had ever entered the Netherlands. His previous career at home had been so flagrantly false that he had forfeited the esteem of every honest man in Europe. . . . The world has long known his character. History will always retain him as an example to show mankind the amount of mischief which may be perpetrated by a prince, ferocious without courage, ambitious without talent, and bigoted without opinions."--John Ithrop Motley, The Rise of the Dutch Republic (London, 1913), 3 vol., 3:339.

I mean, that married her, alack, good man!  
 And therefore banisht--is a creature such  
 As, to seek through the regions of the earth  
 For one his like, there would be something failing  
 In him that should compare:--I do not think  
 So fair an outward, and such stuff within,  
 Endows a man but he.<sup>106</sup>

The description of Posthumus could well apply to Sussex. He was Lord Chamberlain to Elizabeth and thus in close contact with her (though not her husband) and was temporarily out of favor and away from the court. He was very highly regarded by all while the Duke of Alençon was considered "a thing too bad for bad report."

In Richard the Second, John of Gaunt also bears some resemblance to Sussex, both being very close to their sovereigns. Sussex was one of the most patriotic Englishmen of his time; it is therefore particularly appropriate to find the apostrophe to England placed in the mouth of Gaunt, the character which seems to represent him. Brandes says:

Shakespeare places in the mouth of the dying Gaunt a superbly lyrical outburst of patriotism, deploring Richard's reckless and tyrannical policy. . . . in the thunderous tones of old Gaunt's invective against the King who has mortgaged his English realm, we can hear all the patriotic enthusiasm of young England in the days of Elizabeth.<sup>107</sup>

Sussex's invective against Leicester, to whom and to whose followers Elizabeth might be said to have "mortgaged her English realm," is echoed in Gaunt's words, which are a violent attack upon the state of Richard's

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<sup>106</sup>1. 1. 8-24

<sup>107</sup>Georg Morris Cohen Brandes, William Shakespeare (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 2 vol., 1:144.

reign, which may be likened to the state of Elizabeth's reign in 1582. Gaunt is on a couch, awaiting the visit of the King. He says:

Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear,  
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.

DUKE OF YORK

No; it is stopt with other flattering sounds,  
As, praises of his state: then there are found  
Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound  
The open ear of youth doth always listen;  
Report of fashions in proud Italy,  
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation  
Limps after in base imitation.  
Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity,--  
So it be new, there's no respect how vile,--  
That is not quickly buzz'd into his ears?  
Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,  
Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.  
Direct not him, whose way himself will choose:  
'Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt  
thou lose.

JOHN OF GAUNT

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,  
This other Eden, demi-Paradise;  
This fortress built by Nature for herself  
Against infection and the hand of war;  
This happy breed of men, this little world;  
This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands;  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this  
England,  
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,  
Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth,  
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,--  
For Christian service and true chivalry,--  
As is the sepulchre, in stubborn Jewry  
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son:  
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,  
Dear for her reputation through the world,  
Is now leased out--I die pronouncing it--  
Like to a tenement or pelting farm:  
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,

Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege  
 Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,  
 With inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds:  
 That England, that was wont to conquer others,  
 Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.  
 Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,  
 How happy then were my ensuing death!<sup>108</sup>

The religious reference could well have been Sussex's, for he was a Catholic though impeccably loyal to his Protestant Queen.

The condition of affairs in England in 1582 was a culmination of conflicts. The great underlying conflict was between Roman Catholicism and the rising Protestantism. Not only was England in a great diplomatic tangle with France, Spain, Scotland, Ireland, and the Papal power, but she was also experiencing serious internal dissension over the religious question. Relations with Spain were tense at this time, due to Drake's preying on Spanish shipping, and to Philip's assistance in the Papal invasion of Ireland. At the same time, Elizabeth had become tired of her diplomatic game with Alençon and after a great deal of trouble, he was persuaded to leave England. In the meantime, the Spanish and Jesuit plot in Scotland was progressing; the Scottish Catholic nobles were ready to rise, and even, if necessary, to kill or deport the King if he would not be a Catholic.

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<sup>108</sup> 2. 1. 15-30, 40-69

This, in brief, was the state of affairs in England in 1582 and it might well have brought such a statement from the mouth of the dying Sussex as the invective pronounced by the dying Gaunt. Sussex must have spoken to Queen Elizabeth many times as Gaunt had spoken to Richard.

. . . thou, too careless patient as thou art,  
 Committ'st thy 'nointed body to the cure  
 Of those physicians that first wounded thee:  
 A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown,  
 Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;  
 And yet, incaged in so small a verge,  
 The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.<sup>109</sup>

Richard does not take Gaunt seriously, calls him "a lunatic, lean-witted fool," as Elizabeth often ignored Sussex's advice and followed Leicester's wishes. The prophecy Gaunt makes in Act 2, may have been aimed at the vainglorious Leicester:

His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,  
 For violent fires soon burn out themselves;  
 Small showers last long, but sudden storms are  
 short;  
 He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes;  
 With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder:  
 Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,  
 Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.<sup>110</sup>

Sussex's last words were a warning against his old enemy, Leicester: "I am now passing into another world, and I must now leave you to your Fortunes, and to the Queens grace and goodness: but beware of the Gipsie, meaning Leicester, for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast as well as I do."<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>2. 1. 97-102

<sup>110</sup>2. 1. 33-9

<sup>111</sup>Sir Robert Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia (London, 1653; reprint, 1870), p. 30.

The reference in Hamlet to Hamlet's "noble father" may also allude to the Earl of Sussex. Hamlet is warned to beware of Claudius (Leicester). On a remote part of the platform, the Ghost (Sussex) implores Hamlet (Oxford):

List, list, O list!--  
If thou didst ever thy dear father love,--  
Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

· · · · ·  
'Tis given out that, sleeping in mine orchard,  
A serpent stung me; so the whole ear of Denmark  
Is by a forged process of my death  
Rankly abus'd: but know, thou noble youth,  
The serpent that did sting thy father's life  
Now wears his crown

· · · · ·  
Sleeping within mine orchard,  
My custom always in the afternoon,  
Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole,  
With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,  
And in the porches of mine ears did pour  
the leprous distilment.<sup>112</sup>

Sussex had not been poisoned by Leicester, but he had suffered the "stings" of his tongue for many years. However, the association of a Leicester-figure with poison was well recognized by Shakespeare's audience. Though nothing was ever proven in court, Leicester was on more than one occasion rumored to have poisoned someone who stood in his way.

There is much that suggests that Young Fortinbras stands for the young James of Scotland, and Old Fortinbras for his mother, Mary Stuart, who, though not "slain" by Sussex in the rebellion of 1569; as old Fortinbras was by the elder Hamlet, was, nevertheless, badly

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<sup>112</sup>1. 5. 22-5, 35-50, 59-64

defeated. It was Sussex who commanded the loyal troops in the rebellion in the North, which led to the Duke of Norfolk's execution. Horatio refers to this:

Our last king,  
Whose image even but now appear'd to us,  
Was, as you know, by Fortinbras of Norway,  
Thereto prickt on by a most emulate pride,  
Dared to the combat; in which our valiant Hamlet--  
For so this side our known world esteem'd him--  
Did slay this Fortinbras; who, by a seal'd compact,  
Well ratified by law and heraldry,  
Did forfeit with his life all those his lands  
Which he stood seized of to the conqueror.<sup>113</sup>

The Queen of Scots, although not executed, did forfeit her (free) life through long imprisonment.<sup>114</sup>

No one had defended England with more devotion than Sussex who, like Gaunt, was ever watchful "for sleeping England."<sup>115</sup>

#### Sir Francis Walsingham

Francis Walsingham was brought up as a zealous Protestant. On the accession of Queen Mary he left England and remained abroad until she ceased to reign. While abroad he studied law, languages, and politics, all of which prepared him for a political and diplomatic career when he returned to England. He became a member of Parliament in 1558 and was partly responsible for unravelling the Rudolphi plot against the Queen. In 1570 he became ambassador to France. In August 1572 he escaped the St. Bartholomew's massacre of Protestants in Paris when the French government offered special protection to the English embassy. On 21 December 1573,

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<sup>113</sup>1. 1. 80-8

<sup>114</sup>Ogburn, p. 641 <sup>115</sup>R2 2.1. 77



Fig. 44. In Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

after his return to England, Walsingham was sworn in as Secretary of State, an office he shared with Sir Thomas Smith. He also resumed his place in the House of Commons and was knighted in 1577. Walsingham was an enthusiastic supporter of the contemporary movement for the country's colonial expansion. He subscribed to Fenton's voyage in 1582; he took Richard Hakluyt into his pay; he corresponded with Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Humphrey Gilbert about their voyages and about discovery, and he was the patron of all the chief writers on the exploration of the New World.

Sir Francis, his daughter Frances Walsingham, and Sir Philip Sidney may be, as we shall see, the models for several characters in Much Ado About Nothing.

#### Sir Philip Sidney

Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester's nephew, was a soldier, a statesman, and a poet, and had been from his early youth a lover of learning. His chief friends at Christ Church were Richard Carew, Richard Hakluyt, William Camden, and Fulke Greville. Sidney travelled extensively to France, Germany, Vienna, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. When he returned to England he spent a great deal of time at the court. His position there grew steadily in influence and dignity. His

intellectual interests had led him to extend the circle of his friends beyond the court; it was with men of letters that he found himself in fullest sympathy. The drama also attracted him and he interested himself in the welfare of his uncle Leicester's company of players. When, in 1579, Stephen Gosson, without authority, dedicated to him his denunciation of playhouses which he entitled "The Schoole of Abuse," Sidney circulated an enlightened defense of the drama in the "Apologie for Poetrie." To him, an avowed champion of the stage, Thomas Lodge subsequently dedicated his "Alarum against Usurers" (1584). In 1579 and 1580 Sidney incurred the Queen's wrath and retired to Wilton to write. He returned in 1580 and in 1583 was knighted.

Sidney had shown an interest in the colonization of North America even before his investment of fifty pounds in Martin Frobisher's voyage of 1575, and this interest continued for the rest of his life. In 1582, his old friend, Richard Hakluyt, dedicated to him the first edition of his Voyages. The next year letters of patent were issued to him authorizing him to discover new land in America, and to hold forever "such and so much quantity of ground as should amount to the number of thirty hundred thousand acres." Through 1584 Sidney watched with interest Raleigh's designs on America and in December, after he had been re-elected to serve as M.P. for Kent, he sat on a committee of the House of Commons

which defended the boundaries of the projected colony in Virginia. In February of 1585 he recommended the appointment of Ralph Lane as the first governor of Virginia.

In June 1585 the Queen decided to send an army to the Low Countries to support the cause of the Protestants. Disappointed at not receiving a military command in the Netherlands, Sidney rushed down to Plymouth, accompanied by Fulke Greville, with the intention of joining Drake's expedition to the Spanish coast of America. On 15 September 1585, Walsingham, Sidney's father-in-law, wrote:

Sir Philip Sidney hath taken a very hard resolution to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his voyage [to the Indies].<sup>116</sup>

Drake refused to risk the Queen's anger; he notified her secretly and she sent an imperious summons to Sidney to present himself at court and he did so. This incident about Sidney and Greville may explain the following lines in The Winter's Tale:

SHEPHERD

They have scared away two of my best sheep, which I fear the wolf will sooner find than the master; if any where I have them, 'tis by the sea-side browzing of ivy.<sup>117</sup>

"Ivy" may allude to "Ivybridge," near the coast of South Devon. The two young courtiers may have stayed at the

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<sup>116</sup> John Lothrop Motley, History of the United Netherlands from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce--1609 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1860), 4 vols., 1:362.

<sup>117</sup> 3. 3. 65-7

home of Sir Walter Raleigh's father when they rushed down to join Drake. The Raleigh estate, "Fardell," was two miles from Ivybridge.<sup>118</sup>

Sidney was appointed governor of Flushing in November and the next July led a raid on Axel, a village in Spanish hands, only twenty miles from Flushing. In September of that year, in an attack on Zutphen, Sidney was struck by a bullet in the left thigh. The wound festered and after twenty-six days of suffering, he died.

The following is a possible interpretation of the characters in Much Ado About Nothing, as suggested by Mrs. Clark:

Don Pedro, Prince of Aragon	Queen Elizabeth.
Don John, his bastard brother.	Lord Henry Howard, related to Queen Elizabeth.
Claudio, a young Lord of Florence, favourite of Don Pedro.	Philip Sidney, later knighted.
Benedick, a young Lord of Padua, favourite of Don Pedro also.	Earl of Oxford.
Leonato, Governor of Messina.	Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.
Antonio, his brother.	Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State.
Hero, daughter to Leonato.	Frances Walsingham, daughter of the Secretary.
Beatrice, niece to Leonato.	Anne Cecil, daughter of the Lord Treasurer, and wife of the Earl of Oxford. <sup>119</sup>

The records that have been preserved show that on 17

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<sup>118</sup>Clark, p. 560.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., pp. 372-3.

December 1581, Sidney wrote a short letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, which he concluded with:

The country affords no other stuff for letters but humble salutations, which humbly and heartily I send to yourself, my good lady, and my exceeding like to be good friend.<sup>120</sup>

The "exceeding like to be good friend," was Frances Walsingham, the Secretary's daughter, whom Philip must have known from early childhood, and who was at that time about fourteen years old, old enough to be thought of as a future wife. Philip Sidney and Frances Walsingham are likely prototypes of Claudio and Hero. In the first scene, Leonato says:

I find here that Don Pedro hath bestow'd much honour on a young Florentine called Claudio.

MESSENGER.

Much deserved on his part, and equally remembered by Don Pedro. He hath borne himself beyond the promise of his age; doing, in the figure of a lamb, the feats of a lion; he hath, indeed, better better'd expectation than you must expect of me to tell you how.

LEONATO

He hath an uncle here in Messina will be very glad of it.<sup>121</sup>

The description fits Sidney well; he was a scholar, a poet, a courtier, and a soldier. By Messina, London is meant. Naunton wrote of Sidney:

He left the Academicall life, for that of the Court, wither he came by his Uncles invitation, famed afore-hand by a noble report of his accomplishments, which together with the state of his person, framed

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<sup>120</sup>Frederick Samuel Boas, Sir Philip Sidney (London: Staples Press, 1955), p. 167.

<sup>121</sup>1. 1. 8-18

by a naturall propension to Armes, he soon attracted the good opinion of all men, and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the Queen, that she thought the Court deficient without him. . . . He was a noble and matchless Gentleman, and it may be justly said without hyperboles of fiction, . . . that he seemed to be born to that onely which he went about.<sup>122</sup>

Beatrice asks of Benedick:

Who is his companion now? He hath every month a new sworn brother.

MESSENGER.

He is most in the company of the right noble Claudio.

BEATRICE.

O Lord, he will hang upon him like a disease: he is sooner caught than the pestilence, and the taker runs presently mad. God help the noble Claudio! if he have caught the Benedick, it will cost him a thousand pound ere a' be cured.<sup>123</sup>

The strongfriendship which had developed between Oxford and Sidney was based on their common interests in literature, drama, and the voyages to the new land, among other things.

In Act 2, the conspirator, Don John, is talking with his follower, Borachio, and says:

It is so; the Count Claudio shall marry the daughter of Leonato.

BORACHIO

Yea, my lord, but I can cross it.

DON JOHN

Any bar, any cross, any impediment will be medicinal to me: I am sick in displeasure to him; and whatsoever comes athwart his affection ranges evenly with mine.<sup>124</sup>

Actually, there was an "impediment" in the way of the marriage of Sidney and Frances Walsingham. As young as she was, there is reason to believe that she had clandes-

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<sup>122</sup>Naunton, p. 35.

<sup>123</sup>1. 1. 65-83

<sup>124</sup>2.2. 1-7

tinely engaged herself to an earlier lover.

Early in 1583 one John Wickerson wrote from the Marhalsea, pointing out that he had been two years in prison for his "rash contract of matrimony with Mistress Frances, which to relinquish would be a perpetual scruple and worm in conscience, and hazard of body and soul," and imploring Sir Francis, "to weigh and have remorse unto his perilous state, and vouchsafe the word at length to grant your consent and goodwill for performance of their said contract in the holy state of matrimony."<sup>125</sup>

A part of the play seems to have been based on this youthful engagement of Frances Walsingham which became an impediment to Sidney's marriage to her, "the form of it somewhat altered and grafted on the old story of 'Ariodante and Geneuora'."<sup>126</sup>

In Act 2 Benedick soliloquizes:

I do much wonder that one man, seeing how much another man is a fool when he dedicates his behaviors to love, will, after he hath laugh't at such shallow follies in others, become the argument of his own scorn by falling in love: and such a man is Claudio. I have known when there was no music in him but the drum and fife; and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe: I have known when he would have walkt ten mile a-foot to see a good armour; and now will he lie ten nights awake carving the fashion of a new doublet. He was wont to speak plain and to the purpose, like an honest man and a soldier; and now is he turn'd orthographer; his words are a very fantastical banquet,--just so many strange dishes.<sup>127</sup>

That Sidney was "wont to speak plain and to the purpose," can be seen in a letter he wrote to the Queen in January 1580, in which he stated his objections to her marriage to the Duke of Alençon. It is a long, detailed letter

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<sup>125</sup>Calendar State Papers, Eliz. Dom. Vol. clviii, No. 84.

<sup>126</sup>Clarke, p. 383. <sup>127</sup>2. 3. 7-22

filled with arguments, entreaties, and expostulations. The Queen was angered by his temerity and Sidney was banished from the court for several months. It was probably during this absence from court, which he spent at the home of the Pembrokes in Wilton, that he wrote "The Arcadia," dedicated to his sister, Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, and his "Astrophel and Stella" sonnets. These works contain much that is a "very fantastical banquet," and is very different from his "plain" letter to the Queen.<sup>128</sup>

Sidney was a member of Areopagus, the society which had taken a stand against rhyme in verse. Spenser wrote:

As for the two worthy gentlemen Master Sidney and Master Dyer, they have . . . proclaimed in their [Areopagus] a general surceasing and silence of bald rhymers . . . instead whereof they have by authority of their whole Senate prescribed certain laws and rules of quantity of English Syllables for English verse . . .<sup>129</sup>

Benedick [Oxford] is mocking Sidney's group when he says:

Marry, I cannot show it in rime; I have tried:  
I can find out no rime to "lady" but "baby,"--an  
innocent rime; for "scorn," "horn,"--a hard rime;  
for "school," "fool,"--a babbling rime; very ominous  
endings; no, I was not born under a riming planet,  
nor I cannot woo in festival terms.<sup>130</sup>

The phrase "woo in festival terms" is another reference to the "Astrophel and Stella" sonnets, which were artificial and conventional.

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<sup>128</sup>Clark, p. 383.

<sup>129</sup>Boas, p. 43

<sup>130</sup>5. 2. 36-41

One of the sonnets, written to Penelope Devereux, wife of Lord Rich, reads in part:

Not at first sight, nor with a dribbled shot,  
 Love gave the wound, which while I breath will bleede:  
 But knowne, worth did in tract of time proceede,  
 Till by degrees it had full conquest got.  
 I sawe and lik'd, I lik'd but loved not,  
 I lov'd, but did not straight what love decreede:  
 At length to Loves decrees, I first agreede.  
 Yet with repining at so partiall lot.<sup>131</sup>

Now listen to Claudio:

O, my lord,

When you went onward on this action,  
 I lookt upon her with soldier's eye,  
 That liked, but had a rougher task in hand  
 Than to drive liking to the name of love:  
 But now I am return'd, and that war-thoughts  
 Have left their places vacant, in their rooms  
 Come thronging soft and delicate desires,  
 All prompting me how fair young Hero is,  
 Saying, I liked her ere I went to wars.

DON PEDRO

Thou wilt be like a lover presently  
 And tire the hearer with book of words.<sup>132</sup>

There are other references to Sidney's writing elsewhere in the plays; for instance, in Hamlet, Polonius says:

"To the celestial, and my soul's idol, the most  
 beautified Ophelia."--  
 That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase: "beautified"  
 is a vile phrase . . .<sup>133</sup>

The first recorded use of the word "beautified" is in Sidney's Arcadia--"Thou are gone to a beautified heaven."<sup>134</sup>  
 Polonius amiably mocks Sidney's writing again when he says:

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<sup>131</sup>Sir Philip Sidney, The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney (Cambridge: University Press, 1922) 3 vols. 2:243.

<sup>132</sup>1. 1. 292-303

<sup>133</sup>2. 2. 109-11

<sup>134</sup>NED 1:744

The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited: Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light . . .<sup>135</sup>

The following is in Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie:

The most notable poets be the Heroick, Lyrick, Tragick, Comick, Satyrick, Iambick, Elegiack, Pastorall, and certain others . . . Now in his parts, kindes, or Species, as you list to tearme them, it is to be noted, that some Poesies have coupled together two or three kindes, as Tragicall and Comicall, whereupon is risen the Tragicall-comicall . . .<sup>136</sup>

Though the Apologie was not published until 1595, it was circulated in manuscript as early as 1580 or 1581, since it was a reply to Gosson's School of Abuse, which started a controversy about Poets and Players, and which Hamlet (Oxford) hears Rosencrantz refer to:

Faith, there has been much to-do on both sides; and the nation holds it no sin to tarre them to controversy; there was, for a while, no money bid for argument, unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.<sup>137</sup>

Love's Labour's Lost is a celebration of Euphuism, the literary movement concerned with verbal expression, metaphor, rhetoric, juggling of words and sentences--including punning, anagrams, acrostics--which so fascinated the Elizabethans. A friendly rivalry existed between the Euphuists and the Areopagus club who objected to "bald

<sup>135</sup>2. 2. 401-4

<sup>136</sup>Sidney 3:10,22.

<sup>137</sup>2. 2. 357-61

rhymers." The first group was interested in refining and enriching the English language; the latter group was interested in the story.

Sidney was frequently mocked by the members of the opposing group for his "borrowings." Ogburn gives two examples, one taken from the works of Spenser, one from Lord Oxford's poetry. In the play, Berowne [Oxford], speaking of Boyet [Sidney], says:

This fellow pecks up wit as pigeons pease,  
And utters it again when God doth please.

Sidney's Shepherd's Dialogue had been presented at a pastoral show given at Wilton; Berowne continues:

He is a wit's pedlar, and retails his wares  
At wakes and wassails, meetings, markets, fairs,  
And we that sell by gross, the Lord doth know  
Have not the grace to grace it with such show.

The "bald rhyme" to which Sidney and his group objected is, of course, part of the satire.

This gallant pins the wenches on his sleeve:  
Had he been Adam, he had tempted Eve;  
A' can carve too, and lisp: Why, this is he  
That kist his hand away in courtesy;  
This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice,  
That, when he plays at tables, chides the dice  
In honourable terms: nay, he can sing  
A mean most meanly; and in ushering  
Mend him who can; the ladies call him sweet;  
The stairs, as he treads on them, kiss his feet:  
This is the flower that smiles on every one,  
To show his teeth as white as whales bone;  
And consciences, that will not die in debt,  
Pay him the due of honey-tongued Boyet.<sup>138</sup>

In the same act, Berowne makes another speech which identifies Boyet as Sidney:

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<sup>138</sup>5. 2. 315-334



*From the miniature by Isaac Oliver at Windsor Castle  
Copyright of His Majesty the King.*

**Sir Philip Sidney.**

"This fellow pecks up wit, as pigeons pease,  
And utters it again when God doth please;

.....  
This gallant pins the wenches on his sleeve;  
Had he been Adam, he had tempted Eve:  
He can carve too, and lisp: why, this is he  
That kiss'd his hand away in courtesy."

*Love's Labour's Lost,  
Act V, Scene 2, Lines 316-25*

**Fig. 45. Sir Philip Sidney.**

Some carry-tale, some please-man, some slight zany,  
 Some mumble-news, some trencher-knight, some Dick,  
 That smiles his cheek in years, and knows the trick  
 To make my lady laugh when she's disposed,  
 Told our intents before; which once disclosed  
 The ladies did change favours . . .

. . . . .  
 Do not you know my lady's foot by th' squier,  
 And laugh upon the apple of her eye?  
 And stand between her back, sir, and the fire,  
 Holding a trenchor, jesting merrily?  
 You put our page out: go, you are allow'd;  
 Die when you will, a smock shall be your shroud<sup>139</sup>

A "zany" in Shakespeare's day was not so much a buffoon as the obsequious follower of a buffoon, the attenuated mimic of a mimic, whose mimicry was weak and abortive mimicry.<sup>140</sup> Sidney's poetry was imitative and sentimental. "Dick" in the above quotation stands for "Dapper Dick," as in Green's "I might see coming downe the hill a brave dapper Dicke, quaintly attired in velvet and Sattin."<sup>141</sup> Sidney's attention to his fancy wardrobe was well-known.

There are other clues in Berowne's long, teasing, rhymed speech. The line "That smiles his cheek in years" is suggestive of advanced age when we remember "With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come"<sup>142</sup> of The Merchant of Venice. Edward Dowden saw in Slender, in The Merry Wives of Windsor, a youthful version of Sir Andrew Aguecheek in Twelfth Night, characters

<sup>139</sup>5. 2. 463-75      <sup>140</sup>Furness, LLL, p. 273.

<sup>141</sup>Arden Edition, p. 165      <sup>142</sup>1. 1. 80

which are both likely images of Sidney. There may be a further clue in a line from Julius Caesar: "The same ague [cheek] which had made you lean [Slender]".<sup>144</sup> The inserts are mine to suggest that there are three representations of Sidney in these three plays; that there is a connection between the advanced age of Aguecheek and the youth of Slender and the man who is a "Boy yet." In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Slender seems to refer back to Love's Labour's Lost: "I keep but three men and a boy yet, till my mother be dead . . .".<sup>145</sup>

The modern reader should be aware of how freely and frequently puns and riddles, not related to the story, were interspersed with the text of Elizabethan plays. The Sidney allusions may be taken one step further in King Lear, "Lear" being an anagram for "Earl," and Lear, being a good candidate for reflecting the image of the Earl of Oxford, the king says, "I am not ague-prooffe,"<sup>146</sup> meaning Ague-cheek, or Sidney.

To go back to Berowne's speech --"a smock shall be your shroud,"--Ogburn adds that Sidney had given the queen, as a New Year's present, a white linen "smock" embroidered in black and that the image of him entertaining the Queen with his jests while shielding her from the heat of the (political) fire, is an appropriate image of Sidney.<sup>147</sup>

There are other hints that Sir Andrew Aguecheek

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<sup>144</sup>2. 2. 113      <sup>145</sup>1. 1. 264      <sup>146</sup>4. 6. 107

<sup>147</sup>Ogburn, p. 200.

is largely Philip Sidney. When Sir Toby remarks:

He is a knight, dubbed with unhatched rapier and  
on a carpet consideration<sup>148</sup>

he may be referring to the knighting of Sidney in 1583 so that he might act as proxy for Prince Casimir in his installation with the Order of the Garter.<sup>149</sup> There is also the unusual fact that, an expression--"a-hungry"--which is used only twice in the entire Canon, is in a speech by Sir Andrew Aguecheek: " 'Twere as good a deed as to drink when a man's a-hungry"<sup>150</sup> and in a speech by Slender: "I am not a-hungry, I thank you, forsooth."<sup>151</sup>

After Sir Andrew has said he delights "in masques and revels sometimes together," he replies to Sir Toby's question as to whether he is "good at these Kickchawses":

As any man in Illyria, whatsoever he be, under the degree or my bettors; and yet I will not compare with a nobleman.<sup>152</sup>

This parallels a misunderstanding Sidney had with Lord Oxford (E. Ver, or ever) on a tennis court in 1579. Sidney challenged Oxford to a duel as a result of the argument, but the Queen prevented it by reminding them of the difference in degree between Earls and Gentlemen, "Earls, being the Gentlemen's bettors." The Queen wrote

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<sup>148</sup>TN 3. 4. 242-3

<sup>149</sup>Bourne, p. 364.

<sup>150</sup>TN 2. 3. 122-3

<sup>151</sup>WIV 1. 1. 264

<sup>152</sup>TN 1. 3. 113-5 (Italics mine)

of the

necessity in Princes to maintain their own creation, as degrees descending between the people's licentiousness and the anointed sovereignty of Crowns; how the Gentleman's neglect of the Nobility taught the peasant to insult both.<sup>153</sup>

In the first act, Sir Andrew is heard "pecking up wit"

SIR TOBY.

Accost, Sir Andrew, accost.

SIR ANDREW.

What's that?

SIR TOBY.

My niece's chambermaid.

SIR ANDREW.

Good Mistress Accost, I desire better acquaintance.

. . . . .

SIR TOBY

You mistake, knight: "accost is, front her, board her, woo her . . .

and further on:

SIR TOBY

Pourquoi, my dear knight?

SIR ANDREW

What is "pourquoi"? do or not do? I would I had bestow'd that time in the tongues that I have in fencing, dancing, and bear-baiting. O, had I but follow'd the arts!<sup>154</sup>

This echoes Sidney's own admission that soldiering was his first interest, literature his second.

Sir Toby comments on the straight long hair which can be seen in Sidney's portrait: "It hangs like flax in a distaff."<sup>155</sup> This identifies Sidney pointedly with Chaucer's familiar portrait of the Pardoner:

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<sup>153</sup>Fulke Greville Brooke, The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney (London: Caradoc Press, 1907), p. 63.

<sup>154</sup>1. 3. 50-8, 89-93

<sup>155</sup>1. 3. 99

This pardoner hadde heer as yelwe as wex,  
But smoothe it henge, as doth a strike of flex--

the suggestion being that, like his prototype, he will be a pardoner in the matter of caricature.<sup>156</sup>

There are more clues that indicate the possibility of Aguecheek as Sidney. There are also clues that suggest Ned Poins (a rough anagram for P. Sidnei, as he signed himself) in King Henry the Fourth is Sidney to Oxford's Prince Hal and that Ajax, in Troilus and Cressida is also Sidney. In Hamlet, Laertes, which is a perfect anagram for a Lester (the way Leicester was usually spelled in contemporary letters), is a composite character, predominantly Philip Sidney (a Lester) over Thomas Cecil. The King (Leicester) plotting with Laertes for his duel with Hamlet is Leicester working on his susceptible nephew, Sidney, against Oxford, an attempt which, in real life, was never successful. Again, for further details and discussion on these characterizations, see the authors previously mentioned.

#### Lord Burghley

William Cecil, later known as Lord Burghley, was appointed one of the Secretaries of State in 1550 and sworn to the Privy Council. From this time until his death he continued to occupy a position in the affairs of the nation such as no other man in Europe below the rank of a sovereign attained to. For forty-eight

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<sup>156</sup>Ogburn, p, 277.



Fig. 46. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

years he was an absolute necessity to the three children of Henry VIII, whom he served with loyalty and devotion. In 1551 he was knighted. When Elizabeth came into power she appointed him chief Secretary of State. Twenty years later he was created Baron of Burghley and in July 1572 Lord High Treasurer of England. By him, more than by any other single man, during the last thirty years of his life, was the history of England shaped. Burghley was always a lover of books and education, and a student to the last.

William Cecil was always opposed to piracy on the high seas but he was not above a little cautious speculation in overseas adventure and put a little money into the Russia Company in King Edward's day. The Hawkins enterprises came too close to the edge of piracy to suit his taste; he did not contribute to them, though Elizabeth herself did, indirectly. However, there can be little doubt that Elizabeth and Cecil secretly approved Hawkins's plans to travel to the West Indies with the understanding that Elizabeth would disclaim him and his adventure if it suited her purposes.<sup>157</sup> Later Cecil supported Humphrey Gilbert and Martin Frobisher in their efforts to find the Northwest Passage. The letters patents granted to Walter Raleigh "for the discovering and

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<sup>157</sup>Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (New York: Knopf, 1955), p. 429.

planting of new lands and Countries" included the following:

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsaillour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasurer of England, and to the Lorde Treasurer of England for us, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the privie Counsaillour of us, our heires and successors . . . to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any of the goods of his and their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd Walter Raleigh.<sup>158</sup>

Dr. Dover Wilson suggested that "the figure of Polonius is almost without doubt intended as a caricature of Lord Burleigh."<sup>159</sup> In Polonius we see Cecil as clearly as history has given him to us. All his traits of character are there--his grave demeanor, his air of self-importance, his ambition, his adeptness in state affairs, his long-winded pompous speeches, his duplicity, his cunning, and his stealth.

In the first quarto Polonius was called Corambis, an unmistakable allusion to Burghley's appropriated motto, Corunum, via una. Apparently "double" (bis) seemed more accurate to Shakespeare than "single" (unum-una) to describe Cecil's dealings, therefore, Corambis. Shakespeare

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<sup>158</sup>Hakluyt, 6:119-20.

<sup>159</sup>J. Dover Wilson, The Essential Shakespeare (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1932), p. 104.

put into Polonius's mouth the very language which Cecil actually used. So close is the resemblance between the advice of Polonius to Laertes, and the advice of Cecil to his son Robert, that the "borrowing" is unmistakable. In addition, Cecil had his son Thomas watched just as Polonius had Laertes watched; and the general conduct of Queen Gertrude's minister is that of Queen Elizabeth's first advisor. Polonius, like Cecil, wanted to marry his daughter, at the earliest possible moment, to the greatest possible advantage. Polonius aimed at Hamlet; Cecil aimed at Lord Oxford. The evidence that Hamlet is Lord Oxford and Ophelia is Anne Cecil is very strong. But the discussion here is on Burghley. The following is an example of his maxims:

Let thy hospitality be moderate . . . rather plentiful than sparing, for I never knew any man grow poor by keeping an ordinary table . . . Beware thou spendest not more than three or four parts of thy revenue, and not above a third part of that in thy house. That gentleman who sells an acre of land sells an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing else but ancient riches. Suffer not thy sons to cross the Alps, for they shall learn nothing there but pride, blasphemy, and atheism; and if by travel they get a few broken languages, they shall profit them nothing more than to have one meat served up in divers dishes. Neither train them up in wars, for he that sets up to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian. Beware of being surety for thy best friends; he that payeth another man's debts seeketh his own decay. Be sure to keep some great man thy friend, but trouble him not with trifles; compliment him often with many, yet small, gifts. Towards thy superiors be humble, yet generous; with thine equals familiar, yet respectful; towards thine inferiors, show much humanity, and some familiarity, as to bow the body, stretch forth the hand, and to uncover the head. Trust not any man with thy life, credit, or estate,

for it is mere folly for a man to enthrall himself to his friend.<sup>160</sup>

This is Polonius speaking to Laertes:

Give thy thoughts no tongue,  
 Nor any unproportion'd thought his act.  
 Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.  
 The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,  
 Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel;  
 But do not dull thy palm with entertainment  
 Of each new-hatcht, unfledged comrade. Beware  
 Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,  
 Bear 't, that th' opposed may beware of thee.  
 Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice:  
 Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.  
 Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,  
 But not exprest in fancy; rich, not gaudy:  
 For the apparel oft proclaims the man.  
 And they in France of the best rank and station  
 Are most select and generous, chief in that.  
 Neither a borrower nor a lender be:  
 For loan oft loses both itself and friend;  
 And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.  
 This above all,--to thine own self be true;  
 And it must follow, as the night the day,<sup>161</sup>  
 Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Looney observes that we are prone to take the phrase "To thine own self be true," as much nobler than it can have been meant, following as it does "a speech which, throughout, is a direct appeal . . . . to mere self-interest." He continues:

. . . unto 'thine own self:' not to the best that is in you, nor the worst. Consistently with his other injunctions, Shakespeare closes with one which summarizes all, the real bearing of which may perhaps be best appreciated by turning it into modern slang: 'Be true to "number one".' Make your own interests your guiding principle, and be faithful

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<sup>160</sup>Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, The Great Lord Burghley (William Cecil) a Study in Elizabethan Statecraft (London: E. Nash, 1906), p. 25.

<sup>161</sup>1. 3. 59-80

to it."<sup>162</sup>

Such an attitude would be much more in line with Burghley's thinking than the nobler interpretation we have come to accept. On 23 April 1576, Burghley wrote to the Queen:

Most sovereign lady, As I was accustomed from the beginning of my service to your Majesty until of late by the permission of your goodness and by occasion of the place wherein I serve your Majesty, to be frequently an intercessor for others to your Majesty, and therein did find your Majesty always inclinable to give me gracious audience: so now do I find in the latter end of my years a necessary occasion to be an intercessor for another next to myself, in a cause goodly, honest, and just; and therefore having had proof of your Majesty for most favours in causes so near touching myself as your Majesty will conceive it doth . . .

To enter to trouble your Majesty with the circumstances of my cause, I mean not for sundry respects but chiefly for two: the one is that I am very loth to be more cumbersome to your Majesty than need shall compel me; and the other is, for that I hope in God's goodness, and for reverence borne to your Majesty, that success thereof may have a better ending than the beginning threateneth. But your Majesty may think my suit will be very long where I am so long ere I begin it; and truly, most gracious sovereign lady, it is true that the nature of my cause is such as I have no pleasure to enter into it, but had rather seek means to shut it up for them to lay it open, not for lack of soundness thereof on my part, but for wickedness of others from whom the ground work proceedeth.

. . . whereas I am, by God's visitation with some infirmity and yet not great, stayed, from coming to do my duty to your Majesty at this time, and my daughter, the Countess of Oxford, also occasioned to her great grief to be absent from your Majesty's Court . . . and of my daughter, your Majesty's most humble young servant, as of one that is toward your Majesty in dutiful love and fear, yea, in fervent admiration of your graces . . . and in cause betwixt my Lord of Oxford and her, whether it be for respect of misliking in me or misdeeming of hers whereof I cannot yet know the certainty, I do avow in the pre-

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<sup>162</sup>J. Thomas Looney, "Shakespeare" Identified in Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (London: Cecil Palmer, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1920), p. 402.

sence of God and of the angels whom I do call as ministers of his ire, if in this I do utter any untruth. . . . yet now I have taken God and his angels to be witnesses to my writing, I renounce nature, and protest simply to your Majesty. I did never see in her behaviour in word or deed, nor ever could perceive by any other means, but that she hath always used herself honestly, chastely, and lovingly toward him . . .<sup>163</sup>

The echoes of this long-winded, tedious, self-righteous, letter which goes on and on can be heard in these words of Polonius:

My liege and madam, to expostulate  
 What majesty should be, what duty is,  
 Why day is day, night night, and time is time,  
Were nothing but to waste night, day, and time.  
Therefore, since brevity is the soul of wit,  
And tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes,  
I will be brief. Your noble son is mad:  
 Mad call I it; for, to define true madness,  
 What is 't but to be nothing else but mad?  
 But let that go.

QUEEN.

More matter with less art.

POLONIUS

Madam, I swear I use no art at all.  
 That he is mad, 'tis true; 'tis true 'tis pity;  
 And pity 'tis tis true; a foolish figure;  
 But farewell it, for I will use no art.  
 Mad let us grant him, then; and now remains  
 That we find out the cause of this effect,  
 Or rather say the cause of this defect,  
 For this effect defective comes by cause;  
 Thus it remains, and the remainder thus.  
 Perpend.

I have a daughter, have while she is mine;  
 Who, in her duty of obedience . . .<sup>164</sup>

Burghley was known for his practice of keeping matters smooth on the surface. He would do anything to avoid a quarrel.<sup>165</sup> As would Polonius:

HAMLET

Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?

POLONIUS

By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.

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<sup>163</sup>B. M. Ward; cit. Lansdown MSS, 102:2.

<sup>164</sup>2. 86-108      <sup>165</sup>Ogburn, p. 666.

HAMLET.  
 Methinks it is like a weasel.  
 POLONIUS.  
 It is backed like a weasel.  
 HAMLET.  
 Or like a whale?  
 POLONIUS.  
 Very like a whale.<sup>166</sup>

We note in Burghley's maxims that he was opposed to his son's traveling and again we hear the echoes when Polonius says:

He hath, my lord, wrung from me my slow leave  
 By laboursome petition; and, at last,  
 Upon his will I seal'd my consent:  
 I do beseech you, give him leave to go.<sup>167</sup>

In the fourth act, when Hamlet is asked by the King, "Where's Polonius?" he replies, "At supper . . . Not where he eats, but where he is eaten: a certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him. Your worm is your only emperor for diet."<sup>168</sup> Burghley had often been heard to say that he had been born during the session of the Diet of Worms, when Charles V was proclaimed Emperor:<sup>169</sup> thus a "convocation of politic worms." There is a further allusion: Ver (Hamlet being Edward de Vere) is French for worm, and this Ver is dieting upon his victim, Burghley, like an emperor.

The article on Burghley in the Dictionary of National Biography is very partial to its subject, but

<sup>166</sup>3. 2. 382-7

<sup>167</sup>1. 2. 58-61

<sup>168</sup>4. 3. 19-23

<sup>169</sup>Gerald William Phillips, Lord Burghley in Shakespeare; Falstaff, Sly, and Others. (London: T. Butterworth Ltd., 1936), p. 144.

admits, nevertheless, that in his dealings with other men he employed a very intricate system of espionage. It is a well known fact that when his eldest son, Thomas, afterwards Earl of Exeter, was in Paris, Burghley had him watched and secretly reported on, quite in the manner of Polonius's employment of the spy Reynaldo.<sup>170</sup>

Reynard is French for fox; at court Burghley was called "the Fox." When Rosencrantz asks Hamlet where the body of Polonius is, Hamlet answers, ". . . Hide fox, and all after."<sup>171</sup> Furness interprets this to mean, "as if he were playing hide and seek, cries, 'now the fox is hid: let all go after him.'"<sup>172</sup>

In referring to The Tempest, Brandes says, "Never, with the exception of Hamlet and Timon, had the author been so personal." In this play the character of Burghley can be seen as divided between Gonzalo and Antonio. Antonio represents the better side. We are reminded of his endless, wordy, philosophizing when Sebastian says, "Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit; by and by it will strike," and Antonio adds, "Fie, what a spendthrift is he of his tongue."<sup>173</sup> There are further clues in the following speech:

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<sup>170</sup>Looney, p. 217.      <sup>171</sup>4. 2. 31

<sup>172</sup>Furness, p. 317      <sup>173</sup>1. 2. 12-13; 24

## GONZALO

By'r lakin, I can go no further, sir;  
My old bones ache: here's a maze trod, indeed  
Through forth-rights and meanders! by your patience,  
I needs must rest me.<sup>174</sup>

Burghley, as he grew older, suffered from gout and was obliged to remain at home for long periods of time. As for the "maze," that was one of the distinctive features of his famous gardens at Theobalds. There is a famous portrait of him riding in these magnificent gardens on his little mule when his "old bones ached," and he was unable to meander on foot.

When Prospero speaks of Antonio, the devious side of Burghley, as "Thy false uncle," we are reminded of Burghley's notorious reputation for double-dealing and political maneuvering:

Being once perfected how to grant suits,  
 How to deny them, who t'advance, and who  
 To trash for over-topping; new created  
 The creatures that were mine, I say, or chang'd 'em,  
 Or else new-form'd em: having both the key  
Of officer and office, set all hearts in the state  
To what tune pleased his ear; that now he was  
The ivy which had hid my princely trunk  
And suck'd my verdure out on 't.<sup>175</sup>

Burghley's power was supreme; he had the power to "grant suits" or deny them, and as Master of Wards, he managed to acquire many new properties as well as monetary payments.

Among the many other clues is one that is very obvious: "He, being thus lorded . . . with . . . what my

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174<sub>3</sub>. 3. 1-4

175<sub>1</sub>. 2. 79-87

power might else exact,"<sup>176</sup> which refers to Sir William Cecil being created Lord Burghley in order that his daughter should be of sufficiently high rank to marry Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

But, as was said before, he had his good side, as do all men. Thus, Prospero continues, this time, about Gonzalo:

. . . did give us . . .  
 Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries,  
 Which since have steadied much; so, of his gentle-  
 ness,  
 Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me  
From mine own library with volumes that  
I prize above my dukedom.<sup>177</sup>

When the Earl of Oxford was imprisoned in the Tower, it was probably Burghley, his father-in-law, who provided him with books and other "necessaries," for the Earl did spend this time in "the bettering of his mind," and there is no record of any meals being served by the authorities during his whole time of imprisonment.<sup>178</sup>

There is a scene in which Alonso and Gonzalo are asleep and Antonio and Sebastian are plotting against their lives. Ariel enters and says:

My master through his art foresees the danger  
 That you, his friends, are in; and sends me forth,--  
 For else his project dies,--to keep them living  
Sings in Gonzalo's ear.

While you here do snoring lie,  
 Open-eyed conspiracy  
 His time doth take  
 If of life you keep a care,  
 Shake off slumber, and beware:  
 Awake, awake!

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<sup>176</sup>1. 2. 97-8

<sup>177</sup>1. 2. 164-9

<sup>178</sup>Ogburn, p. 547.

ANTONIO.

Then let us both be sudden.

GONZALO.

Now, good angels, preserve the king!

Alonso and Gonzalo see the other two with rapiers in their hands.

ALONSO

Why, how now, ho! Awake! Why are you drawn?  
Wherefore this ghastly looking?

GONZALO

What's the matter?<sup>179</sup>

The explanation for this scene may lie in events that took place in 1583. Burghley was old and ailing and wanted to retire. Meanwhile there was a conspiracy between Guise and Philip of Spain to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. She could hardly spare Burghley at a time like this and Ariel's song suggests that he was aroused from his desire to retire in order to protect the Queen.

There is a significant connection between Gonzalo and Polonius in that both in their rambling philosophical tracts draw on the writings of Montaigne. Lord Burghley was supposed to have formulated his precepts to his son, Robert, after an extensive reading of Montaigne, whose first edition of "Essays" was published in 1580, and as was pointed out previously, Gonzalo's speech about his dream plantation is right out of Montaigne.

Lord Burghley may also have supplied some characteristics for Shylock--"My daughter! O my ducats! O my Daughter!"--a man who regarded money itself as more

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<sup>179</sup>2. 1. 293-305

important than the uses to which its possessor could put it and even more important than human sympathy and human life. He can be seen in Capulet, bustling about to entertain his noble friends, a mild caricature of Burghley as a genial host. He may be seen in Pandarus in Troilus and Cressida, who compares his daughter Cressida (Anne) to the character of Helen who represents Queen Elizabeth. He may be Leonato in Much Ado About Nothing airing his grievance of Lord Oxford's mistreatment of his daughter Anne, and he may be Cassius in Julius Caesar, the political schemer of whom Caesar says:

he reads much;  
He is a great observer, and he looks  
Quite through the deeds of men; he loves no plays,  
. . . he hears no music . . .<sup>180</sup>

Mrs. Clark sees Burghley as the Duke of Milan in The Two Gentlemen of Verona and G. W. Phillips in his Lord Burghley in Shakespeare sees him as Falstaff, Sly, and Bottom, as well as Shylock. He is everywhere in the plays, and this is not surprising, since he was everywhere and into everything during his years as chief advisor to Queen Elizabeth.

Hawkins, Frobisher, Leicester, Sussex, Walsingham, Sidney, and Burghley were not the only "Gentlemen Adventurers" who are reflected in Shakespeare's plays. Others can be recognized if the play characters are compared with the historical facts about their prototypes. They can be recognized as having possibly dropped hints

and suggestions that Shakespeare incorporated subtly in his plays.

## CHAPTER VI

### FRANCIS DRAKE AND CORIOLANUS

In 1577 Francis Drake conceived a plan that included not only the discovery of new land, but also the striking at Spanish treasure in Central America--a plan of which the Spanish officials had no suspicions. Instead of striking at the treasure by way of the Isthmus of Panama, he planned to penetrate into the South Sea by the dangerous route through the Straits of Magellan and attack from the Pacific Coast instead of from the Atlantic Coast. He concealed his secret intention from all but the Queen and a few others whom he trusted.

There was in English politics at this time a peace party and a war party, Burghley leading the former and Walsingham and Leicester leading the latter. The war party hoped to settle the question of rights to new lands by force if necessary and the Queen was with them secretly. She gave Drake her consent to proceed but warned him that she would never admit it publicly. She tried to keep Burghley in ignorance, but Burghley,



Fig. 47. Sir Francis Drake. From Benson's Sir Francis Drake.

with his intricate spy system, was made aware of the truth. Thomas Doughty, whom we shall meet later, betrayed Drake's plans to Burghley, then took passage in the fleet as a gentleman explorer and did all in his power to ruin the project.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908 Zelia Nuttall discovered in the National Archives in Mexico the "Declaration of Nuño de Silva as to how he was taken prisoner by English pirates on his way from Oport to Brazil, May 23, 1579," a deposition given to the Viceroy of Mexico. Miss Nuttall also found and examined other documents concerning Drake in the State Archives of Spain and the Archivo General de Indias. Her collection of these documents in New Light on Drake, includes many sworn declarations of Spaniards, Englishmen, Flemings, and Portuguese, cited before military authorities or the Holy Office of the Inquisition in America.

Among the documents, the joint declarations of Captain John Oxenham, Thomas Xerval, John Butler, and Henry Butler, prisoners in Lima, in 1579, reveal not only the existence at the time, in England, of a deeply rooted and growing movement towards colonial expansion, but also evidence that Francis Drake, one of the most ardent advocates of this policy, could not possibly, and would not, have set out on a voyage, the avowed purpose of which was a search for unoccupied, "good lands," without the sanction

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<sup>1</sup>Short History, p. 109.

and aid of his Queen.<sup>2</sup>

He had confided in John Oxenham that if the Queen would give him leave he would sail the Strait of Magellan, furrow the waters of the Pacific with an English keel, and play havoc with the Spanish treasure ships, which, built in Panama, brought to the Isthmus the golden harvest of Peru. Further, that he would "found settlements over here in some good country."<sup>3</sup>

The statements of these gentlemen, as well as those of others, indicate that the historians who write that Drake's sole purpose in sailing west was to plunder Spanish ships, were probably mistaken. His fleet, according to a declaration made by John Winters in 1579, was "bounde for the parte of America for discovery and other causes of trade of merchandizes and requisite."<sup>4</sup> Drake's own statement was "that he came in the service of his Queen, his Sovereign Lady, whose orders he obeyed and that he had come more for another object [for something more] than the seizing of ships."<sup>5</sup> The prime object of Drake's voyage from the start was "discovery" and added to this were the aims of "annoying the King of Spain" to whatever extent possible, the finding of the western end of the Northwest Passage, exploration of the Pacific Coast of

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<sup>2</sup>Zelia Nuttall, tr. and ed. New Light on Drake  
A Collection of Documents Relative to His Voyage of Circumnavigation 1577-1580 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), pp.4-5.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 10.      <sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 386.      <sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 318-9.

America with the view of taking possession of the regions beyond the limits of Spanish occupation, and a circumnavigation of the globe, if possible. Drake's mind was filled with projects for the aggrandizement of England through oversea possessions, the spread of Protestantism, the extension of trade, and the glory to be attained for English seamanship by the accomplishment of the feat of circumnavigation.<sup>6</sup>

That the prime object of the voyage from the start was "discovery" was corroborated by Lope de Vega in his poem about Drake, "Dragontea," in which he renders homage to the great seaman's "heroic achievement of that world-famous voyage, on which he was the second to pass the strait," and then says, "Well did thy Queen know thy great valour, which might cause the depths of the sea to tremble, when she gave thee the three vessels, the only ones ever to sight, in a single voyage, both poles."

Mira despues aquel heroyco hecho  
 De tu viage celebre en el mundo  
 Quando passaste aquel famoso estrecho  
 Siendo de Magellanes el segundo.  
 Bien conocio la Regna tu gran pecho  
 Que pudo hazer temblar la mar profundo  
 Quando te dio los tres navios solos <sup>7</sup>  
 Que vieron de un viage los do polos.

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<sup>6</sup>Nuttall, p. xxxiv.

<sup>7</sup>Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, "Dragontea" in Collecion de las Obras Sueltas, Assi en Prosa, Como en Verso (Madrid, 1776), Tomo III, pp. 183-373.

On 13 December 1577, Drake sailed with a fleet of three armed ships, two auxiliary vessels, and 160 men and boys,<sup>8</sup> from Plymouth with the intention of going to the Pacific Ocean through the Straits of Magellan. One of the principal shareholders in this voyage was Sir Christopher Hatton, Captain of the Queen's Bodyguard. He, like the Queen, had invested one thousand crowns.<sup>9</sup>

Hutton is very likely the model for the character of Malvolio, as well as Speed in The Two Gentlemen of Verona.<sup>10</sup> There is also a strong resemblance between him and Oswald in King Lear.<sup>11</sup>

On 10 August 1578, on Cape Virgin Mary near the entrance into the Strait, "in remembrance of his honorable friend and fauorer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he [Drake] changed the name of the shippe, which himself went in, from the Pellican to be called the Golden Hinde,"<sup>12</sup> that being Hatton's crest.<sup>13</sup>

Drake's fleet sailed down the coast of Africa to the Cape Verde Islands, then across the Atlantic. When they were near the Plate River, Drake realized

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<sup>8</sup>Froude, p. 112.      <sup>9</sup>Nuttall, p. xlii.

<sup>10</sup>See Clark, pp. 220-3; Percy Allen, Shakespeare and Chapman as Topical Dramatists (London: C. Palmer, 1929), ch. 2; and Ogburn, pp. 267-88.

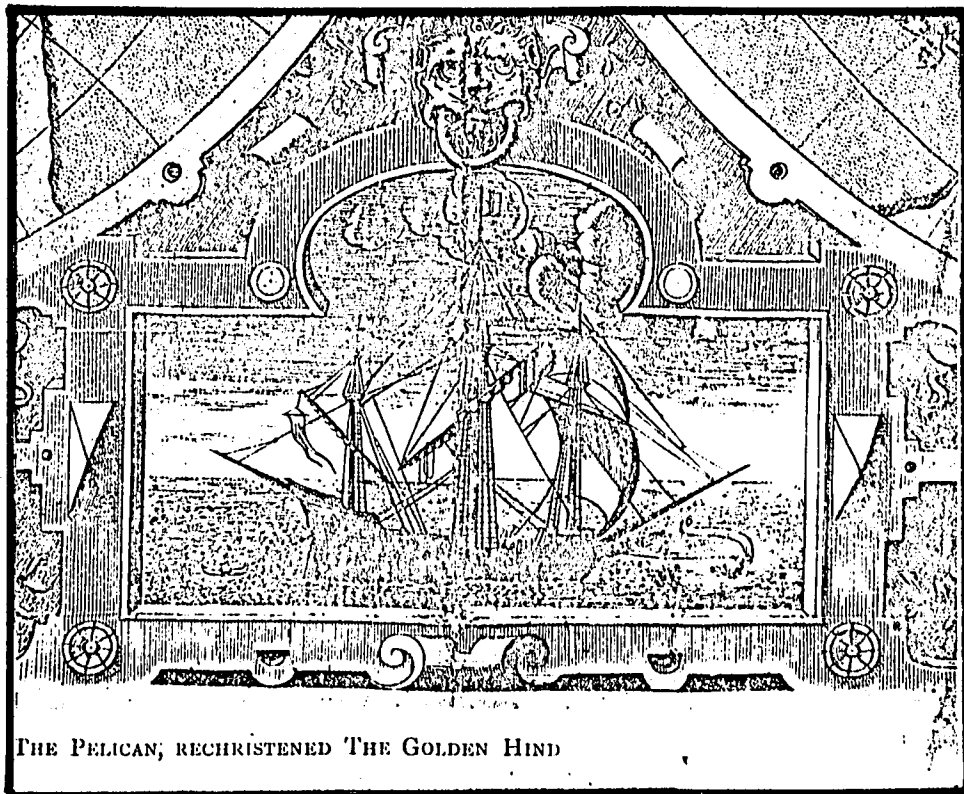
<sup>11</sup>Ogburn, p. 1159.

<sup>12</sup>Sir Francis Drake, The World Encompassed (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1628), March of America Facsimile Series no. 11., p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>Benson, p. 140.



**Fig. 48. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.**



THE PELICAN, RECHRISTENED THE GOLDEN HIND

Fig. 49. From Benson's Sir Francis Drake.

that the sloop with Thomas Doughty in charge was missing. The Marigold was sent in pursuit and brought the sloop back. It was suspected that Doughty, even though a close friend of Drake's, had been trying to get away to give information about Drake's plans to the Spanish commanders waiting in their ships for Drake in the Caribbean Sea. On 20 June they arrived at Port St. Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, where they found a gruesome spectacle. In this completely deserted spot a skeleton was hanging on a gallows, the bones picked clean by vultures. It was one of Magellan's crew who had been executed there for mutiny almost sixty years before.<sup>14</sup> (If you prove a mutineer, the next tree," says Stephano to Caliban<sup>15</sup>). The same fate was to befall Doughty.

He was put on trial in front of a court formed out of the crew, was found guilty, and sentenced to die. Without the strictest discipline it was impossible for any enterprise to succeed.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly have bene hazarded.<sup>16</sup>

In King Henry the Fifth, Fluellen says:

<sup>14</sup>Froude, p. 115.

<sup>15</sup>TMP 3. 2. 36

<sup>16</sup>Hakluyt, 7:55.

Certainly, auncient, it is not a thing to rejoice at: for if, look you, he were my brother, I would desire the duke to use his goot pleasure, and put him to execution; for discipline ought to be used.<sup>17</sup>

Drake, after receiving the sacrament with Doughty, at the hands of their minister, M. Fletcher, and dining with the prisoner by way of farewell, embraced the doomed man with prayers on his lips and executed the sentence with his own hand.<sup>18</sup> Drake's decision to "play judge and executioner all himself"<sup>19</sup> was based on his desire to bear the full responsibility himself.

After this sobering incident, the fleet continued on its way, passing through the Straits and meeting gales off Cape Horn where the Marigold went down and the crew of the Elizabeth decided to turn around and return to England. Drake went on to Valparaiso where he looted a Spanish ship of four hundred pounds of gold besides other commodities. At Tarapace he stole a pile of silver bars valued at half a million ducats. At Arica he picked up more silver and, after capturing the Spanish Cacafuego, acquired another mass of treasure. Drake put in at Canoas Bay in California to repair the Golden Hinde and then continued up the coast to Oregon, then back to San Francisco where he landed in a region he named New Albion and "took possession in the behalfe of Her Maiestie" of the territory in

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<sup>17</sup>3. 6. 59-62

<sup>18</sup>Hakluyt, 8:55.

<sup>19</sup>CYM 4. 2. 128

defiance of the Papal Bull.<sup>20</sup>

He now went directly to the Moluccas for a month's rest, then out to the coast of Java and from there through the Indian Ocean. Sweeping around the Cape of Good Hope, he touched at Sierra Leone, and finally sailed triumphantly into Plymouth Harbour on 26 September 1580, bearing a monarch's ransom in his hold. Drake was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the world.

Drake's circumnavigation of the world may have suggested to Shakespeare Puck's words in A Midsummer Night's Dream:

I'll put a girdle round about the earth  
In forty minutes.<sup>21</sup>

After Drake's voyage the phrase "put a girdle around the world" seems to have become a proverbial mode of expressing a voyage around the world. In James Shirley's Humorous Courtier (1640) we find "Thou has been a traveller, and convers'd with the Antipodes, almost put a girdle about the world."<sup>22</sup>

In Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises (1586), there is a picture of the emblem given to "Richard Drake, Esquier, in praise of Sir Francis Drake Knight," an emblem representing a globe

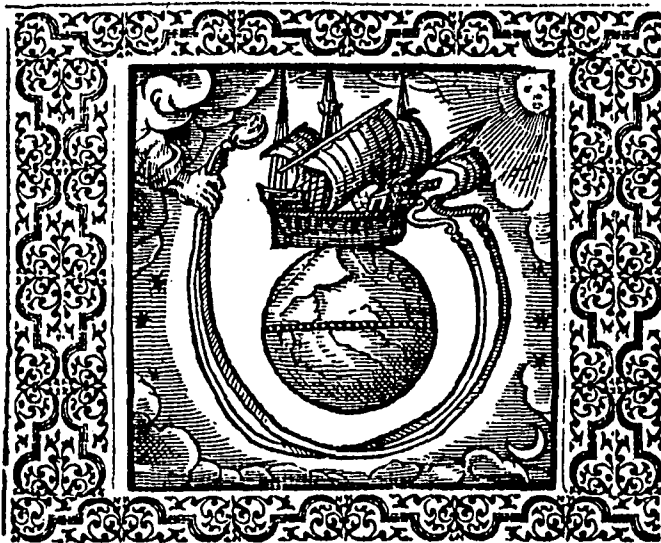
<sup>20</sup>Nuttall, p. xxxvii.

<sup>21</sup>2. 1. 175-6

<sup>22</sup>The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley vol. 4 "The Humorous Courtier," (London: J. Murray, 1833), p. 203.

*Auxilio divino.*

To RICHARD DRAKE Esquier, in praise of  
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE Knights.



**T**HROVGHE scorchinge heate, throughē coulde, in stormes, and  
tempests force,  
By ragged rocks, by shelves, & sandes: this Knighte did keepe his course.  
By gaping gulfs hee pass'd, by monsters of the flood,  
By pirates, theeves, and cruell foes; that long'd to spill his blood.  
That wonder greate to scape: but; GOD was on his side,  
And throughē them all, in spite of all, his shaken shippe did guide.  
And, to requite his paines: *By helpe of power deuine.*  
His happe, at lengthē did aunswere hope, to finde the goulden mine.  
Let GRÆCIA then forbearē, to praise her IASON boukie?  
Who throughē the watchfull dragons pass'd, to win the fleece of goulde.  
Since by MÈDEA's helpe, they weare inchaunted all,  
And IASON without perrilles, pass'd: the conqueste therfore small?  
But, hee, of whome I write, this noble minded DRAKE,  
Did bringe away his goulden fleece, when thousand eies did wake.  
Wherefore, yee woorthie wightes, that seeke for forreine landes:  
Yf that you can, come alwise home, by GANGES goulden sandes.  
And you, that liue at home, and can not brooke the flood,  
Geue praise to them, that passe the waues, to doe their countrie good.  
Before which sorte, as chiefe: in tempeste, and in calme,  
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, by due deserte, may weare the goulden palme.

Fig. 50.

A page from Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes  
and Other Devises (1586).

whereon a girdle which goes around the world is attached to the prow of a ship, while the other end is held up by the hand of God, emerging from the clouds.<sup>23</sup>

There were many claims to the treasure Drake brought back. It was locked up in the Tower of London after generous deductions were made to compensate Drake and Hawkins for their losses at San Juan de Ullua. Bernardino de Méndoza, the Spanish ambassador, said the treasure should be given to the King of Spain; Walsingham wanted to give it to the Prince of Orange; Leicester thought it should be divided among the Council who had helped fit Drake out. But, like Falstaff, the Queen hated paying back. The treasure remained in the Tower.<sup>24</sup>

Drake had touched the west coast of Africa where-  
in lies "Barbarie" and "Tripoli"; after passing through the Strait of Magellan and coming north, he touched at the western coast of Mexico; then he came by way of the Indian Ocean around the Cape of Good Hope; and later, in 1589, he led the attack on Lisbon. Drake's travels are echoed in Bassanio's words when he says:

From Tripolis, from Mexico and England,  
From Lisbon, Barbary, and India<sup>25</sup>

Drake's voyage took two years and ten months, during which time many a merchant adventurer in England

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<sup>23</sup>Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises (Leyden: Christopher Plantyn, 1586; English Emblem Books No. 3, Scolar Press, 1969), p. 203.

<sup>24</sup>Froude, pp. 102-39. <sup>25</sup>MV 1. 3. 17-25

who had invested in this voyage might have been saying what Salarino said in The Merchant of Venice:

I thought  
 What harm a wind too great might do at sea.  
 I should not see the sandy hour-glass run,  
 But I should think of shallows and of flats;  
 And see my wealthy Andrew dockt in sand,  
 Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs,  
 To kiss her burial. Should I go to church,  
 And see the holy edifice of stone,  
 And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,  
 Which touching but my gentle vessel's side,  
 Would scatter all her spices on the stream;  
 Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks;  
 And, in a word, but even now worth this,  
 And now worth nothing?<sup>26</sup>

After the safe return of the Golden Hinde, any one of its crew might have said:

I spake of most disastrous chances,  
 Of moving accidents by flood and field;  
 Of hair-breadth scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach;  
 Of being taken by the insolent foe,<sup>27</sup>

During these years the average Englishman was still a little slow to realize the advantages of colonization. What did excite the "man in the street," however, were the reports of Hawkins' and Drake's pirateering of Spanish ships. Captured treasure, rather than geographical discovery, was the attraction for him. Shakespeare was quick to mock this attitude; colonization for most people was the Utopian dream of the romantic idealist.

One thing that Drake accomplished was to put an end to Spain's theory that any foreign ship entering the western hemisphere was committing an act of war, a statement which they persisted in repeating. Drake urged the

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<sup>26</sup>1. 1. 23-35

<sup>27</sup>OTH 1. 3. 134-7

government to take steps to correct this situation and English lawyers were finally induced to enunciate the principle that occupation was a condition of possession, that the law of nations offered no hindrance to "foreign princes from freely navigating those seas" and even visiting and occupying, if they so wished it, "those parts where the Spaniards did not inhabit."<sup>28</sup> We are reminded of Raphael's words in More's Utopia:

Indeed they account it a very just cause of war if a people possess land that they leave idle and uncultivated and refuse the use and occupancy of it to others who according to the law of nature ought to be supported from it.<sup>29</sup>

Thus in 1580 the maxim "prescription without possession availeth nothing" was evolved. The papal division of the New World's surface had been challenged and the chief obstacle to England's colonization of America was at last removed. Slowly, the questionable limit of Spanish dominion was approached from the northern Arctic regions and then crossed to the temperate zone.<sup>30</sup>

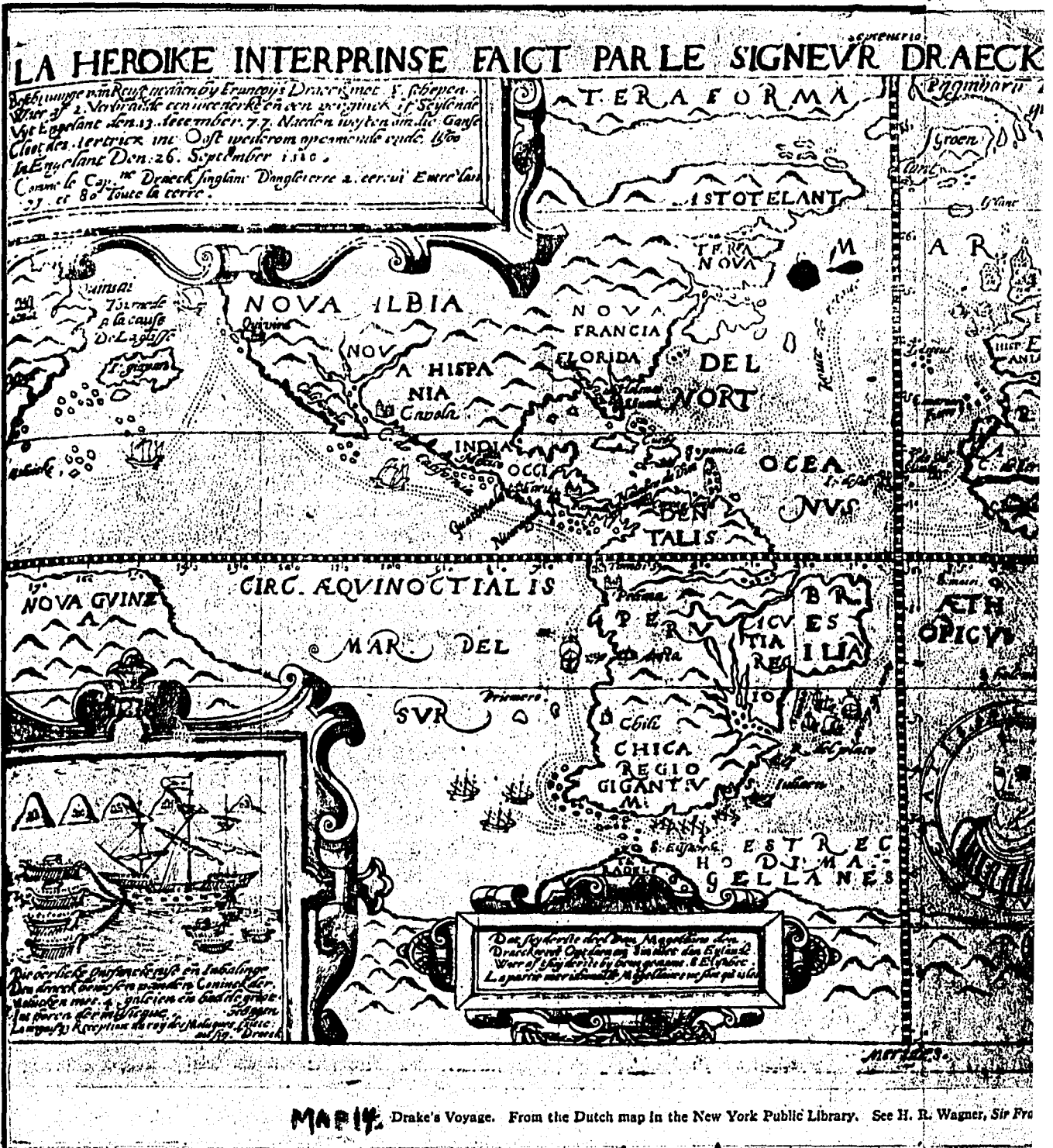
Drake's unprecedented voyage, during which, with one small ship, he not only encircled the world but sailed along most of the Pacific Coast of America, discovering unknown territories lying farther south as well as farther north of Spanish and Portuguese possessions, was

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<sup>28</sup>Lee, Essays, pp. 307-8.

<sup>29</sup>More, p. 38.

<sup>30</sup>Lee, Essays, p. 152.



MAP 14. Drake's Voyage. From the Dutch map in the New York Public Library. See H. R. Wagner, Sir Fra

SIGNEVR DRAECK D'AVOIR CIRQVIT TOVTE LA TERRE



York Public Library. See H. B. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World*, San Francisco 1926, pp. 424-426.

the second circumnavigation of the world, and the first conducted throughout under the same command.

Some Englishmen considered Drake a pirate, others condoned his raiding of Spanish shipping, but to Drake piracy and the most fervent piety were not only compatible but identical, for the pirate who looted the King of Spain's treasure ships was a crusader under the direct protection of the Most High: Drake was doing His Will. The mainspring from which sprung Drake's daring and desperate undertakings was his intense faith in God. Through his life he was heard to declare himself the instrument of the Divine Will. He carried this strong conviction from some inner necessity, not from any external pressures from precept or Bible.<sup>31</sup>

After Drake's return, Elizabeth deliberated a while, but then knighted him on 4 April 1581 and he became a national hero. There is little doubt about the importance of the information Drake brought back about America to the now world-minded Englishmen. Magellan had supposed that below the Strait named after him stretched a vast continent, Terra Australis, that extended continuously into polar ice, with the Strait the only southern passage from Atlantic to Pacific. Drake's discovery that Terra Australis did not exist, that there was ocean, not continent, to the south of Cape Horn, and

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<sup>31</sup>Benson, pp. 13-4.

to the north of Antarctica, was one of the greatest geographical discoveries of all time.<sup>32</sup> The body of water Drake discovered is known today as the Drake Passage.

In 1585 Drake made another voyage to the West Indies. On his return he stopped briefly in Florida near the Spanish settlements of St. Augustine and St. Helena.<sup>33</sup> One of the settlers whom he brought back to England, Nicholas Burgoignon, related the following to Richard Hakluyt:

In these mountains there is great store of Crystal, golde, and Rubies and Diamonds; . . . He saith also, that to make passage unto these mountaines, it is needfull to have store of Hatchets to give unto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountains, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they travell unto them at night.<sup>34</sup>

In The Comedy of Errors, Nell's facial protuberance embellished with rubies, carbuncles,<sup>35</sup> and sapphires reflects in imagery the shining mountains of America covered with rubies and diamonds.

#### DROMIO OF SYRACUSE

O, sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellish'd with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain; who sent whole armadoes of caracks to be ballast at her nose.<sup>36</sup>

The jewels on Nell's nose are an echo of Nicholas Burgoignon's description of the Grand Copal and her spherical form suggests to Dromio the roundness of the earth which Magellan, Drake and, later, Cavendish proved by their

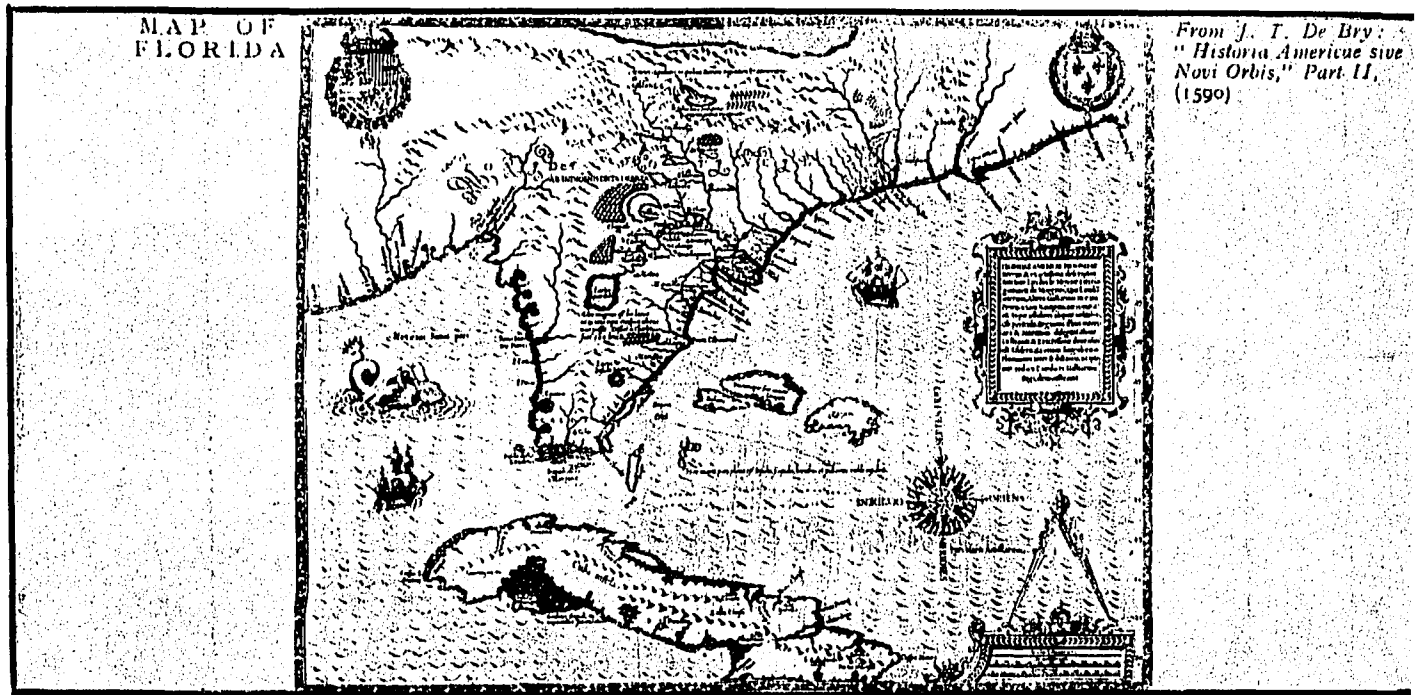
<sup>32</sup>Benson, p. 142.

<sup>33</sup>Benson, p. 203.

<sup>34</sup>Hakluyt, 10:134.

<sup>35</sup>A red precious stone.

<sup>36</sup>3. 2. 131-4



From J. T. De Bry:  
"Historia Americae sive  
Novi Orbis," Part II,  
(1590)

Map 15. Map of Florida. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

circumnavigation of the globe.

No longer from head to foot than from hip to hip: she is spherical, like a globe; I could find out countries in her.<sup>37</sup>

Shakespeare uses the word "globe" in ten other plays.<sup>38</sup>

To the average Elizabethan, America must have seemed a land literally shining with gold. He had heard the legends of El Dorados, of Grand Copal, and the Seven Cities of Cibola, and he had heard Raleigh's fabulous surmises that "there are in many places in the world, especially America, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich and full of gold."<sup>39</sup> Englishmen knew of the "infinite mass of gold" Drake had captured from the Spanish treasure while it was being transported from Panama to Nombre de Dios.<sup>40</sup> It was Martyr who began the tradition with his stories of golden trees, and his pictures of the natives fishing with golden hooks, and their having tools all of gold, as well as golden cannon and even golden kitchen ware. According to him one had

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<sup>37</sup>ERR 3. 2. 111-3

<sup>38</sup>TMP 4. 1. 153; MND 4. 1. 97; R2 3. 2. 38; 2H4 2. 4. 285; 2H6 3. 2. 406; TRO 1. 3. 114; HAM 1. 5. 97; LR 2. 2. 163; OTH 5. 2. 100; TIT 5. 2. 49

<sup>39</sup>Sir Walter Raleigh, The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, kt. (New York: Burt Franklin, Research and Source Works Series no. 73, 1829), 4 vols., 2:336.

<sup>40</sup>Thomas Fuller, The Holy State and the Profane State (New York: Columbis University Press, 1938; Reprint, AMS Press, 1966), 2 vols., 2: 135.

but to scratch the earth to find the precious metal.<sup>41</sup>

Robert Tomson, in 1555, wrote of New Spain and said, "about Mexico there are divers Mines of Silver . . . and the Mines of S. Martin . . . where is great store of gold and silver."<sup>42</sup> In 1595 Raleigh wrote:

. . . those Indians of Trinidad have plates of golde from Guiana . . . And upon the river of Amazones, Thevet writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them . . .<sup>43</sup>

Gomara described utensils reserved for the basest of all domestic needs as being wrought of metal.<sup>44</sup> The Elizabethans also read that

they have discovered certaine Mines of silver and gold, and looke every day for Masters to come to open the said Mines, which when they be opened will inrich this cuntry very much.<sup>45</sup>

Shakespeare makes several references to the wealth to be found in the New World. In King Henry the Fourth Part I, Mortimer, defending Glendower against Hotspur's charges, maintains that he is "as bountiful as mines in Inida."<sup>46</sup> And in King Henry the Eighth, where Norfolk is describing the splendors of the meeting between the English and the French kings, he says that the troops, "Made Britain India; every man that stood / Show'd like a mine."<sup>47</sup> Once again, we find a reference in Twelfth Night, when Sir Toby refers to Maria as "my metal of India."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Martyr, De orbe novo, 1:352.      <sup>42</sup>Hakluyt, 6:263.

<sup>43</sup>Hakluyt, 7:295.      <sup>44</sup>First Three English, p. 343.

<sup>45</sup>Hakluyt, 8:16.      <sup>46</sup>3. 1. 167      <sup>47</sup>1. 1. 21

<sup>48</sup>2. 5. 14

The hyperbolic reports of America which started with Cabot's description in 1498 of fish as big as seals, continued to appear in all the chronicles of the New World and Shakespeare was quick to slip in a jibe at these concepts whenever he could. But on a more serious level, there seems to be evidence that he, like so many of his countrymen, admired Drake.

Of the long line of adventurers who took up Columbus's work during the sixteenth century--Hawkins, Gilbert, Cavendish, Grenville, Raleigh, Hudson, John Smith, Frobisher--Francis Drake outshone the rest. His praises were sung throughout the western civilized world; everywhere there were stories that gloated over his defiance of Spain and his having "put a girdle around the world." With affectionate pride, the tale was repeated time after time of how, in 1573, he had climbed a tree in Panama and, with his eyes shaded, caught the first glimpse of the blue waters of the South Sea and "besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship on that sea."<sup>49</sup>

The "South Sea," a great body of water lying just south of the Isthmus of Panama, was discovered by Balboa in 1513. This discovery made possible the circum-

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<sup>49</sup>Philip Nichols, "Sir Francis Drake Revived" in Voyages and Travels, Ancient and Modern (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1910) The Harvard Classics vol. 33, p. 127.



Fig. 51. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

navigation of the world, first by Magellan in 1522 and later by Drake in 1577-80. When Magellan sailed through the strait which today bears his name, he came from a difficult struggle on harsh waters onto a peaceful sailing on calm seas. These calm waters he named the "Pacific Ocean." But the name South Seas, like the name "West Indies" lingered on. On Hakluyt's map of 1599 this name was still used, and its use continued until about 1711 when the fraudulent financial policies of the South Sea Company caused the name "South Sea" to fall into disrepute, and the name "Pacific Ocean" became popular.<sup>50</sup> But when Shakespeare wrote As You Like It, the name "South Sea" was still prevalent. Rosalind says:

Good my complexion! dost thou think though I am  
caparison'd like a man, I have a doublet and hose  
in my disposition? One inch of delay more is a  
South-sea of discovery.<sup>51</sup>

Rosalind is replying to Celia, who has been teasing her and has refused to tell her the name of the lover who has placed verses on the trees in the forest of Arden. Pemberton writes:

The injection of this colonizing term into this pastoral scene is another instance of the extent to which the poet's mind was imbued with the subject.<sup>52</sup>

John Sarracoll wrote that in June 1586 a voyage set out

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<sup>50</sup>Bristol, p. 30-1.      <sup>51</sup>3. 2. 197-200

<sup>52</sup>Henry Pemberton, Jr., Shakspeare and Sir Walter Raleigh (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971), p. 115.

commanded by the Earl of Cumberland to the South Sea; but went only to the latitude of forty-four degrees to the south of the Equinoctial.<sup>53</sup> This expedition did not return home until September 1587, more than a year later, a long time for a round trip to and from the New World. This was twice as long as it had taken Raleigh to make his Guiana voyage, including the long and difficult trip up the Orinoco River. This long delay must have caused great concern among the Earl's friends. Hence, perhaps, the association in Shakespeare's mind of "delay" with a "South-sea discovery."

I believe that the life of Drake, either directly or indirectly, supplied some of the details Shakespeare used when he wrote Coriolanus. This is not to say that Drake was the model on which Coriolanus was precisely molded, but rather, that the many similarities between the two suggest that Drake's image probably is reflected in Shakespeare's hero.

In the beginning of the play, the struggle between the rich and the poor would have had a significant meaning for the play's first audiences, for in England at this time rebellious citizens were decrying their starvation conditions just as Roman citizens had done two thousand years before. The grievances of the poor and the greediness of the rich were being hotly debated during a

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<sup>53</sup>Hakluyt, 8:132-53.

series of insurrections in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester where the rioters destroyed the hedges and ditches made to enclose common lands.<sup>54</sup> With the enclosure of the tillable fields which were converted into grazing grounds for sheep, many former farm tenants were left with almost no land to cultivate. Thus there was an element of peasant families on the verge of destitution as a result of the enclosures. The wrath of the people against enclosure reached its climax in 1549. During Elizabeth's reign, the anti-enclosure movement, which had temporarily calmed down after 1549, was re-activated. According to Thomas Bastard in 1598:

Sheepe have eate up our medows and our downes,  
Our corne, our wood, whole villages and townes;  
Yes, they have eate up many wealthy men,  
Besides widowes and orphane children;  
Besides our statutes and our Iron Lawes,  
Which they have swallowed down into their mawes:--  
Till now I thought the proverb did but jest,  
Which said a blacke sheepe was a biting beast.<sup>55</sup>

There is abundant evidence that the landed classes caused a great many enclosures to be carried on in these years with as little regard for the rights and interests of the peasantry as had been shown in the worst years in the past.<sup>56</sup> Tawney writes:

The descendant of the illiterate, bloody-minded baron who is muzzled by Henry VII becomes a courteous gentleman who rhapsodises in verse at the

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<sup>54</sup>G. B. Harrison, "A Note on Coriolanus" John Quincy Adams Memorial Studies (Washington, 1948), p. 239.

<sup>55</sup>Chrestoleros (1598), Bk. IV, quoted in William Edward Tate, The Enclosure Movement (New York: Walker, 1967), p. 70.

<sup>56</sup>Tate, p. 70.

Court of Gloriana. But all that the peasants know is that his land-agents are harsher.<sup>57</sup>

The parallel situations is commented on by Brent Stirling:

That Coriolanus, a play in which the plebians resolve in the first scene "rather to die than to famish" and in which they later weaken Rome's defenses, should have appeared in such an atmosphere of concern could be more than a coincidence. The acuteness of the enclosure problem, the resultant hunger and deprivation, and the ensuing riots, . . . all these factors contribute to an attitude of receptivity for such a play.<sup>58</sup>

That the audience was living in a similar atmosphere is confirmed by a royal proclamation that declared

of all other seditions and rebellions none doth bring such infinite waste and desolation upon a Kingdom or state as these popular insurrections, which though they do seldom shake or endanger a crown, yet they do bring a heap of calamities upon the authors and actors themselves.<sup>59</sup>

We are reminded of More's theory that wealth is a conspiracy of the rich against the poor. In the play, the First Citizen says:

. . . What authority surfeits on would relieve us: if they would yield us but the superfluity, while it were wholesome, we might guess they relieved us humanely; but they think we are too dear; the leanness that afflicts us, the object of our misery, is as an inventory to particularize their abundance; our sufferance is a gain to them. . . . They ne'er cared for us yet:--suffer us to famish, and their storehouses cramm'd with grain; make edicts for usury, to support

<sup>57</sup>Richard Henry Tawney, The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), p. 193.

<sup>58</sup>Brents Stirling, "The Populace in Shakespeare," in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Coriolanus (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 108.

<sup>59</sup>Proclamation of 28 June 1607, Stirling, p. 108.

usurers; repeal daily any wholesome act established against the rich; and provide more piercing statutes daily, to chain up and restrain the poor. If the war eats us not up, they will; and there's all the love they bear us.<sup>60</sup>

The contemporary aspects of Coriolanus are evident in other ways besides the struggle between the rich and the poor. Though Shakespeare's play follows closely Plutarch's account of Caius Marcius Coriolanus, a close reading of the play also reveals many similarities in the life of Francis Drake and the life of the great Roman military leader as he is depicted in the play. The story of the famous Roman was not selected at random, but rather because of the many parallels that do exist, it would seem. When Coriolanus says:

Hang 'em! They say!  
They'll sit by the fire, and presume to know  
What's done i' the Capital; who's like to rise,  
Who thrives, and who declines; side factions, and  
give out  
Conjectural marriages; making parties strong,  
And feebling such as stand not in their liking  
Below their cobbled shoes.<sup>61</sup>

his words are equally applicable to Ancient Rome and to the year 1581 in England when the Queen's marriage with Alençon was upon everyone's tongue and was generally unpopular. "Conjectural marriages" is a possible allusion to a contemporary situation.

In the Roman wars, there was no reason for mentioning the sea, yet there are about a dozen references

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<sup>60</sup>1. 1. 14-20, 76-83

<sup>61</sup>1. 1. 187-93

to the sea in the play which are suggestive of Drake's sea ventures. For instance:

Truly, I think, if all our wits were to issue out of our skull, they would fly east, west, north, south; and their consent of one direct way should be at once to all points o' the compass.<sup>62</sup>

The mention of a compass, which is the mariner's guide, is significant because when Drake was in Plymouth in 1580, he set up a "great large compass on the Hoe,"<sup>63</sup> and the word was one that was closely associated with him.

If we go back to the history of Drake, we remember that after John Doughty was executed at St. Juan, Drake preached a sermon to his entire company. He said the men must support him completely if the voyage was to be a success and he asked those who felt they could not give him complete support to leave; he would provide them with a ship. There are many parallels in the meaning, if not in the actual wording, of Drake's speech and the lines in the play. Drake said:

We must have these mutinies and discords that are growne amongst us repress, for by the lyfe of God it dothe even take my wytes from me to thinke on it.<sup>64</sup>

In the play Junius Brutus says:

This mutiny were better put in hazard  
Than stay, past doubt, for greater:  
If, as his nature is, he fall in rage  
With their refusal, both observe and answer  
The vantage of his anger.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>2. 3. 21-3

<sup>63</sup>Benson, p. 179.

<sup>64</sup>Hakluyt, 10:363.

<sup>65</sup>2. 3. 253-7

The reference is to Coriolanus' anger. In his speech,  
Drake continued:

Yf this voyadge go not forward, whiche I can not  
se how possible it shulde yf this man lyve, what  
a reproache it wilbe, not only vnto ovr contrye but  
especially vnto vs, the very symplest here may con-  
sider of . . . let us show ovr selvs all to be of a  
company, and let vs not gyve occasyon to the enemye  
to reioyce at ovr decaye and ovarthrowe . . . Yf  
there be any here willinge to retorne home let me  
vnderstand of them, and heare is the Marigolde, a  
shipe that I can very well spare, I will furnishe  
her to suche as will retorne with the moast credite  
I can gyve them, eythar to my letters or any way els;  
but let them take hede that they goo homeward, for yf  
I fynd them in my way I will surely synke them.<sup>66</sup>

Now Caius Marcius Coriolanus speaks:

Now put your shields before your hearts, and fight  
With hearts more proof than shields.--Advance . . .  
They do disdain us much beyond our thoughts,  
Which make me sweat wrath.--Come on my fellows:  
He that retires, I'll take him for a Volsce,  
And he shall feel mine edge.<sup>67</sup>

Drake said failure would make them the scorn of their en-  
emies:

Yf this voyadge shulde not have good successe, we  
shulde not only be a skornyngge or a reprochfull  
scoffinge stoke vnto our enemyes, but also a greate  
blott to ovr hole country for evar, and what tri-  
umph then would it be to Spayne and Portyngale, and  
agayne the lyke would never be attempted.<sup>68</sup>

Coriolanus makes the same point:

Your dishonour  
Mangles true judgment, and bereaves the state  
Of that integrity which should become't,  
Not having the power to do the good it would,  
For th' ill which doth control 't.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Hakluyt, 10:357, 363. <sup>67</sup>1. 4. 23-9

<sup>68</sup>Hakluyt, 10:366. <sup>69</sup>3. 1. 156-60

Finally Drake appealed to their patriotism to make a success of the adventure on the threshold of which they stood:

For to say yow come to serve me I will not gyve  
yow thanks, for it is onely hir Maiestie that you  
serve and this voyadge is onely her setting forthe.<sup>70</sup>

Coriolanus makes the same appeal:

If any think brave death outweighs bad life,  
And that his country's dearer than himself;  
Let him, alone, or so many so minded,  
Wave thus, to express his disposition,  
And follow Marcius.<sup>71</sup>

John Cooke, who wrote the report of Drake's voyage, related how Drake told him that the Queen had declared he was the only man capable of attacking the King of Spain.

Then was I very shortly after and in an eveninge  
sent for vnto hir Maiestie by secretary Wallsyng-  
ham, but cam not to hir Maiestie that nyght, for  
that it was late; but the next daye comynge to hir  
presens, thes or the lyke words (as he sayd) Drake,  
So it is that I would gladly be revenged on the  
Kynge of Spayne, for Dyvers iniuries that I have  
receyved, and sayd fardar that he was thonly man  
that myght do this exployte, and withall craved  
his advice therein. Who told hir Maiestie of the  
smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but  
thonly waye was to anoy hym by his Indyes.<sup>72</sup>

Cominus praises Coriolanus as the Queen had praised Drake:

If I should tell thee o'er this thy day's work,  
Thou'lt not believe thy deeds; but I'll report it,  
Where senators shall mingle tears with smiles;  
Where great patricians shall attend, and shrug  
I' the end admire; where ladies shall be frighted,  
And, gladly quaked, hear more; where the dull tribunes,  
That, with the fusty plebians, hate thine honours,  
Shall say, against their hearts, 'We thank the gods  
Our Rome hath such a soldier!'<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Hakluyt, 10: 366. <sup>71</sup>1. 6. 71-5

<sup>72</sup>Hakluyt, 10:365. <sup>73</sup>1. 9. 1-9

While Philip of Spain was gathering his forces, there existed a surface amiability between him and Queen Elizabeth. Tallus Aufidius expresses the thoughts and designs of Philip against the peace of England in 1581:

FIRST SENATOR.

Our army's in the field:  
We never yet made doubt but Rome was ready  
To answer us.

TULLUS AUFIDIUS.

Nor did you think it folly  
To keep our great pretences veil'd till when  
They needs must show themselves; which in the hatching,  
It seem'd, appear'd to Rome. By the discovery  
We shall be shorten'd in our aim; which was,  
To take in many towns, ere, almost, Rome  
Should know we were afoot.<sup>74</sup>

That Drake inspired men with respect and admiration can be seen not only in the reports of his own men, but also in those of his prisoners, who can certainly not be accused of being prejudiced in his favor. Their depositions abound with references to small acts of kindness or generosity performed by him. One of his prisoners, Pedro de Valdes, wrote,

Felicity and valour were so great that Mars the god of war and Neptune the god of the sea seemed to wait on all his enterprises and whose noble and generous courage had often been experienced by his enemies.<sup>75</sup>

And Francis Fletcher wrote:

Our Generall, especially in matters of moment, was never wont to relye only on other mens care, how trusty or skilfull soeuer they might seeme to be; but alwayes contemning danger and refusing no toyle,

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<sup>74</sup>1. 2. 17-25

<sup>75</sup>Nuttall, p. liv.

he was wont himselfe to be one whosoeuer was a second at euery turne, where courage, skill or industry was to be imployed; neither would hee at this time intrust the discouery of these dangers to anothers paines, but rather to his owne experience in searching out and sounding of them.<sup>76</sup>

Menenius says of Coriolanus:

His nature is too noble for the world;  
He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,  
Or Jove for's power to thunder. His heart's his  
mouth:  
What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent;  
And, being angry, does forget that ever  
He heard the name death.<sup>77</sup>

Cominius speaks of Coriolanus' deeds:

. . . the deeds of Coriolanus  
Should not be utter'd feebly.--It is held  
That valour is the chiefest virtue, and  
Most dignifies the hauer: if it be,  
The man I speak of cannot, in the world  
Be singly counterpoised.<sup>78</sup>

Volumnia also speaks of his deeds: ". . . he hath in this action out-done his former deeds doubly," and Valeria says, "In troth, there's wondrous things spoke of him."<sup>79</sup> Then one of the sentinels says, "The worthy fellow is our general: he's the rock, the oak not to be wind-shaken."<sup>80</sup>

E. F. Benson, one of Drake's biographers, has drawn the features of Drake's character from contemporary sources which include the narratives of Francis Fletcher, who was the chaplain of the voyage around the world; John Cooke, Christopher Ceely, Ellis Hisom, who were also on that expedition; and Francis Petty, one of Drake's Gentlemen-

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<sup>76</sup>World Encompassed, p. 18.      <sup>77</sup>3. 1. 254-9

<sup>78</sup>2. 2. 83-8      <sup>79</sup>2. 1. 139-41      <sup>80</sup>5. 2. 99-100

at-arms. Other sources are the Chronicles of John Stow, the Annals of William Camden, Hakluyt's Voyages, and the various documents unearthed by Zelia Nuttall. Benson summarizes Drake's character:

Drake had always to be doing something: he hated idleness, as one of his contemporary biographers tells us, like the devil, and we may be sure that the apprentice boy he took on his boat had to spring to his bidding with considerable liveliness. His temper was quick, and his tongue extraordinarily sharp, with a jest at the end when his impatience had vented itself. Everything around him, himself included, must be smart, for rust of any sort, mental or material, was to him intolerable . . . if he never forgot a loyal friend, he never forgave an injury, nor ceased to pray God to help him to avenge it. He had the most violent temper, his thirst for honour was insatiable, he bragged and bawled, and he delighted in flattery. But behind it all was that spirit of indomitable pluck and gaiety, which seems to have frankly intoxicated those who came in contact with it.<sup>81</sup>

And Plutarch said of Coriolanus the Roman in a 1579 translation:

For this Martius naturall with the great hart did marvellously sturre up his courage to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other side for lacke of education, he was so chollericke and impatient, that he would yeeld to no living creature: which made him churlishe, uncivil, and altogether unfit for any mans conversation. Yet men marveling much at his constancie, that he was never overcome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure easilie all manner of paines and travaillles: thereupon they well liked and commended his stownes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen useth to be with another in the cittie. His behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because it was so lordly, was disliked.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Benson, pp. 15-7.

<sup>82</sup>Plutarch's lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans Englished by Sir Thomas North anno 1579 (London: David Nutt, 1895) 6 vols., 2:143-90.

The descriptions of the two heroes might either one have been written for the other, so closely do they parallel each other. The violent temper and imperious manners shown in the play are true of Plutarch's description of the Roman hero, and are equally true of the English hero of Shakespeare's day, Francis Drake. However, even though the two seem parallel, Coriolanus, in the play, still remains a representation, not an exact portrait; we are again seeing reflections.

Let us examine and compare the character of Caius Marcius and his courageous exploits and exhilarating plunges into fresh deeds of bravery as written by Shakespeare and the character and deeds of Drake as described by his contemporaries who knew him.

## LIEUTENANT

I do not know what withcraft's  
in him, but  
Your soldiers sue him, as the  
grace 'fore meat.<sup>83</sup>

When they came unto us,  
they greatly wondred at  
the things that wee brought,  
but our Generall (accord-  
ing to his naturall and ac-  
customed humanitie) court-  
eously intreated them, and  
liberally bestowed on them  
necessary things to cover  
their nakednesse, where-  
upon they supposed us to  
be gods, and would not be  
perswaded to the cont-  
rary.<sup>84</sup>

## CORIOLANUS

I sometime lay, here in Cor-  
ioli,  
At a poor man's house; he  
used me kindly:--

He released the men and  
the bark, permitting them  
to go back, and giving  
them a little coarse lin-  
en to make a small sail,

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<sup>83</sup>4. 7. 2-3

<sup>84</sup>Hakluyt, 8:63.

He cried to me; I saw him  
prisoner;  
But then Aufidius was within  
my view,  
And wrath o'erwhelm'd my pity:  
I request you  
To give my poor host freedom.<sup>85</sup>

with which Bravo came to  
Manta.<sup>86</sup>

His rigour was always tem-  
pered with mercy.<sup>87</sup>

. . .

COMINIUS

Our spoils he kickt at;  
And lookt upon things prec-  
ious as they were  
The common muck of the world:  
he covets less  
Than misery itself would give;  
rewards  
His deeds with doing them; and  
is content  
To spend the time to end it.<sup>88</sup>

In grateful recognition of  
Drake's assent not to de-  
prive him of his costly  
wearing apparel Zarate  
bestowed upon the latter  
"a falcon of gold" . . .  
Drake took but little from  
him, was courteous in doing  
so, and apologised for help-  
ing himself to the Spanish  
gentleman's stores of linen,  
. . . in exchange, Drake gave  
him a falchion . . . and a  
silver perfume burner.<sup>90</sup>

SECOND CITIZEN

You must in no way say he is  
covetous.<sup>89</sup>

. . .

FIRST CITIZEN

If I must not, I need not be  
barren of accusations; he hath  
faults, with surplus, to tire  
in repetition.<sup>91</sup>

Faults he had in plenty; he  
was overbearing and imperi-  
ous with his equals, he was  
hopelessly impatient of re-  
straint, and incapable of  
co-operation.<sup>92</sup>

. . .

AUFIDIUS

All places yield to him ere he  
sits down;  
And the nobility of Rome are  
his:  
The senators and patricians  
love him too

I managed to ascertain whe-  
ther the General was well  
liked, and all said they  
adored him--que le adoravan.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>85</sup>1. 9. 81-6

<sup>86</sup>Nuttall, p. 72.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>88</sup>2. 2. 124-9

<sup>89</sup>1. 1. 40

<sup>90</sup>Nuttall, p. 200.

<sup>91</sup>1. 1. 41-2.

<sup>92</sup>Benson, p. 16.

<sup>93</sup>Nuttall, p. 209.

. . . I think he'll be to Rome  
As is the osprey to the fish,  
    who takes it  
By sovereignty of nature.<sup>94</sup>

--he is belov'd--<sup>95</sup>

. . .

He cannot temperately trans-  
port his honours  
From where he should begin and  
end, but will  
Lose those he hath won.<sup>96</sup>

He was not one to rest on  
his oars; no sooner was one  
task achieved, than he  
found another awaiting ac-  
complishment.<sup>97</sup>

. . .

BRUTUS  
He's poor in no one fault, but  
    stored with all  
SIGINIUS  
Especially in pride.  
BRUTUS  
And topping all others in  
    boasting.<sup>98</sup>

Francis Drake is so baost-  
ful of himself as a marin-  
er and man of learning  
that he told them that  
there was no one in the  
whole world who understood  
the art [of navigation]  
better than he.<sup>99</sup>

. . .

BRUTUS  
    Caius Marcius was  
A worthy officer i' the war;  
    but insolent,  
O'ercome with pride, ambiti-  
    ous past all thinking,  
Self-loving--<sup>100</sup>

These men related that  
like a shameless robber  
who fears not God or man,  
the Corsair made many ar-  
rogant speeches, saying  
that San Jual de Anton  
could not escape him.<sup>101</sup>

. . .

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<sup>94</sup>4. 7. 28-35 The Osprey, or Fishhawk, was sup-  
posed to have a natural power of fascinating fishes, as in  
Peele's Battle of Alcasar, 2. 3: "I will provide thee with  
a princely osprey / That, as she flieth over fish in pools, /  
The fish shall turn their glittering bellies up."

<sup>95</sup>3. 1. 313

<sup>96</sup>2. 1. 313 "He cannot, as a self-restrained man  
could, derive honor from both the beginning and completion  
of his performances. He cannot go an equable pace and con-  
clude with the same honors with which he began."--Yale, p. 148.

<sup>97</sup>Benson, p. 16

<sup>98</sup>2. 1. 18-20

<sup>99</sup>Nuttall, p. 238.

<sup>100</sup>4. 6. 28-31

<sup>101</sup>Nuttall, p. 72.

FIRST SOLDIER.  
--He's a devil.<sup>102</sup>

The Spaniards<sup>103</sup> s in league  
believed that the terrible  
"El Draque" was in league  
with the devil.<sup>103</sup>

. . .

SICINIUS.  
Was ever man so proud as this  
    Marcius?  
    BRUTUS.  
He has no equal.<sup>104</sup>

His thirst for honor was  
insatiable, he bragged  
and bawled and delighted  
in flattery.<sup>105</sup>

In Coriolanus, Marcius, in order to win over Aufidius's friends, "bow'd his nature, never known before / But to be rough, unswayable, and free."<sup>106</sup> On Drake's last voyage, which was to the West Indies to capture a disabled treasure ship, he shared the command with Sir John Hawkins who was old and tired and really unfit for commanding an expedition in his condition. Friction between Drake and Hawkins was inevitable, but out of compassion for his old kinsman, Drake, for the first time, like Coriolanus, "bow'd his nature" which always before had been "rough, unswayable, and free." The voyage was a complete disaster, and neither Drake nor Hawkins returned from it.<sup>107</sup>

My references to similar situations do not imply that the play was based on actual happenings in Drake's life. They are brought up to show how many

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<sup>102</sup>1. 10. 16

<sup>103</sup>B. M. Ward, p. 249.

<sup>104</sup>1. 1. 248-9

<sup>105</sup>Benson, p. 16

<sup>106</sup>5. 5. 23-4

<sup>107</sup>Benson, pp. 293-305.

suggestions there are in the play that Drake's likeness may be reflected there. For instance, Drake was raised from childhood to be a sailor. We read that

his father was constrained by pouerty to place his sonne with a neighbouring Pylote, who, by daily exercise, hardened him to the Saylor's labours in a little Barke, wherewith hee sayled vp and downed the Coast, guided Ships in and out of Harbours, and sometimes transported Merchandize into France and Zealand.<sup>108</sup>

And Coriolanus was raised from childhood to be a soldier:

MENENIUS.

. . . He has been bred i' the wars  
Since he could draw a sword . . .<sup>109</sup>

. . .

VOLUMNIA

. . . Say to them,  
Thou art their soldier, and, being bred in broils,  
Hast not the soft way . . .<sup>110</sup>

Both were youthful warriors. Most of the writers accept 1541 as the date of Drake's birth.<sup>111</sup> If this is so, then he was about twenty-three when he set out on his first trip to the West Indies with Captain John Hawkins in October 1567 for the voyage on which they encountered the treachery of Don Martino Enriquez at San Juan D'Ullua. When he sacked Nombre de Dios "all his own men were boys, like himself . . . In all his crew numbered seventy-three youngsters; . . . not one of that exuberant company had attained the age of thirty."<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>William Camden, The True and Royall History of the famous Empress Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland & co. (London: H. Lownes, 1625), p. 417.

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<sup>109</sup>3. 1. 318-9

<sup>110</sup>3. 2. 80-2

<sup>111</sup>Benson, p. 17.

<sup>112</sup>Benson, p. 52.

Plutarch says of Coriolanus: "The first time he went to the warres, being but a strippling, was when Tarquine . . . dyd come to Rome with all the ayde of the Latines . . ."113 Shakespeare had Cominius tell the story of Marcius' exploits on this occasion:

At sixteen years,  
When Tarquin made a head for Rome, he fought  
Beyond the mark of other:114

Volumnia tells how proud she was of the young warrior:

When yet he was tender-bodied, and the only son of my womb; when youth with comeliness pluckt all gaze his way; . . . To a cruel war I sent him; from whence he returned, his brow bound with oak, I tell thee, daughter, I sprang not more in joy at first hearing he was a man-child than now in first seeing he had proved himself a man.115

Coriolanus's love and devotion for his mother are paralleled by Drake's love and devotion for his Queen, who was also elatedly proud of his exploits.

Whereas Sir Francis Drake, kt, had circumnavigated the globe from East to West and had discovered in the South part of the World many unknown places, her Majesty, to perpetuate his fame and valour, did grant unto him and his heirs all the manor of Sherford in Devonshire . . .116

In Act 1, scene 2, Volumnia announces that Coriolanus "comes the third time home with oaken garland." This statement could also apply to Drake. Of the voyages that he directed solely under his own command, there were only three from which his return was greeted with cheers:

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113Plutarch, 2:145                      1142. 2. 88-90

1151. 3. 6-19                      116Nuttall, p. liii.

the 1572-3 voyage with the Swan and the Pascha, from which he brought back great treasures; the 1577-80 circumnavigation of the world on which he was the first Englishman to complete such a voyage; and the 1587 attack on Cadiz, when he ruined the Spanish fleet and also brought back a fortune.<sup>117</sup>

In his attack on the Corioli, Coriolanus divides his army into two sections and attacks the city from opposite sides. He commands his general:

. . . then, valiant Titus, take  
Convenient numbers to make good the city  
Whilst I, with those that have the spirit, will haste  
To help Cominius.<sup>118</sup>

And Philip Nichols's report on Drake read:

Then our Captain appointed his brother, with John Osnam [Oxenham] and sixteen other of his men, to go about, behind the King's Treasure House, and enter near the eastern end of the Market place: himself with the rest, would pass up the broad street into the Market place, with sound of drum and trumpet . . . Whereas the inhabitants stood amazed . . . imagining, by reason of our drums and trumpets sounding in so sundry places, that we had been a far greater number than we were.<sup>119</sup>

Cominius relates how Coriolanus fought alone:

For this last,  
Before and in Corioli, let me say,  
I cannot speak him home. He stopped the fliers  
And by his rare example made the coward  
Turn terror into sport: as weeds before  
A vessel under sail, so men obeyed,  
And fell below his stem. His sword, death's stamp,  
Where it did mark, it took; from face to foot

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<sup>117</sup>Benson, passim.      <sup>118</sup>1. 5. 21-4.

<sup>119</sup>Nichols, p. 141.

He was a thing of blood, whose every motion  
 Was timed with dying cries. Alone he ent'red  
 The mortal gate of the city, which he painted  
 With shunless destiny; aidless came off,  
 And with a sudden re-enforcement struck  
 Corioli like a planet: now all's his:  
 When, by and by, the din of war gan pierce  
 His ready sense; then straight his doubled spirit  
 Re-quicken'd what in flesh was fatigate,  
 And to the battle came he;

. . . . . till we call'd

Both field and city ours, he never stood  
 To ease his breast with planting.<sup>120</sup>

The soldier in Act 1, scene 4, also mentions how Coriolanus fought alone:

Following the fliers at the very heels,  
 With them he enters; who, upon the sudden,  
 Clapt-to their gates; he is himself alone,  
 To answer all the city.<sup>121</sup>

Coriolanus himself refers to his solitary exploits:

. . . within these three hours, Tullus,  
 Alone I fought in your Corioli walls,  
 And made what work I pleased . . .<sup>122</sup>

. . .

. . . like an eagle in a dove-cote, I  
 Flutter'd your Volscians in Corioli:  
 Alone I did it.<sup>123</sup>

Drake also fought "alone," in the sense that he and his small group of youngsters could hardly be considered an "army" as they lay waiting outside Panama for the arrival of the Spanish treasure convoy. There he was with seventeen boys from Devon perched in the middle of the enemy's country. Benson says, "Never surely in all history

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<sup>120</sup>2. 2. 102-23

<sup>121</sup>1. 4. 49-52

<sup>122</sup>1. 8. 7-9

<sup>123</sup>5. 6. 114-6

was there so gorgeously impertinent a guerilla."<sup>124</sup> It was like Drake to set forth in high confidence to capture the fortified and garrisoned city of Nombre de Dios, with a shallop manned by twenty men, which was altogether extra to the force he had deemed necessary, and the three pin-naces manned by his Devon boys, who were strangely armed with pikes and burning arrows and drums and trumpets.<sup>125</sup>

It was in "a single ship" that he completed the circumnavigation of the world, a single ship that could hardly be called a fleet. He was also alone in being the first Englishman to accomplish that feat. De Levvencourt wrote:

Amongst those who have had the most experience and most merit the praise of posterity, . . . Vasco de Gama, Columbus, Vespuccio and Magellan, I see none to whom a higher rank can be accorded than to the illustrious knight Sir Francis Drake . . . For the first amongst them did no more than discover and double the Cape of Good Hope, the second the Lucaya Islands, San Domingo, Cuba and a part of Mexico; the third the coast of Brazil, and the last the famous strait to which he gave his name and the South Sea. But this courageous and generous pilot accomplished singly what these four did separately.<sup>126</sup>

Paul A. Jorgensen says of Coriolanus:

. . . his most famous exploit, entering the gates of Corioles without support, befits an adventurer rather than a general. Plutarch's Coriolanus, in fact, does not enter the city alone. And it is not unlikely that in thus enhancing the daring of his hero, Shakespeare was recognizing and exploiting Coriolanus' resemblance to Elizabethan military

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<sup>124</sup>Benson, p. 72.      <sup>125</sup>Benson, p. 56.

<sup>126</sup>F. de Levvencourt, Le Voyage de l'illustre Seigneur et Chevalier François Drach alentour de Monde. (Paris, 1613), translated by Nuttall, p. 50, Introduction.

adventurers. Such parallels were too close to have escaped any contemporary audience.<sup>127</sup>

When Coriolanus returned from his victory, the entire populace turned out to see him.

## BRUTUS

All tongues speak of him, and the bleared sights  
 Are spectacle to see him: your prattling nurse  
 Into a rapture lets her baby cry  
 While she chats him: the kitchen malkin pins  
 Her richest lockram 'bout her reechy neck,  
 Clamb'ring the walls to eye him: stalls, bulks,  
     windows,  
 Are smother'd up, leads fill'd, and ridges horsed  
 With variable complexions, all agreeing  
 In earnestness to see him: seld-shown flamens  
 Do press among the popular throngs, and puff  
 To win a vulgar station: our veil'd dames  
 Commit the war of white and damask in  
 Their nicely-gawded cheeks to the wanton spoil  
 Of Phoebus' burning kisses: such a pother,  
 As if that whatsoever god who leads him  
 Were slyly crept into his human powers,  
 And gave him graceful posture.<sup>128</sup>

. . .

## MESSENGER

I have seen the dumb men throng to see him, and  
 The blind to hear him speak: matrons flung gloves,  
 Ladies and maids their scarfs and handkerchers,  
 Upon him as he past: the nobles bended,  
 As to Jove's status; and the commons made  
 A shower and thunder with their caps and shouts:  
 I never saw the like.<sup>129</sup>

Drake received the same kind of reception when he returned from his third voyage. All London went crazy with enthusiasm, to the horror of his detractors there, and he was mobbed by his admirers when he walked along the

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<sup>127</sup>Paul A. Jorgensen, "Shakespeare's Coriolanus: Elizabethan Soldier" in Twentieth Century Interpretations of Coriolanus (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 103.

<sup>128</sup>2. 1. 207-23      <sup>129</sup>2. 1. 263-9

streets, and the chroniclers and ballad-makers were busy with his name.<sup>130</sup> He arrived at Plymouth:

At what time, the news of our Captain's return brought unto his, did so speedily pass over all the church, and surpass their minds with desire and delight to see him, that very few or none remained with the Preacher. All hastened to see the evidence of God's love and blessing toward our Gracious Queen and country, by the fruit of our Captain's labour and success.<sup>131</sup>

When Coriolanus triumphantly enters Rome, with the trumpets sounding and the crowds cheering, the first person he addresses is his mother: "O, / You have, I know, petition'd all the gods / For my prosperity."<sup>132</sup> He kneels to her just as Drake kneeled to the Queen when he saw her. As the "Golden Hinde" had slipped into the Sound, the first thing Drake asked was if the Queen was alive and well.<sup>133</sup>

The First Citizen says of Coriolanus:

I say unto you, what he hath done famously, he did it to that end: though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was his country, he did it to please his mother . . .<sup>134</sup>

In all the passages between Coriolanus and his mother, if the word "Queen" is substituted for the word "mother" the passages reflect just as accurately Drake's devotion to his Queen as they do Coriolanus's devotion to his mother. Whenever Coriolanus greets his mother, he kneels to her as a subject kneels to a queen. And Volumnia's attitude

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<sup>130</sup>Stow's Annals, p. 808.      <sup>131</sup>Nichols, p. 203.

<sup>132</sup>2. 1. 171-2      <sup>133</sup>Benson, p. 171.

<sup>134</sup>1. 1. 34-7



FIG. 52. *Coriolanus*. Pray be content:  
Mother, I am going to the Market place:  
Hide me no more.

throughout the play is similar to a queen's:

I--considering how honour would become such a person  
 . . . was pleased to let him seek danger where he was  
 like to find fame. To a cruel war I sent him; from  
 whence he return'd, his brows bound with oak.<sup>135</sup>

. . .

To beg of thee it is my more dishonour  
 Than thou of them. Come all to ruin; let  
 Thy mother rather feel they pride than fear  
 Thy dangerous stoutness, for I mock at death  
 With as big a heart as thou. Do as thou list,  
 Thy valiantness was mine, thou suck'dst it from me;  
 But owe thy pride thyself.<sup>136</sup>

. . .

Thou art my warrior;  
 I help to frame thee.<sup>137</sup>

Drake, like Coriolanus, was pleased with the joy and honor he brought to the Queen; he revelled in her approval and applause. There is no question about how deeply Drake's character and ambition were rooted in his devotion to his Queen and country.

Curiously, little is known about Drake's first wife, Mary, or his second wife, Elizabeth Sydenham, both of whom saw very little of him. His first wife was known as "Shadowy Mary"<sup>138</sup> and Coriolanus calls his wife, who seems to melt into the background, "My gracious silence."<sup>139</sup> There is a similarity in the wives of the two heroes in that they were undefined and misty.

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<sup>135</sup>1. 3. 10-16

<sup>136</sup>3. 2. 124-30

<sup>137</sup>5. 3. 62-3

<sup>138</sup>Benson, p. 185.

<sup>139</sup>2. 1. 177

In the aftermath of the battle in the first act,  
Titus Lartius says to Coriolanus:

Worthy sir, thou bleed'st;  
Thy exercise hath been too violent  
For a second course of fight.

And Marcius answers:

Sir, praise me not;  
My work hath yet not warm'd me: fare you well  
The blood I drop is rather physical  
Than dangerous to me: to Aufidius thus  
I will appear, and fight.<sup>140</sup>

Both Coriolanus and Drake had been wounded several times;  
both always made light of their wounds. Coriolanus can-  
not bring himself to use his wounds as a means of gain-  
ing favor with the citizens:

I cannot bring  
My tongue to such a pace. 'Look, sir, my wounds!  
I got them in my country's service, when  
Some certain of your brethren roar'd and ran  
From the noise of our own drums.'<sup>141</sup>

Later he says his wounds are "Scratches with briers, /  
Scars to move laughter only."<sup>142</sup> And again, "I have  
some wounds upon me, and they smart / To hear themselves  
remember'd"<sup>143</sup> The following is an excerpt from the re-  
port given to Philip Nichols by several of the men who  
were with Drake on his third voyage:

But as we stepped forward, his strength and sight  
and speech failed him, and he began to faint for  
want of blood, which, as then we perceived, had, in  
great quantity, issued upon the sand, out of a wound

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140<sup>1</sup>. 5. 24-30

141<sup>2</sup>. 2. 51-5

142<sup>3</sup>. 3. 51-2

143<sup>1</sup>. 9. 27-8

received in his leg in the first encounter, whereby though he felt some pain, yet . . . would he not have it known to any, till this his fainting, against his will, bewrayed it: the blood having first filled the very prints which our footsteps made, to the greater dismay of all our company, who thought it not credible that one man should be able to spare so much blood and live.<sup>144</sup>

Drake wanted to go back and continue fighting, but his crew "mutinied." They disobeyed his orders in order to save his life.

In Coriolanus, Menenius asks Volumnia, "where is he wounded?" and she answers, "I' the shoulder, and i' the left arm: there will be large cicatrices to show the people when he shall stand for his place. He received in the repluse of Tarquin seven hurts i' the body."<sup>145</sup> The total of Coriolanus's wounds was twenty-seven.

VOLUMNIA

He had, before this last expedition, twenty-five wounds upon him.

MENENIUS

Now, it's twenty-seven: every gash was an enemy's grave.<sup>146</sup>

Drake's wounds were not so numerous as Coriolanus's--he had suffered just four. In 1572, on his renowned voyage to Nombre de Dios, his crew was attacked by the townspeople and Drake caught the "ball of an arquebuse" in his leg;<sup>147</sup> in 1573 he was wounded near Venta Cruz; and in 1578, when the crew was attacked by Indians, Drake, like Coriolanus, received two wounds in one battle.

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<sup>144</sup>Nichols, p. 145.      <sup>145</sup>2. 1. 150-3

<sup>146</sup>2. 1. 156-9      <sup>147</sup>Nuttall, p. 301.

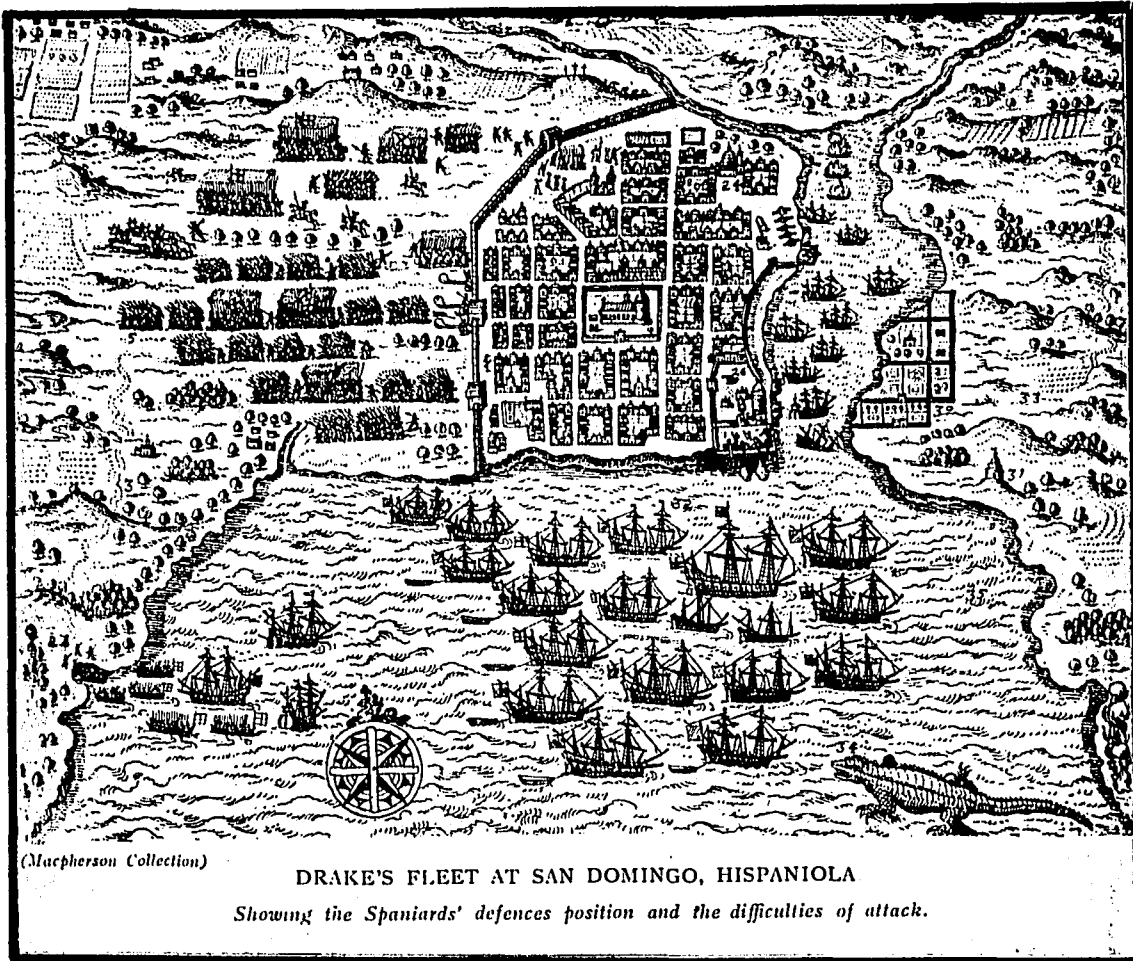


Fig. 53. From Bowen's The Sea: Its History and Romances.

The General himself was shot in the face, under his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvellous way in, under Basis cerebri, with no small danger of his life; besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head.<sup>148</sup>

The word "dragon" is mentioned several times in the play. Coriolanus says to himself:

--though I go alone,  
Like to a lonely dragon, that his fen  
Makes fear'd and talkt of more than seen,--<sup>149</sup>

and Aufidius says of him that he

Fights dragon-like, and does achieve as soon  
As draw his sword;<sup>150</sup>

In the last act, Menenius says that "this Marcius is grown from man to dragon."<sup>151</sup>

The word "dragon" is associated with Drake in several ways. Hakluyt says on "the first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant Captaine M. Francis Drake, himselfe," he sailed on "a ship called the Dragon."<sup>152</sup> The word comes from the Greek *drákōn*, meaning a "kind of serpent,"<sup>153</sup> and Drake's family name is derived from this word, according to Whitney.<sup>154</sup> It is easy to see how Drake became known as the "dragon" and also the "devil" since dragon is also another name for Satan.<sup>155</sup> In addition, Drake was often referred to as

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<sup>148</sup>Nichols, p. 48.      <sup>149</sup>4. 1. 29-31

<sup>150</sup>4. 7. 23      <sup>151</sup>5. 4. 12-13      <sup>152</sup>Hakluyt, 7:62.

<sup>153</sup>Random House Dictionary, p. 432.

<sup>154</sup>Whitney, p. 384.

<sup>155</sup>Random House Dictionary, p. 432.

"The Dragon" by the Spanish, and Lope de Vega, who was a soldier in one of the galleons of the Armada, and one of the most illustrious poets of his day, popularized this name by writing an epic poem, The Dragontea, which was about Drake and showed that he was none other than the Dragon of the Apocalypse. "It is impossible," says Benson, "to take a man more seriously than by making him the diabolical hero of an epic poem, and Drake, who to Lope was the master of black and dire magic, was to his countrymen possessed of superhuman powers, derived from God."<sup>156</sup> That was as seriously believed as was the conviction of the Spanish poet that he had the powers of hell in leash. Drake was a legend in his own time just as Coriolanus was in his.

There is something else that is frequently mentioned in Coriolanus that is distinctly associated with Drake--a drum. Volumnia says to Virgilia, "Methinks I hear hither your husband's drum."<sup>157</sup> and her grandson is referred to when she says, "He had rather see the swords and hear a drum, than look upon his schoolmaster," to which Valeria answers, "O' my word, the father's son."<sup>158</sup> Later, Volumnia says the drums "are the ushers of Marcius: before him he carries noise, and behind him he leaves

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<sup>156</sup>Benson, p. 230.      <sup>157</sup>1. 3. 33

<sup>158</sup>1. 3. 58-60

tears."<sup>159</sup> The First Conspirator says, "He returns /  
Splitting the air with noise."<sup>160</sup> Coriolanus himself  
refers to the instrument:

Well, I must do't:  
Away, my disposition, and possess me  
Some harlot's spirit! My throat of war be turn'd  
Which quir'd with my drum, into a pipe . . .<sup>161</sup>

And in the final lines of the play, Aufidius says sadly,  
"Beat thou the drum, that it speak mournfully,"<sup>162</sup> The  
drum is mentioned several more times throughout the play.  
Why is there so much attention to a drum? Because Drake's  
drum was one of his most precious possessions. It was a  
beautiful new instrument which he bought to take with  
him on his voyage around the world and after that he  
never travelled without it. The little drum, which was  
his mascot, can be seen today in the house Drake bought  
from Sir Richard Grenville.<sup>163</sup> After he was knighted, he  
had the coat-of-arms that the Queen had given him painted  
on the drum. In Plutarch's discourse on the life of Cor-  
iolanus there is no mention at all of a drum. However,  
in England it is a commonplace to connect Drake with the  
image of a drum. This insertion of a small but obvious  
element into the play seems a strong clue that Shake-  
speare had Drake in mind when he was writing this play.

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<sup>159</sup>2. 1. 160      <sup>160</sup>5. 6. 50-1      <sup>161</sup>3. 2. 110-5  
<sup>162</sup>5. 6. 150      <sup>163</sup>Benson, p. 112.

In The Reader's Encyclopedia the definition for the expression "Drake's Drum" is:

A ghostly warning. From a popular legend according to which Sir Francis Drake's drum is heard whenever England is in danger. Immortalized by Sir Henry Newbolt in his poem Drake's Drum (1914).<sup>164</sup>

Drake was very fond of music and had with him on on his voyages several men who played violins. Sometimes he joined in making music with the violinists with his drum. Very often he requested they play while he had his meals.<sup>165</sup> In Coriolanus, the Third Serving-man says:

To-morrow; to-day; presently; you shall have the drum struck up this morning: 'tis, as it were, a parcel of their feast, and to be executed ere they wipe their lips.<sup>166</sup>

Throughout the play there are stage directions that join the drum with the trumpets:

"going with drum and trumpet."<sup>167</sup>

"trumpets sound, and drums."<sup>168</sup>

"trumpets, hautboys, drums beat."<sup>169</sup>

It is the same in reading about Drake in the chronicles. Throughout the narratives of his exploits there is the frequent and repeated reference to drums and trumpets, such as:

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<sup>164</sup>The Reader's Encyclopedia, Encyclopedia of World Literature and the Arts, with Supplement, ed. William Rose Benet. (New York: Crowell, 1948 and 1955).

<sup>165</sup>Benson, p. 41.      <sup>166</sup><sub>4</sub>. 5. 211-4

<sup>167</sup><sub>1</sub>. 7.      <sup>168</sup><sub>1</sub>. 9.      <sup>169</sup><sub>5</sub>. 4.

Their several arms, viz., six targets, six fire-pikes, twelve pikes, twenty-four muskets and calivers, sixteen bows and six partisans, two drums, and two trumpets.<sup>170</sup>

. . .

And leaving one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the rest entered the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets (which made a great noyse in the towne) were answered by their fellowes in the forte, who discharged and sounded in like maner.<sup>171</sup>

. . .

Other would carry muskets and cullivers, and two would be armed merely with loud braying trumpets, and two with drums--most important.<sup>172</sup>

There is a striking similarity in the way both heroes were honored on their victorious returns. Cominius declares:

For what he did before Corioli, call him,  
With all the applause and clamour of the host,  
CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS!  
Trumpets sound, and drums.<sup>173</sup>

And in the second act, the Herald shouts:

Know, Rome, that all alone Marcius did fight  
Within Corioli gates: where he hath won,  
With fame, a name to Caius Marcius; these  
In honour follows Coriolanus.  
Welcome to Rome, renowned Coriolanus!  
My gentle Marcius, worthy Caius, and  
By deed-achieving honour newly nam'd.<sup>174</sup>

When Drake returned from his trip around the world, he too was honored by having his name changed by an addition

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<sup>170</sup>Nichols, p. 139.      <sup>171</sup>Hakluyt, 8:153.

<sup>172</sup>Benson, p. 59.      <sup>173</sup>1. 9. 61-5

<sup>174</sup>2. 1. 163-4

to it, and also with great ceremony. On 4 April 1581, the crowds cheered as Queen Elizabeth went in state to visit Drake on the Golden Hinde at Deptford.

She was served with such a banquet as had never been seen since the days of her father's magnificence, and when dinner was done, in open defiance of the King of Spain, who had demanded Drake's head, she bade the culprit kneel before her, for now she had a golden sword to strike it off, and at her bidding there was knighted, as Mendoza acidly remarks, "the master-thief of the unknown world." Arms, too, she gave the thief, with a crest that commemorated his exploit, and the ship that had carried him was installed in a shed at Deptford, where, dry-shod, she should be a standing memorial of that long furrow.<sup>175</sup>

Drake, like Coriolanus, always saw that his men were well rewarded for their efforts. First, Coriolanus, when Cominius offers him one tenth of all the treasure taken says:

I thank you, general;  
But cannot make my heart consent to take  
A bribe to pay my sword: I do refuse it;  
And stand upon my common part with those  
That have behold the doing.<sup>176</sup>

Then, Drake, having received four pieces of gold from the Indian Pedro, received it

in most kind sort, but took it not to his own benefit, but caused it to be cast into the whole Adventure saying, it was just that they which bare part with him of his burden in setting him to sea, should enjoy the proportion of his benefit whatsoever at his return.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup>Benson, p. 177.

<sup>176</sup>1. 9. 36-40

<sup>177</sup>Nichols, p. 202.

Coriolanus is given ten per cent of the treasure by Cominius:

--of all the horses,--  
Whereof we have ta'en good, and good store,--of all  
The treasure in this field achieved and city,  
We render you the tenth; to be ta'en forth,  
Before the common distribution,  
At your only choice.<sup>178</sup>

When Drake returned from his circumnavigation of the world, the Queen gave him ten thousand pounds for himself before the rest of the treasure was registered, as well as a suitable bonus for his crew.<sup>179</sup>

In the beginning of the play, Coriolanus is urged to go "from the casque to the cushion,"<sup>180</sup> that is, from the battle field to the senate; but in the end he is rejected by the people and disappears from Rome. Drake also withdrew from the sea battles of England for a while, but he was more successful in transferring "to the cushion." He retired to Plymouth for a spell of domestic life and was elected Mayor in 1581. In 1583 and 1584 he sat in Parliament as a member for Bossiney in Cornwall, and was appointed to the board of sub-commissioners to advise the royal commission of the state of the navy.<sup>181</sup>

When Brutus is stirring up the citizens against Coriolanus, he tells them to place the blame on himself and Sicinius for their rejection of Coriolanus:

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<sup>178</sup>1. 9. 31-6      <sup>179</sup>Benson, p. 175.

<sup>180</sup>4. 7. 43      <sup>181</sup>Benson, pp. 179-82.

Ay, spare us not. Say we read lectures to you,  
 How youngly he began to serve his country,  
 How long continued, and what stock he springs of,--  
 The noble house o' the Marcians . . .

. . . . .  
 Of the same house Publius and Quintus were,  
 That our best water brought by conduits hither.<sup>182</sup>

It was not Drake's family, but Drake himself who, while he was Mayor in Plymouth, had a reservoir built just outside the town where water from the Meavy River was collected and then brought through eight miles of pipes to the city. It seems certain that Drake bore most of the expense for this remarkable engineering feat himself. This gift to the town is still commemorated annually at the "Fyshynge Feaste" on April 30. when, in a solemn ceremony, the Mayor drinks a goblet of water to the pious memory of Sir Francis Drake and then the assembled citizens do likewise.<sup>183</sup>

Something must be said about Drake's hatred for King Philip and everything Spanish; it was a profound contempt that had been created by Spanish treachery against Drake in his early days on the Spanish Main. It would be impossible to say which hatred was stronger: that between Drake and Philip, or that between Coriolanus and Aufidius in the beginning of the play. "This is the man of my soul's hate, Aufidius."<sup>184</sup> And to his face he says, "I'll fight with none but thee; for I do hate thee /

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<sup>182</sup>2. 3. 233-40

<sup>183</sup>Lady Elliott Drake, Family and Heirs of Sir Drake (London: Smith & Elder and Co., 1911), 1:111.

<sup>184</sup>1. 8. 1-2

Worse than a promise-breaker." At San Juan d'Ullua, the Spanish Captain was a promise-breaker. Aufidius answers, "We hate alike: / Not Afric owns a serpent I abhor / More than thy fame and envy."<sup>185</sup> The mutual hatred and envy between the two men is a running theme in the play.

## AUFIDIUS

Embarkments all of fury, shall lift up  
Their rotten privilege and custom 'gainst  
My hate to Marcius: where I find him, were it  
At home, upon my brother's guard, over there,  
Against the hospitable canon, would I  
Wash my fierce hand in 's heart.<sup>186</sup>

. . .

## CORIOLANUS

Spake he of me?

## LARTIUS

He did, my lord.

## CORIOLANUS

How? what?

## LARTIUS

How often he had met you, sword to sword;  
That of all things upon the earth he hated  
Your person most; that he would pawn his fortunes  
To hopeless restitution, so he might  
Be call'd your vanquisher.<sup>187</sup>

After the horrendous incident at San Juan d'Ullua, "drum-taps were the music to which he [Drake] marched henceforth in his life-long war against the chiefest and most damnable of all Christian countries."<sup>188</sup> All the narratives about Drake's exploits relate "the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish nation."<sup>189</sup> And Coriolanus is

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<sup>185</sup>1. 8. 2-4

<sup>186</sup>1. 10. 22-7      <sup>187</sup>3. 1. 12-7

<sup>188</sup>Benson, p. 42.      <sup>189</sup>Hakluyt, 4: 312.

told, "You have deserved nobly of your country . . .  
You have been a scourge to her enemies."<sup>190</sup>

The similarity between Coriolanus and Drake ends sharply, of course, when Coriolanus attacks his own city, an act which never could have been done by Drake. However, in remembering Drake's obsessive patriotism and his ability to become violently angry, we must at least consider Coriolanus's violent temper as one possible reason for his attack on Rome. He says to Aufidius:

My name is Caius Marcius, who hath done  
To thee particularly, and to all Volsces  
Great hurt and mischief; thereto witness may  
My surname, Coriolanus: the painful service,  
The extreme dangers, and the drops of blood  
Shed for my thankless country, are requited  
But with that surname; a good memory,  
And witness of the malice and displeasure  
Which thou shouldst bear me: only that name  
    remains;  
The cruelty and envy of the people,  
Permitted by our dastard nobles, who  
Have all forsook me, hath devour'd the rest;  
And suffer'd me by the voice of slaves to be  
Whoopt out of Rome. Now, this extremity  
Hath brought me to thy hearth; not out of hope--  
Mistake me not--to save my life; for if  
I had fear'd death, of all the men 'n the world  
I would have 'voided thee; but in mere spite,  
To be full quit of those my banishers . . .<sup>191</sup>

When, in the summer of 1589, Drake's attack on Spain was pronounced a failure in London, and he returned, alone, disconsolate, and unheralded, he reluctantly went off to Plymouth to become chained to the land for the next three years. As he withdrew from the sea-fighting

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<sup>190</sup>2. 3. 87-9

<sup>191</sup>4. 5. 62-80

which he loved he might well have said to King Philip:

My name is Sir Francis Drake, who hath done  
To thee particularly and to all Spaniards  
Great hurt and mischief; thereto witness may  
My title, Sir Francis Drake: the painful service,  
To extreme dangers, etc.

Coriolanus had fled from Rome to spite his traitorous banishers. He considered them the traitors of Rome, not himself. When, earlier, in his anger, he had shouted to his army, "Mend and charge home, / Or, by the fires of heaven, I'll leave the foe / And make my wars on you."<sup>192</sup> he was predicting his future action, but here again, his rage was not against his country, but against those who would not defend Rome as fiercely as he did. Coriolanus never considered himself a traitor to Rome. Furness says:

Is it not almost an exaggerated patriotism that causes his rage at those who hold back from the defense of their country? On the other hand, he considers his own defection not as treachery, but as an action justified by the ingratitude of his own countrymen. Since Coriolanus is not an enemy to his native country, but only to those false nobles who rule it, it may be that Shakespeare, in ending the play as he did, was presenting a plea for peace.<sup>193</sup>

Early in the play Coriolanus says:

Plant love among 's!  
Throng our large temples with the shows of peace,  
And not our streets with war!<sup>194</sup>

These words sound very much like one of today's popular slogans: "Make peace, not war!" When Volumnia appeals

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<sup>192</sup>1. 4. 38-40      <sup>193</sup>Furness, p. 108.

<sup>194</sup>3. 3. 35-7

to Coriolanus, she appeals on the grounds of peace, not continued war:

Our suit  
Is, that you reconcile them; while the Volsces  
May say, 'This mercy we have show'd;' the Romans,  
'This we receiv'd;' and each in either side  
Give the all-hail to thee, and cry, 'Be bless'd  
For making up this peace!'<sup>195</sup>

Later Coriolanus praises his mother for bringing about peace between the two nations:

O my mother! mother! O!  
You have won a happy victory to Rome;  
But, for your son, believe it, O believe it,  
Most dangerously you have with him prevail'd,  
If not most mortal to him. But, let it come.--  
Aufidius, though I cannot make true wars,  
I'll frame convenient peace.

. . . . .  
Ladies, you deserve  
To have a temple built you: all the swords  
In Italy, and her confederate arms,  
Could not have made this peace.<sup>196</sup>

It may be useful to recall here that Drake's burning desire was to fracture in any way possible the strength of Spain. The safety of England was his one obsession. When the Queen asked him to attack a fleet from India that was carrying an expensive cargo, he refused. He hated the King of Spain more than he loved gold. Instead he fussed over his wounded and sick crew members, and refused the Queen's request. He was not interested in harming any other country but Spain. He and Hawkins busied themselves at this time with the founding of the

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1955. 3. 135-40

1965. 3. 185-91, 206-9

"Chatham Chest" for the relief of indigent sailors.<sup>197</sup>

Drake was not a war-like person in the sense that he enjoyed killing and maiming. Never had he touched a woman or an unarmed man; never had he killed his prisoners or treated them otherwise than kindly; and in the end he always set them free. All their recorded testimonies warrant this to have been so. The stories throughout all the reports are of his release of prisoners. There was only one incident recorded of his ever having deliberately killed a man; this was the man who had killed his little messenger boy who had been sent with a message to the Governor of one of the Spanish towns. Nichols wrote:

Of all men taken . . . we never offered any kind of violence to any, after they were once come under our power; but either presently dismissed them in safety, or keeping them with us some longer time, we always provided for their sustenance as for ourselves . . . till . . . we set them also free.<sup>198</sup>

According to the records it was not illogical for Shakespeare to use Drake as a figure on which to model Coriolanus, Drake who, in the end, helped create peace for England.

Drake's "banishment" should also be explained. In 1588 Drake and Sir John Norreys, who had been marshal of the land forces in England while the Armada was on the coast, hatched a scheme to capture Lisbon and the Azores

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<sup>197</sup>Benson, p. 269

<sup>198</sup>Nichols, pp. 150-202.

and set Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. This expedition was financed by a private war-syndicate and sailed from Dover in May of 1589 with the Queen's consent and cooperation. It was the largest expedition that had ever left the shores of England--180 ships and 16,000 troops. The project was a complete failure. After many mishaps and misadventures, Drake returned on the Revenge alone and treasureless. There was no welcoming crowd awaiting him this time. Lisbon was not taken, Don Antonio was not crowned, and Drake was discredited.<sup>199</sup> In Rome, Coriolanus had jealous enemies, Sicinius and Brutus.

## SICINIUS

Doubt not

The commoners, for whom we stand, but they  
 Upon their ancient malice, will forget,  
 With the least cause, those his new honours; which  
 That he will give them make I as little question  
 As he is proud to do 't.<sup>200</sup>

. . . . .

. . . but you found,

Scaling his present bearing with his past,  
 That he's your fixed enemy, and revoke  
 Your sudden approbation.<sup>201</sup>

As a result of this revoking of approbation, Coriolanus is banished: "we, / Even from this instant, banish him our city, / . . . never more . . . / To enter our Roman gates."<sup>202</sup>

In London, Drake also had jealous enemies; his former deeds were forgotten; and approbation was revoked.

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<sup>199</sup>Benson, pp. 270-282.      <sup>200</sup>2. 1. 228-33

<sup>201</sup>2. 3. 246-9      <sup>202</sup>3. 3. 101-5

Though he had often brought showers of gold to the Queen, though he had chased the Spanish Armada off the coasts of England without the loss of a single ship, though he had inflicted more damage on the enemy than the rest of England's sea-captains combined, Queen Elizabeth put him straight into the blackest of her books and from that time until the end of 1592 refused even to consider giving the conqueror of the Armada any command at sea. She had lost her investments in his last adventure, and nothing that he had done before could atone for that.

He was guilty on all counts, and though he had burned half Corunna and all Vigo, had destroyed an enormous quantity of stores, and taken sixty ships which were intended for a new Armada, nothing made up for the lack of loot. It was a rare opportunity for all those who, like Frobisher, Lord Henry Seymour and Lord Howard, were frankly jealous--no allowance was made for the stupendous difficulties he had encountered, for the lack of proper artillery and seige-train the queen had promised, for the terrible sickness which had played havoc with the efficiency of his troops and crews.<sup>203</sup>

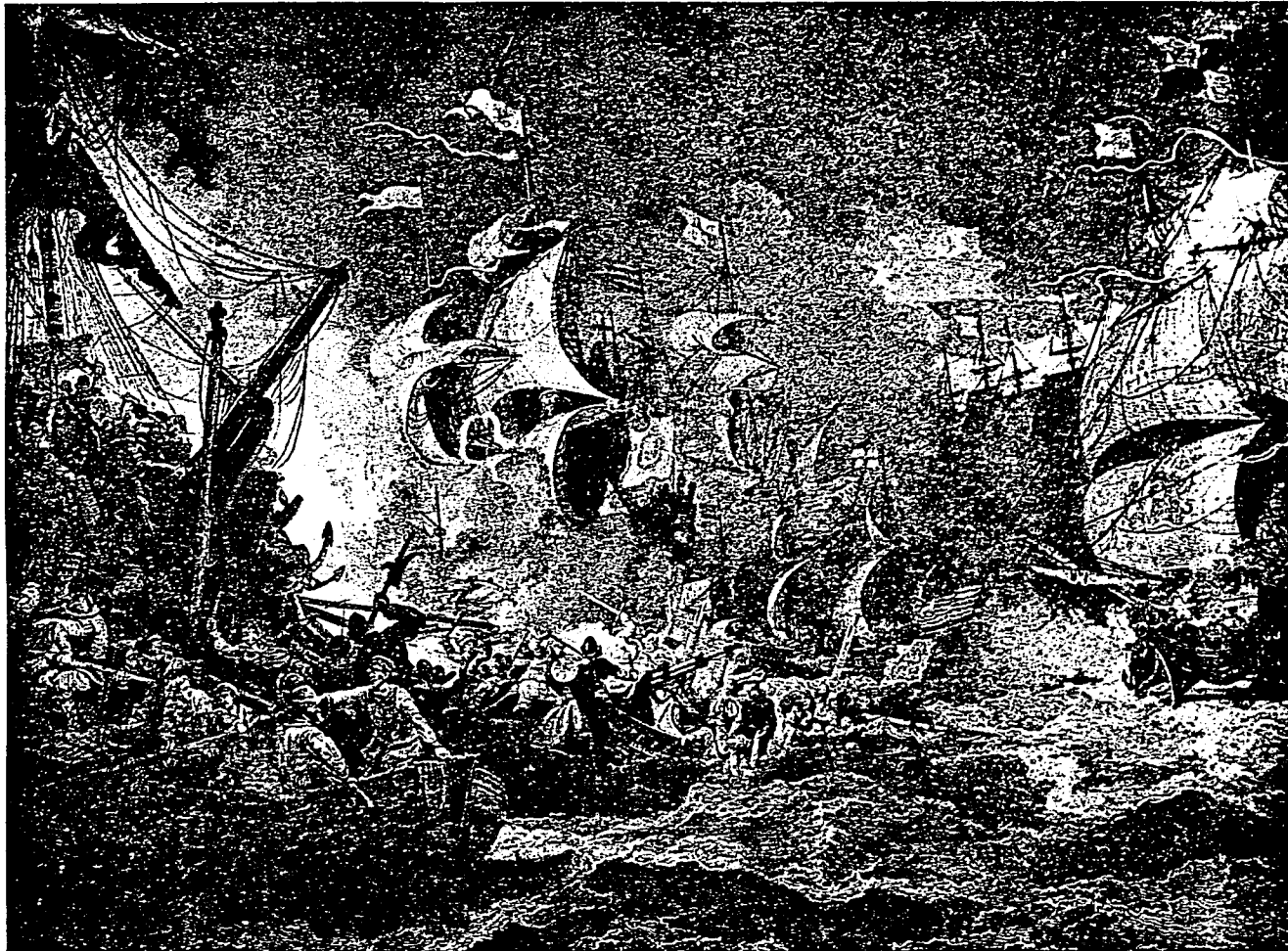
Both Drake and Coriolanus heard the acclaiming cheers turn to silence: "The people are incens'd against him."<sup>204</sup>

Though I have presented a series of similarities and parallels between Coriolanus and Drake, it must be remembered that rarely did Shakespeare use an absolute, undiluted reflection for one of his characters. Even if the

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<sup>203</sup>Benson, p. 282.

<sup>204</sup>3. 1. 31



(Macpherson Collection)

FIG. 54. THE DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA

The above engraving is from De Louthembourg's picture in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

principal reflections here are of Drake, there are lesser reflections that suggest other adventurers and it is more than likely that Coriolanus is actually a composite portrait of several voyagers who participated in the expeditions to America.

Coriolanus's fighting "alone" is an important element in the play and is strikingly reminiscent of Sir Richard Grenville's courageous and heroic stance in 1591 against the Spanish when the Revenge, on which he sailed as vice-Admiral to Lord Howard, was cut off from the rest of the fleet in the middle of the Spanish squadron. Though he was urged to turn back, he refused and fought all day and night alone, sinking four of the Spanish ships. Grenville was mortally wounded, but he fought till not an ounce of powder remained. The Spanish carried the wounded Englishman on to their own flagship where, with awe for such a courageous and brave foe, they took care of him until he expired.<sup>205</sup>

FIRST LORD

Bear hence his body,  
And mourn for him! Let him be regarded  
As the most noble corse that ever herald  
Did follow to his urn.

SECOND LORD

His own impatience  
Takes from Aufidius a great part of blame.<sup>206</sup>

There is a clue that refers to Grenville's thunderous voice. Lartius says:

Thou wast a soldier  
Even to Cato's wish, not fierce and terrible

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<sup>205</sup>Hakluyt, 5:4-5.

<sup>206</sup>5. 6. 143-7



Fig. 55. Sir Richard Grenville. From Lorant's The New World.

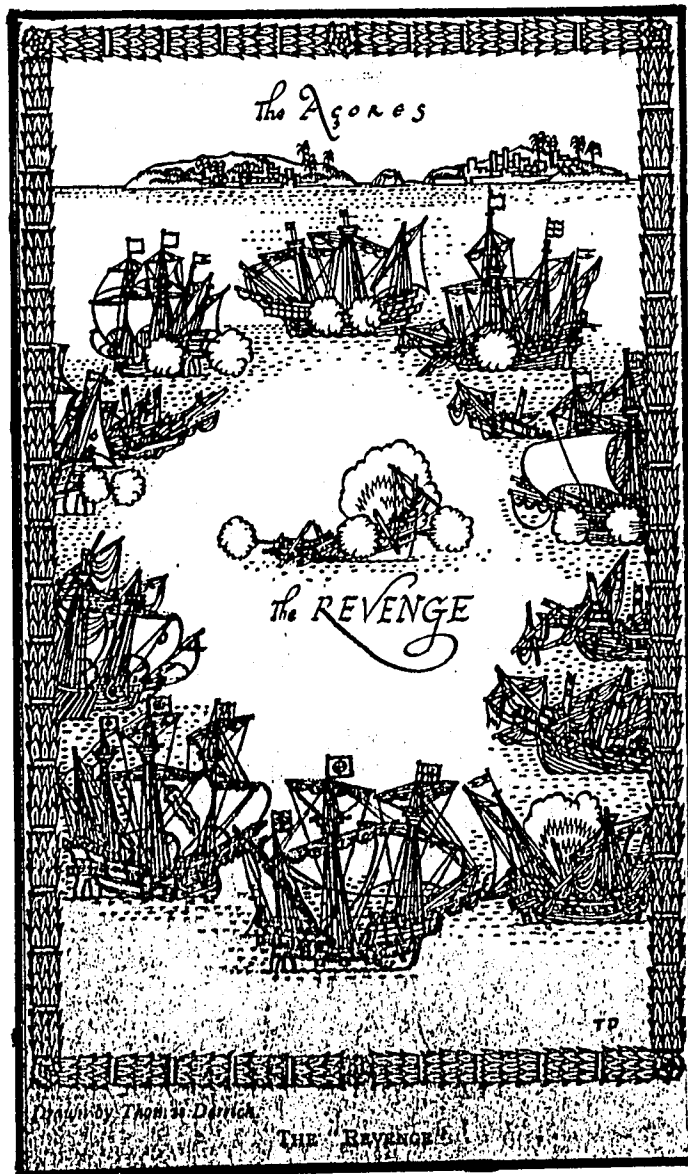


Fig. 56. The "Revenge." From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

Only in strokes, but with thy grim looks and  
 The thunder-like percussion of they sounds,  
 Thou mad'st thine enemies shake as if the world  
 Were feverous and did tremble.<sup>207</sup>

On this passage, Furness quotes Theobald:

Lartius is here summing up his friend's character, as a warrior that was terrible in his strokes, in the tone of his voice, and the grimness of his countenance . . . Plutarch, in the Life of Coriolanus, speaking of his hero says: "He was a man (that which Cato requir'd in a warrior) not only dreadful to meet with in the field, by reason of his hand and stroke, but insupportable to an enemy, for the very tone and accent of his voice, and the sole terror of his aspect."<sup>208</sup>

In Westward Ho, written by Charles Kingsley, there is the following on Sir Richard Grenville:

And then changing his voice to that fearful lion's roar, for which he was famous and which it seemed impossible that lips so delicate could utter, he thundered . . .<sup>209</sup>

Essex may also have been a part of that composite portrait. In a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in 1600, on the first Sunday in Lent, Rev. William Barlow referred to the Earl of Essex as a "fit paralel" for Coriolanus.

Men of great mindes and parts, prove either excellently good, or dangerously wicked; it is spoken by Plato, but applyed by Plutarch unto Coriolanus, a gallant young, but discontented Roman, who might make a fit paralel for the late Earle, if you read his life; and this was caused, as he oft confessed to us, by the seducement of vanity, I tolde him it was pride, but his word was vanitie and lewd conceit.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>207</sup>1. 4. 56-61      <sup>208</sup>Furness, p. 113.

<sup>209</sup>Charles Kingsley, Westward Ho (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1911), p. 168.

<sup>210</sup>William Barlow, A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse, on the first Sunday in Lent; Martij l. 1600, (London: University Law, 1601), p. c 4.

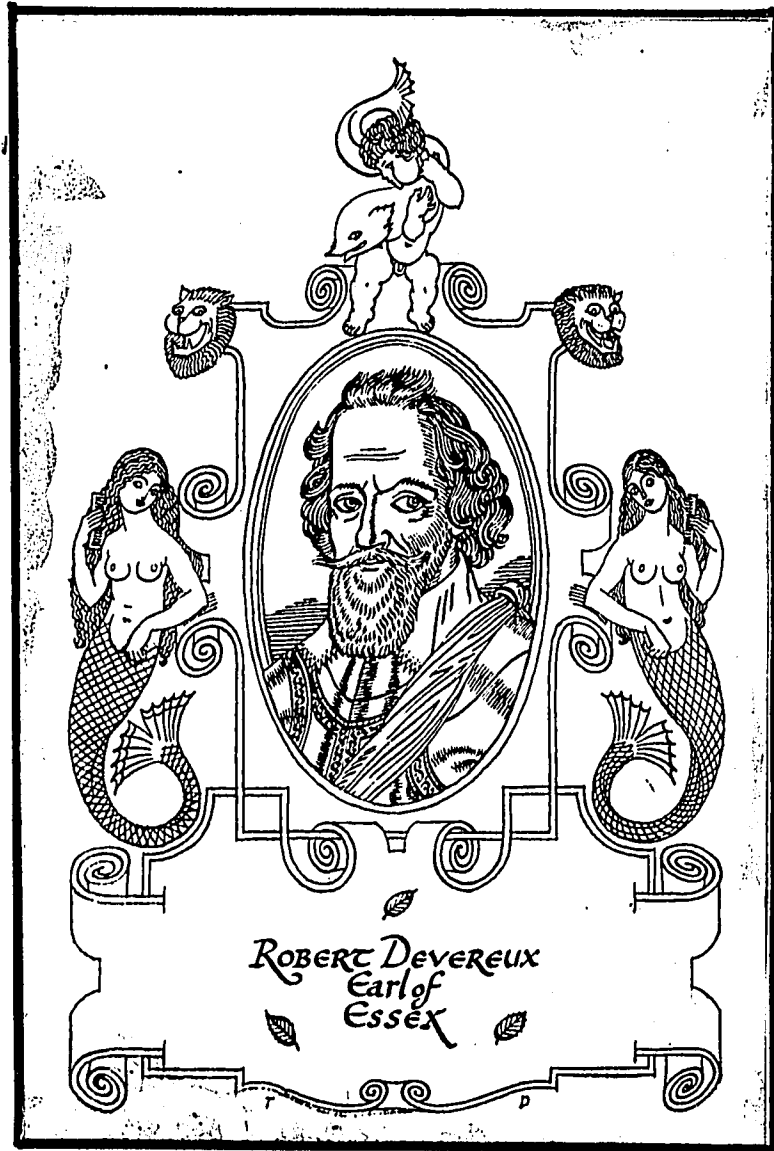


Fig. 57. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

Essex, who was a bad general was, like Coriolanus, a fearless fighter, and he habitually led rather than directed the battles he took part in. "My Lord of Essex was one of the first that got over the walls, followed by the souldiers as the place would give them leave."<sup>211</sup> The image, then, of "fighting alone" would apply to him very aptly.

Another contributor to the character of Coriolanus may have been Sir Walter Raleigh. Henry Pemberton speaks of the line which says the people were "incens'd against him":

Generally he encountered none but looks of hatred. Precautions had to be taken to steal the planter of Virginia, the hero of Cadiz, the wit and poet, the splendid gentleman, the lavish patron, from the curs of London, without outrage or murder. It was 'hob or nob,' writes Waad to Cecil, whether or not Raleigh 'should have been brought alive through such multitudes of unruly people as did exclaim against him.' He adds, that it would hardly have been believed the plague was hot in London in presence of such a mob . . . 'Tobacco-pipes, stones, and mud were,' wrote Cecil's secretary, Mr. Michael Hikes, to Lord Shrewsbury 'thrown by the rabble, both in London and in other towns on the road.' Raleigh is stated to have scorned these proofs of the aversion of base and rascal people.<sup>212</sup>

Wilson sums up for us when he suggests that we should picture Shakespeare's eager spirit "following the doings of Essex and Raleigh, of Drake and Roger Williams, of Francis Bacon and Robert Cecil, with the keenest

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<sup>211</sup>Vere, Sir Francis, The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere (Cambridge: J. Feild, 1657), pp. 39, 58.

<sup>212</sup>Pemberton, p. 184.

possible interest . . . the life at the court of Elizabeth and James, the persons and doings of the great men of the land, the political and social events of the hour --these form the real background of his plays."<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>213</sup>Wilson, Essential Shakespeare, p. 12.

## CHAPTER VII

### SIR WALTER RALEGH AND THE WINTER'S TALE

In the light of the failure of Frobisher's three expeditions, his patron, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, realized that if colonial projects were to succeed, the English government would have to give its help and prestige as Spain and France had done with their explorers. However, he had to be content with "letters-patent," issued 11 June 1578, which authorized him to discover and occupy unknown lands. He was granted

free liberty and license from time to time and at all times ever thereafter, to discover, find, search out and view such remote heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy.<sup>1</sup>

His privileges extended to any unclaimed part of Europe, Asia, or Africa. The existence of America was officially ignored and nothing was said of the constitutional relation of a colony to a mother-country. These rights of occupation applied to a radius of two hundred leagues from any spot at which he should make a settlement within the six years ensuing from the date of the grant. He was to hold his conquests by homage from the crown of

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<sup>1</sup>Hakluyt, 6:6.

England and to govern them as far as possible in accordance with English common law, and one-fifth of all precious metals discovered was to be reserved for the crown.<sup>2</sup> Outside of this one claim, independent sovereignty was made over to Gilbert. Queen Elizabeth was still not ready to accept the anxieties of active rule of an overseas colony.

In the five years after Gilbert received his letters-patent, the idea of American colonies started to become more definite and more possible to Englishmen than it had been before. On 19 November 1578, Gilbert sailed forth with an imposing squadron of eleven ships and with the assistance of many gentlemen adventurers, the most notable among them being his own step-brother, Walter Raleigh, who was weary of land service, and desired to try his fortunes at sea. Feuds and discontent disrupted the beginning of the voyage and four ships left the fleet. Gilbert, intending an attack on the West Indies, came across some Spanish vessels and in the ensuing battle was badly beaten.<sup>3</sup> No further information about this voyage was ever recorded. Gilbert returned with what was left of his fleet in February 1579, having lost a good part of his fortune and having failed to plant a colony.<sup>4</sup> In 1580 he sent his ship, the Squirrel, on a

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<sup>2</sup>Short History, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Raleigh, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup>Short History, p. 227.

voyage of reconnaissance, but nothing much is known about that voyage either.<sup>5</sup>

In 1583, with the assistance of Raleigh, Walsingham, and George Peckham, Gilbert formed a private joint-stock company with the merchants of Southampton under the title "The Merchants Adventurers of Sir Humphrey Gilbert."<sup>6</sup> The purpose of the journey that was planned was to plant a colony on some convenient site near the "New Found Land," a territory south of Frobisher's Meta Incognita and somewhat north of any Spanish settlements. Gilbert sailed on 11 June 1583 with five ships and 260 men. Two days after the departure, the Bark Raleigh deserted the fleet. In August the rest of the fleet reached the harbor of St. John's and Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland for the crown of England. After a few days, some of his men deserted and there were others who were unwilling to go farther. Gilbert sent these men back to England on the Swallow. The three remaining ships sailed on 20 August southward along Nova Scotia. A week later the Delight went aground and was beaten to pieces by the force of the waves. All the crew except sixteen perished and all the stores for a prospective settlement were lost.<sup>7</sup>

On 9 September the Golden Hinde and the Squirrel, with Gilbert aboard, were north of the Azores on their way

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<sup>5</sup>McCann, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup>Short History, p. 128

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. p. 129.

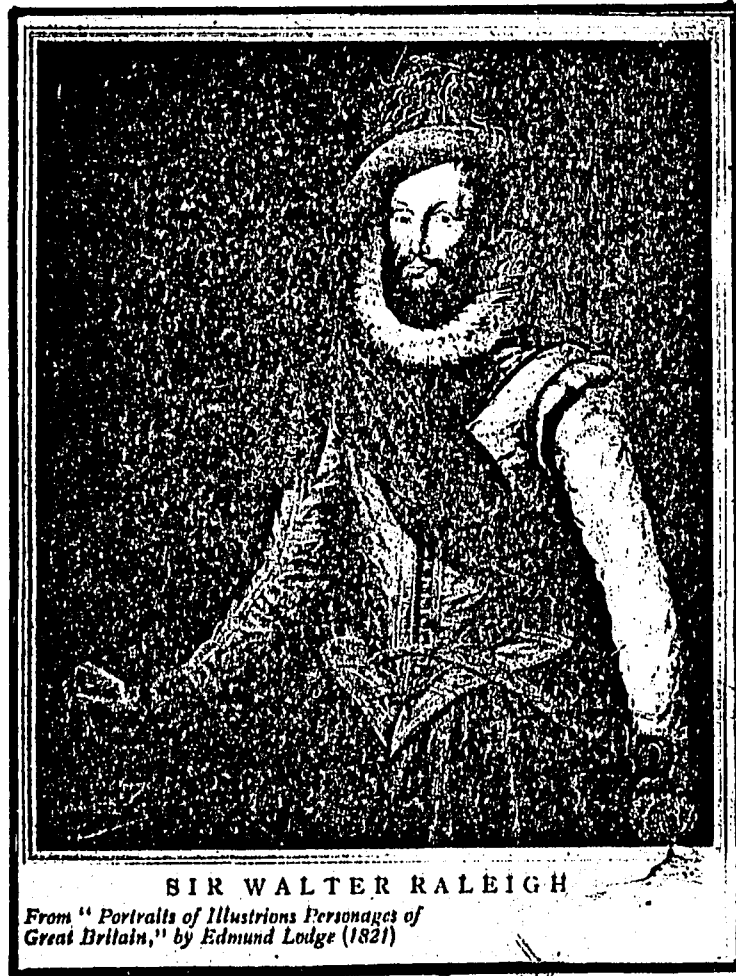
back to England when a great tempest engulfed them and England lost one of her noblest explorers.<sup>8</sup>

After the unfortunate death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, was permitted to renew his letters-patent on 25 March 1584. Raleigh's interest in America had first been manifested in 1578 when he had helped Gilbert fit out the fleet of eleven ships, he himself commanding the Falcon, for what turned out to be an unsuccessful "voyage of discovery." In 1583 he had a large interest in the Newfoundland voyage of Sir Humphrey, fitting out the Bark Raleigh, which he had intended to command himself, but was forbidden by the Queen to do so. Having now been granted the letters-patent, Raleigh decided to test the colonial possibilities of the South since Florida had been so sparsely settled by Spain and there seemed to be plenty of room for new-comers. He sent out an expedition under Philip Amados and Arthur Barlow who, after taking the southern route and passing the Canary Islands and the West Indies, coasted northwards and took possession of Wokoken, Roanoke, and the adjacent mainland in the name of the Queen.<sup>9</sup> They stayed just a short time and then returned to England with glowing reports of their life in America. Raleigh was enthusiastic. He asked Parliament to give its support to a definite plan

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<sup>8</sup>Short History, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup>DNB, 16:630-2.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

*From "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain," by Edmund Lodge (1821)*

Fig. 58. From Hakluyt's Principal Navigations.

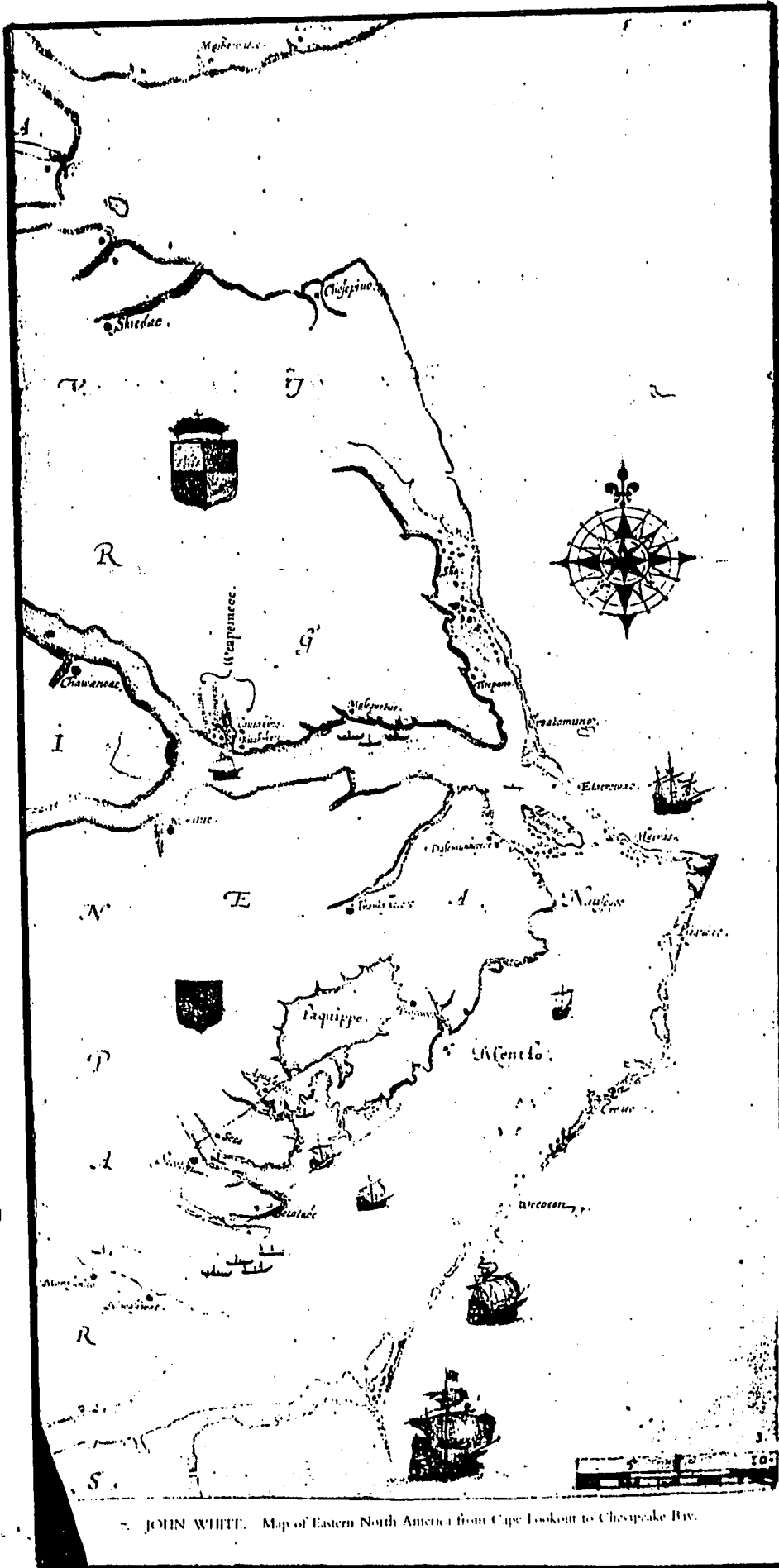
for the English colonization of America. Over ninety years after the discovery of America, the English Parliament, in December 1584, recognized the existence of the New World. A bill was passed stating that a region of Florida was to be granted by statute to Sir Walter. The English nation gave the name "Virginia" to this territory in honor of the Queen, and for many years afterwards this name applied to the entire seaboard from Florida to Newfoundland. In the time of the Cabots this land, including the entire coastland from Cape Breton southwards, was called the New Land; in 1524, after the voyage of Verrazzano, the French called it New France; later the Spanish called it Florida; now it was Virginia. It was not until much later that Virginia and Florida became names for separate territories.<sup>10</sup>

Though the name "Virginia" does not actually appear in the plays, it is highly likely that a reference in King Henry the Eighth is to the new colony. Many commentators are of the opinion that this play was written after the death of Queen Elizabeth. Whether Shakespeare contributed to this play, and if so, how much, is not agreed upon by the critics. Some are inclined to believe that Shakespeare simply made some suggestions which were incorporated in the play when it was being written by others.<sup>11</sup> Since this play is generally

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<sup>10</sup>Short History, p. 130.

<sup>11</sup>Clark, p. 623.



Map 16. John White's Map of Virginea. From D.B. Quinn's The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590.

considered to be a part of the Canon, the reference to Virginia is of interest in this study. It is in Cranmer's speech when he praises Elizabeth and the glories of her reign, following this tribute with a prediction that prosperity and happiness will continue under King James.

Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,  
His honour and the greatness of his name  
Shall be, and make new nations: he shall flourish,  
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches  
To all the plains about him:--our children's children  
Shall see this, and bless heaven.<sup>12</sup>

For the first time with the sanction of Parliament a colonial experiment was started, even though no mention was made of how the Home Government would exert authority over the distant colony. Sir Richard Grenville was the man Raleigh sent to plant the first settlement. Sailing with seven ships and about a hundred colonists in addition to the crews, Grenville landed at Hispaniola, then sailed north until he reached Wokoken Island. Here, he and forty others stayed on the mainland and the rest of the expedition proceeded to Roanoke Island to lay the foundation for the first English settlement in America. Unfortunately Grenville had a quarrel with the Indians nearby and antagonized them. He returned to England and the colonists who remained built their camp on the northeast corner of the island of Roanoke. In spite of the fertility of the soil, there seemed to be no motivation to cultivate it; finding gold was the sole objective.

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<sup>12</sup>5. 4. 49-54

The enthusiasm of the colonists soon wore off. Supplies gave out and hard work was not to the Elizabethan gentleman's liking. Quarrels developed and home-sickness took over. The problem of food shortages became more severe every day and the Indians grew increasingly more unwilling to offer supplies. A scrimmage with the Indians did not help matters and a tedious year dragged by. The situation was growing even worse when Drake's expedition, homeward bound from its West Indies raids, appeared. The settlers took passage with Drake and returned to England. Arriving there, weary and disappointed, the first Virginia colonists spoke unfavorably of the new country to their friends and relatives. They told how they had longed for their soft beds and dainty foods while undergoing the hardships of creating a settlement. There was one in the group, however, twenty-four-year-old Thomas Hariot, who felt differently. He wrote a treatise in which he gave a very favorable description of the fertility and beauty of the land he had seen.<sup>13</sup>

Captain Barlow also described the friendliness and the generosity of the Indians when they were first encountered and the complete safety in which the English visited their settlements. Two Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, were brought back to England. This was the most favorable report yet about that part of America to which the English had shown of title,<sup>14</sup> and it helped create an

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<sup>13</sup>Lee, Essays, pp. 314-7.

<sup>14</sup>McMann, p. 162.

increasingly favorable attitude toward the idea of colonization in America.

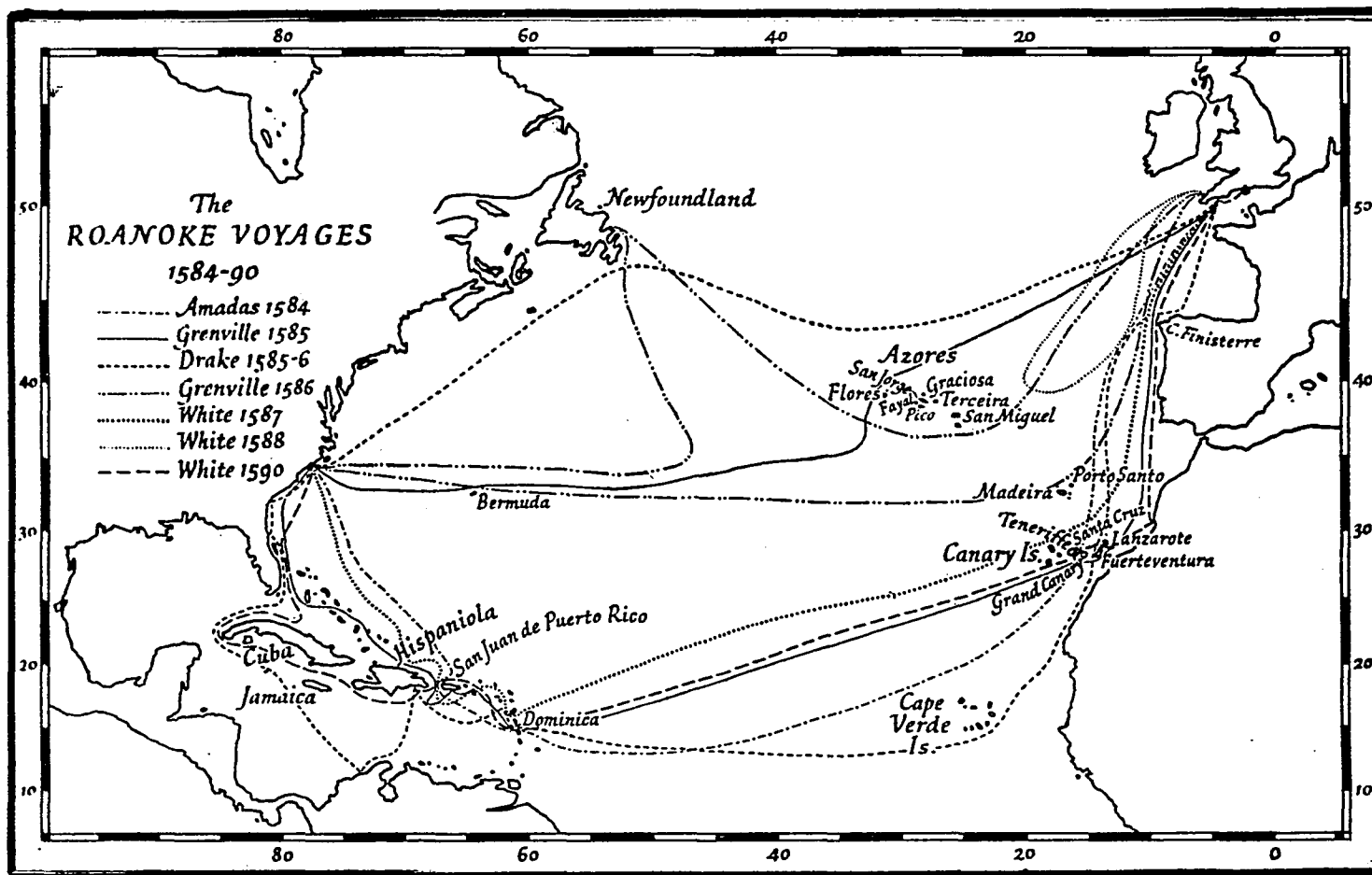
But disaster still stalked the expeditions. In June 1586, a relief expedition, headed by Grenville, came to find the original group, but the group had already left with Drake. Grenville left for England, leaving fifteen men on the island to look for their countrymen. These men were never heard from again.<sup>15</sup>

The following year another and larger group of English hopefuls was sent out, led by the artist-explorer, John White. For the first time, women and children were included. There were ten married couples, eighty-four single men, seven unmarried women, and nine boys. White had been appointed governor and a council of twelve assistants had been designated. On arriving in Virginia, they reoccupied the fort at Roanoke. White had with him his daughter, the wife of Ananias Dare, who gave birth to a daughter, Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America. After a short while, White departed for England to obtain further support for the colony. Without him and his leadership, the settlement fell apart. White was able to obtain two ships, but these ships never reached Virginia. The crews took over and converted the voyage into a privateering adventure. By now Raleigh's resources were drained and he transferred his rights to a syndicate, but no relief was sent to the colony.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Lee, Essays, p. 317.

<sup>16</sup>Short History, p. 133.



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Map 17. The Roanoke Voyages. From Quinn's The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590.

This catastrophe of 1587 considerably damaged hopes for Elizabethan colonization in America. Raleigh and White hoped, as a matter of honor, to go back and look for the colonists, but 1588 was the year of the Spanish Armada. Spain and England were now at war and return to Virginia was impossible.<sup>17</sup> When White was finally able to sail for Virginia in 1590, he found the colony abandoned. The mystery of the fate of these settlers has never been solved with certainty. The crews of White's ships insisted on an immediate return to England and several years went by before another English vessel visited the place.<sup>18</sup>

Having lost about forty thousand pounds in the attempt to found a colony, Raleigh was compelled to abandon the project for the time being. In 1602 he sent a small ship to Virginia but it returned without ever having reached Roanoke and the next year there was an abortive voyage to a more northerly region sent out by the Earl of Southampton. These were the last attempts during Elizabeth's reign to found an American colony.<sup>19</sup>

During this time Raleigh had become fascinated with the Spanish legend of the fabulous wealth of the city of Manoa in South America which the Spanish called Eldorado. In 1594 he had sent an expedition headed by Jacob Whiddon to the southern continent where they explored

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<sup>17</sup>Lee, Essays, p. 318.

<sup>18</sup>Short History, p. 133.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

that part of Guiana which is now known as Venezuela. Whiddon returned without any definite information. Raleigh sailed himself to the same destination in February 1595 with a fleet of five ships, fitted out principally at his own cost, Sir Robert Cecil and Lord Admiral Howard also having an interest in the voyage. He also sailed with a commission from the Queen to wage war against the Spanish.

It was on this voyage that Raleigh reported seeing "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." He wrote:

. . . there are two rivers Atoica and Coara, and on that branch which is called Coara, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not above their shoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolved it is true, because every childe in the provinces of Arroimaia and Canuri affirme the same; they are called Ewai-panoma; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders.<sup>20</sup>

In testimony gathered by George Popham in 1594, about the "rich Empire of Guiana, called by the Spaniards El Nuevo Dorado" he repeats Raleigh's impression that there were:

many Indians . . . and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher than the Crownes of their heads.<sup>21</sup>

Shakespeare was so taken with the image that he referred to it twice. In The Tempest, Gonzalo says:

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<sup>20</sup>Hakluyt, 7:328.

<sup>21</sup>Hakluyt, 7:355.

Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,  
 Who would believe that there were mountaineers  
 Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging  
           at 'em  
 Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men  
 Whose heads stood in their breasts?<sup>22</sup>

And Othello, in his "travel's history" has seen "men whose heads / Do grow beneath their shoulders."<sup>23</sup>

Raleigh was well known for his high-flown language and for his wild tales about America. Shakespeare seems to be mocking these traits in Raleigh. In 1859 Charles Kingsley suggested that this legend of Raleigh's may have originated in the disguises of the Indian medicine men that he had seen in South America.<sup>24</sup>

However, on Ptolemy's "Tabula Asiae VIII" there stands out one feature not shown on any previous maps: the "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." These headless beings with monstrous eyes, nose and mouth occupying their whole chest and abdomen are a sight one would not readily forget.<sup>25</sup> Shakespeare may have known of the men with their heads in their chests before Raleigh referred to them, but used the image, as was said before, to rib Raleigh, and because the report of Raleigh's voyage to America had brought this image to the minds of those who had never heard of them and had reinforced the image for those who had possibly seen Ptolemy's map.

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<sup>22</sup>3. 3. 44-9

<sup>23</sup>OTH 1. 2. 142-4

<sup>24</sup>Charles Kingsley, Miscellanies (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859), 2 vols., 1:45.

<sup>25</sup>French, p. 807.



Fig. 59. Frank M. Bristol's Shakespeare and America.

Raleigh struggled up the Orinoco River, but his equipment was inadequate for the labor of rowing against the stream. After pushing forward for about four hundred miles, he reluctantly decided to give up the attempt, hoping to try again at some future time. He brought back from this trip pieces of "white spar" or quartz, on the outside of which were small grains of gold. In England, Raleigh had these grains tested and they were declared to be pure gold. At the same time his enemies, who were powerful and influential, were circulating the story that everything Raleigh had told about his voyage was fiction. It was to refute these charges that he wrote Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado)--Performed in the yeare 1595 by Sir. W. Raleigh.

Falstaff refers to "Guiana, all gold and bounty"<sup>26</sup> about two hundred years before the account of Raleigh's voyage was published. But we forgive him, for this is just another instance in which we see Shakespeare's interest in the New World and we note his extensive reading on the subject. Henry Pemberton suggests another reference to Guiana in The Merchant of Venice:

Thus ornament is but the guiled shore  
 To a most dangerous sea; the beauteous scarf  
 Veiling an Indian beauty; in a word,  
 The seeming truth which cunning times put on

To entrap the wisest. Therefore, thou gaudy gold,  
Hard foot of Midas, I will none of thee.<sup>27</sup>

"The guiled shore" and "most dangerous" sea in this speech have been a puzzle to some commentators. One critic wrote: "I have little doubt the poet was thinking of Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana, and wrote, 'gilded'."<sup>28</sup> As for "dangerous sea," Raleigh had been warned on his way to Guiana that his efforts would be labor lost, and that his company would suffer many miseries. All this he found to be true. Pemberton gives a possible explanation for the "beauteous scarf / Veiling an Indian beauty."

The true interpretation is found in Sir Walter's Discoverie. Referring to the native women of Guiana, he states that some of them were "very yong and excellently favoured [i.e., beautiful], which came among us without deceit, starke naked." He gave presents to them, "to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them . . . such things as they desired." Although no mention is made of the nature of the presents given the fair Indians, it is not improbable that, perceiving that their beauty was unadorned, and knowing well the feminine fondness for finery the world over, he may have given one of the scarfs worn by Elizabethan courtiers--in fact, frequently worn by Raleigh himself-- . . . . The wearing of such an ornamental piece of work by the "base Indian" would be quite in consonance with the tenor of Bassonios' argument. We may safely take it, therefore, that the First Folio is wrong in its "guiled" shore, and may correct it to "gilded," as demonstrated by this topical allusion.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>3. 2. 97-102

<sup>28</sup>William N. Lettson, in a footnote to Walker, Critical Examination, vol. 1:291, quoted by Furness in the Variorum Edition of The Merchant of Venice, 7:145.

<sup>29</sup>Pemberton, pp. 107-9.

The "golden shore" in The Merry Wives of Windsor ["Hold, sirrah, bear you these letters lightly: Sail like my pin-nace to these golden shores"] strengthens the possibility that Shakespeare wrote "gilded shores" in The Merchant of Venice and was referring to "a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty."

At the same time that Raleigh wrote his Discoverie, he drew a map of Guiana, the accuracy of which has been established by subsequent explorers, and there is little doubt that the gold mine he sought really existed. The quartz he brought back was probably found near the Yuruari River where gold was discovered in 1849 by Dr. Louis Plassar.<sup>30</sup>

Raleigh's fame rested rather on the magnificence of his projected projects than on the extent of his actual achievements. The dream of his life was to oust Spain from America, and thereby to make England the greatest power in the Christian world. But his projects, one and all, ended in failure, and his fame stands eclipsed by that of Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake, the adventurers whose successes inspired him.

To break the maritime power of the most formidable prince in Europe, and to throw open to the English people that New World which Philip arrogantly claimed as his own, was the end to which all these men devoted their thoughts, their energies, and their fortunes. But no

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<sup>30</sup>DNB 16:636.

single man tried as hard as Sir Walter Raleigh to establish in the New World in the sixteenth century an English-speaking nation and his efforts set an example for more successful emulators in later years.<sup>31</sup>

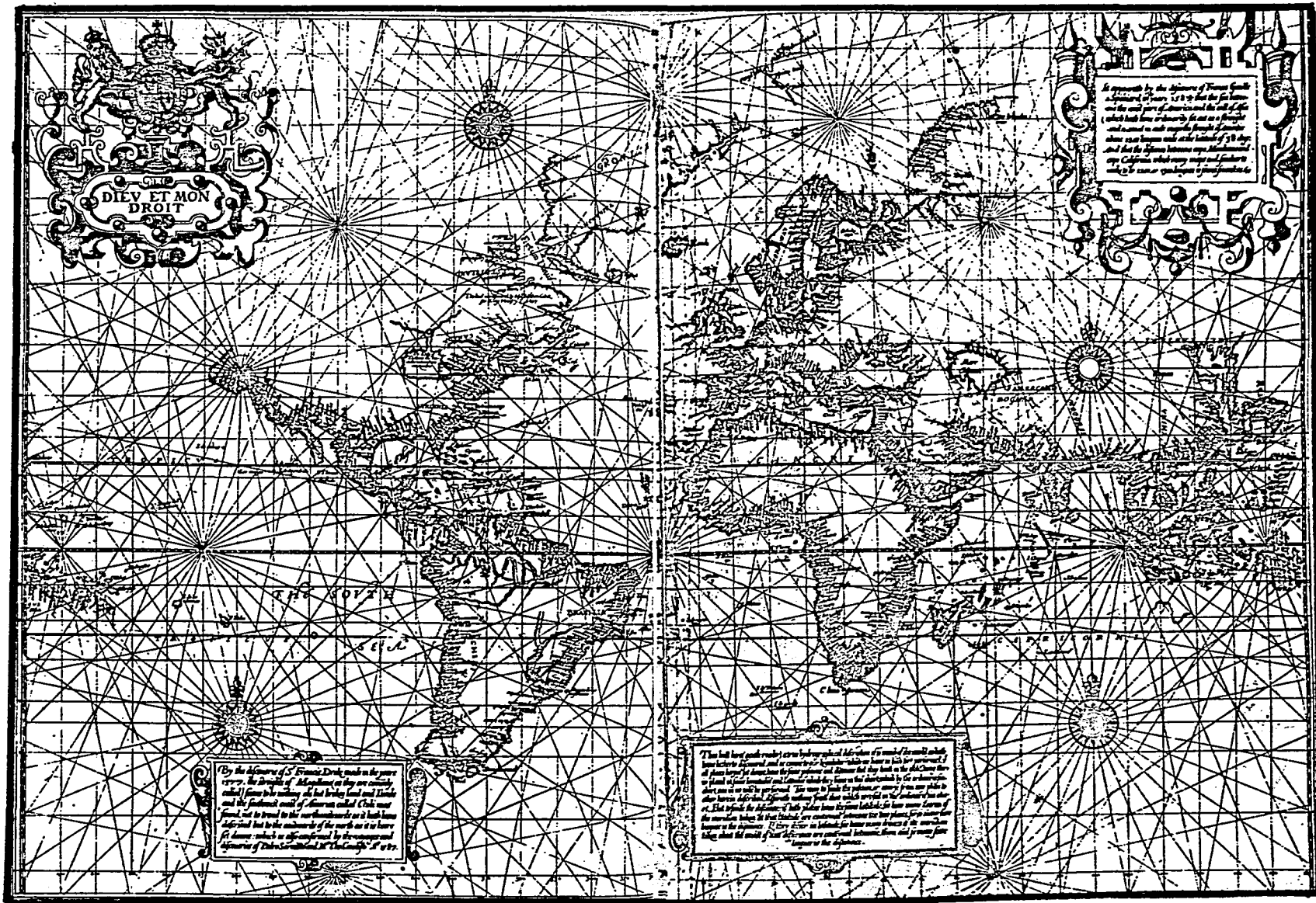
As new countries were discovered, new trade routes developed and new colonies planted, the dramatists and poets stretched their mental muscles and absorbed and reflected all the newness in the atmosphere; the spirit of discovery exalted seamen and poets alike. If the influences of the voyages on Shakespeare's plays is difficult to detect, it is because these reflected echoes are indirect and subtle, poets being neither journalists nor chroniclers. However, most of the subtleties were probably understood by Shakespeare's audiences. As an example of this subtleness, there is Maria's speech in Twelfth Night in which she is describing Malvolio:

. . . he does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies.<sup>32</sup>

Not only men in Shakespeare's day were intrigued with maps; there have been writers in every age since the first map was drawn who were similarly intrigued. Several writers since Twelfth Night was written have given their opinions, guesses, or conclusions as to which specific map Shakespeare had in mind in this passage. As a result, somewhat of a controversy has appeared. George Wilson

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<sup>31</sup>Payne, pp. viii-x.      <sup>32</sup>3. 2. 76-8



Map 18. "The new map with the Augmentation of the Indies." From Bristol's Shakespeare and America.

Knight, George Steevens, and John Payne Collier believed the "new map" could be found in the English edition of The Voyage of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, published in 1598.<sup>33</sup> Quaritch thought it was the map engraved by Emeric Mollineux for Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations (1599-1600). Henry Stevens opted for one of the nineteen maps found in Wytfliet's Descriptionis Ptolenicae (1597-1598).<sup>34</sup> Frank M. Bristol says:

. . . any one of these maps would answer to the description, but by a glance at their peculiarities, one must be convinced that the Mollineux map in particular gives us the meaning of Maria's description of Molvolio's face when in a smile . . . The reference to the latest map "with the augmentation of the Indies" reveals how well Shakespeare kept himself informed on all the new-world happenings and how thoroughly acquainted he was with the literature on the subject.<sup>35</sup>

Coote agrees with Bristol on the designer of the map and gives further evidence to support his belief by referring to Fabian's lines to Sir Andrew Aguecheek:

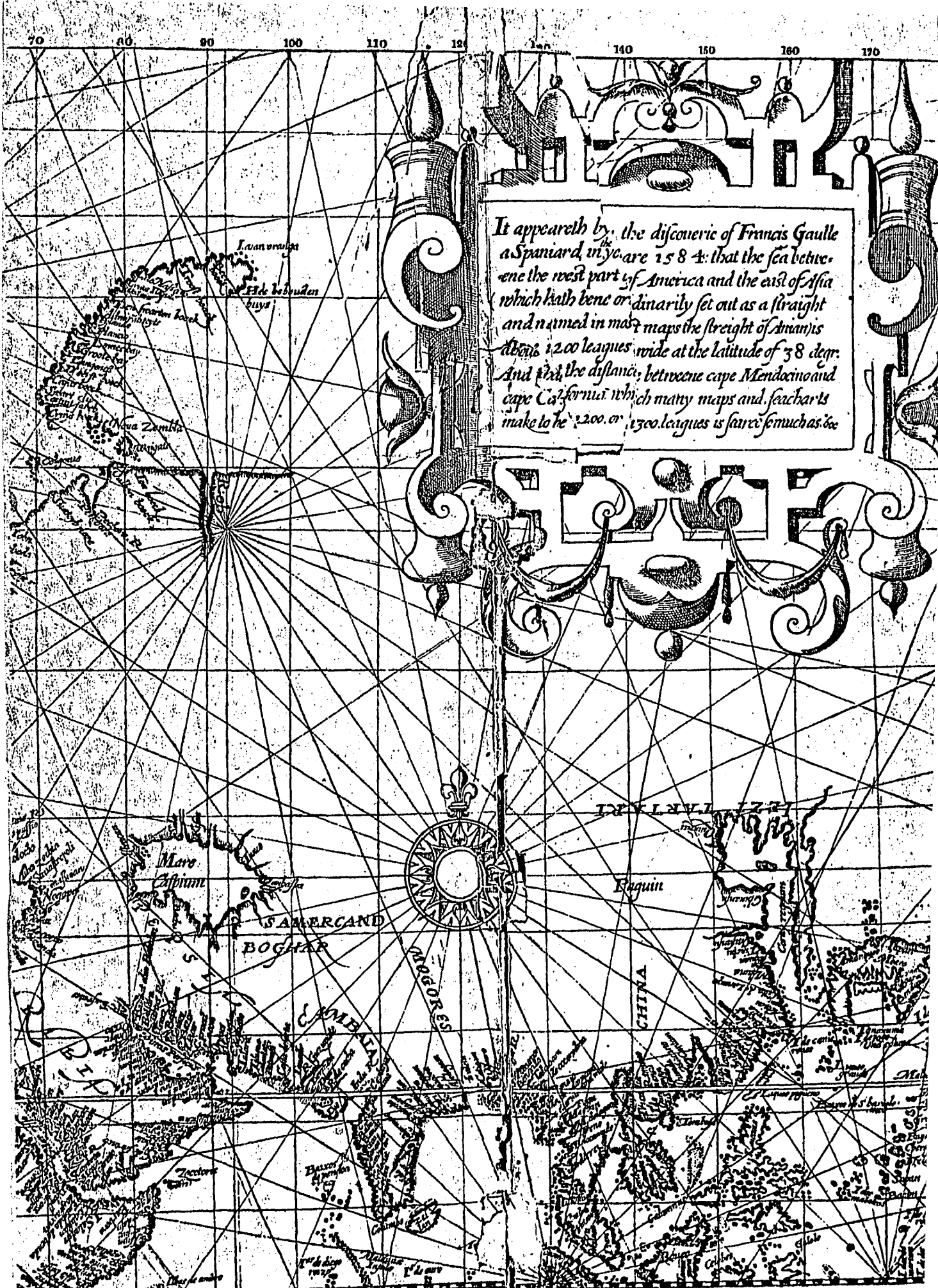
. . . you are now sail'd into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard . . .<sup>36</sup>

Coote says this map showed the most recent geographical discovery at the time, that of Northern Novya Zembla, found by the Dutchman Barentz on his third voyage in 1596. The news reached Holland in 1598 and England probably the next year. That Barrentz's voyage suggested "an icicle on a Dutchman's beard" is strong evidence that the map

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<sup>33</sup>C. H. Coote, On Shakspeare's New Map in Twelfth Night (London: Dulau and Co., 1878), p. 94.

<sup>34</sup>Bristol, p. 20. <sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 21. <sup>36</sup>TN 3. 2. 23-5



It appeareth by the discoverie of Francis Gaulte a Spaniard, in the year 1584: that the sea betwene the west part of America and the east of Asia which hath bene ordinarily set out as a straight and named in most maps the streight of Anian is about 1200 leagues wide at the latitude of 38 degr. And that the distance betwene cape Mendocino and cape California which many maps and seacharts make to be 1200 or 1300 leagues is fauer semuch as 600

Map 19. Upper Right Hand Corner of the "new map"

published in 1599 is the "new map" mentioned in Twelfth Night which was first performed in the Hall of the Middle Temple in February 1601-2. It is very likely that this map with many rhumb-lines,<sup>37</sup> probably the first map produced in England that showed Barentz's discovery, suggested to Shakespeare the metaphor for Molvolio's smiling face.

This example illustrates what I mean by subtleness as opposed to a "direct hit." It is this subtleness that masks the evidence in Shakespeare's plays which shows that his reading about the voyagers and his interest in the discovery of America should not be denied. In speaking of "indirect reflections" Raleigh says:

In Shakespeare's plays only the labels are Italian, while every type of English character, from a king to a tinker, is drawn from life. Othello is a Tudor gentleman, Petruchio, Bassanio, and a dozen others are adventurous Elizabethan gallants. Osric is a courtly gull, Mercutio a courtly wit, Edgar in Lear is a noble masquerading as an Abram man, Autolycus is a cony-catcher. All alike are heightened portraits of the men whom Shakespeare met and talked to at Court, in the tavern, or by the roadside.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Rhumb-lines were a set of straight lines drawn through a point on a map or chart to indicate the course of a ship sailing continuously in any direction. J. D. Rogers in Shakespeare's England, 1:174.

<sup>38</sup>Raleigh, p. 156.

Malone referred to Shakespeare's "frequent allusions to the events of his time," which took place "wherever his scene happens to lie."<sup>39</sup> And in 1875, A. S. Ward noted the topical treatment of Shakespeare's dramatic themes "of which historical and literary research are only beginning to gauge the force."<sup>40</sup>

Pemberton gives four chief characteristics of a "topical allusion" which are worth noting:

- 1) The passage in question is in no way connected with the plot of the Drama.
- 2) The passage is not connected with, or based on, the source from which the story of the Play is derived.
- 3) Frequently a definite period of months or years is stated in the Play to have elapsed since the occurrence of the event alluded to.
- 4) Often a biographical or personal fact, relating to the individual referred to, is given.<sup>41</sup>

Following this definition, we find numerous "topical allusions" to Raleigh in The Winter's Tale. For instance, the word "fardel," meaning bundle or burden, is used seven times in this play. Its only other occurrence in all the rest of the Canon is once in Hamlet<sup>42</sup> and in that instance it seems to be a reference to Raleigh also. Raleigh was born in Fardell, in Devon, and his father was known as "Walter Raleigh of Fardell."<sup>43</sup> These are the passages

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<sup>39</sup>Pemberton, p. 69.      <sup>40</sup>Pemberton, p. 69

<sup>41</sup>Pemberton, pp. 68-9.      <sup>42</sup>3. 1, 76

<sup>43</sup>Martin A. S. Hume, Sir Walter Raleigh; the British dominion of the West (London and U.S.A.: Fisher Unwin, 1897), p. 10.

in which the word is used:

. . . there is that in this fardel will make him scratch his beard.<sup>44</sup>

. . . the condition of that fardel, the place of your dwelling, your names, your ages, of what having, breeding, and any thing that is fitting to be known, discover.<sup>45</sup>

The fardel there? What's i' the fardel? Wherefore the box?<sup>46</sup>

Sir, there lies such secrets in this fardel and box, which none must know but the king; . . .<sup>47</sup>

I was by at the opening of the fardel, heard the old shepherd deliver the manner how he found it: . . .<sup>48</sup>

In these passages the word may refer to the Spanish treasure ship that was captured by Grenville on his return from the trip to Virginia for Raleigh in 1585. The "beard" may refer to Raleigh's beard which he wore very full, and the "box" may refer to the cabinet of pearls which was one of the important items brought back by Grenville from the treasure of the captured ship.<sup>49</sup>

Hume wrote:

On board the prize the principal treasure was a fine cabinet of pearls; and much wrangling ensued between the captors as to their respective shares of the booty. Sir Lewis Stukely . . . said that Raleigh had charged Elizabeth with taking all the pearls for herself . . . He [Philips' ambassador] says 'The ship which this captain says was captured by Raleigh's expedition, with so large a treasure in gold, silver, pearls, chochineal, sugar, ivory, and hides . . .'<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>4. 3. 715-6      <sup>45</sup>4. 3. 725-9      <sup>46</sup>4. 3. 764-5

<sup>47</sup>4. 3. 766-7      <sup>48</sup>5. 2. 4      <sup>49</sup>Clark, p. 560.

<sup>50</sup>Hume, p. 75.

There may also be a connection between the capture of this treasure and the gold that is found in the bundle left with Perdita. Clown says:

Gold! all gold!

SHEPHERD

This is fairy-gold, boy, and 'twill prove so . . .<sup>51</sup>

"Fairy gold" is found gold, supposedly placed where it is found by fairies and supposed to go as easily as it is found. For Elizabeth, the captured gold was certainly "fairy gold."

Another reference in the play is to "warden pies." Clown says, "I must have saffron, to colour the warden-pies."<sup>52</sup> Raleigh was made Lord Warden of the Stanneries in 1585.<sup>53</sup> He had also been given the privilege of exporting "woolen cloths." In March 1584, a license was given to Raleigh to export a certain number of woolen cloths, and in subsequent years this privilege was re-granted and extended.<sup>54</sup> In the play Clown says:

Let me see; every 'leven weather tods; every tod yields pound and odd shilling: fifteen hundred shorn, what comes the wool to?<sup>55</sup>

Wool was a very profitable trade at this time; it sounds like Shakespeare is wondering how well Raleigh was doing with his export privilege. Stafford's Breefe Conceipte of English Pollicye, published in 1581, gives the price of a tod of wool at twenty or two and twenty shillings;

<sup>51</sup>3. 3. 122-4

<sup>52</sup>4. 2. 46

<sup>53</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 44.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>55</sup>4. 3. 32-4

so that the medium price was exactly "pound and odd shillings," as Clown says.<sup>56</sup>

In 1586, after the execution of Anthony Babington for his part in the plot that bore his name, Raleigh's wealth was increased because the Queen granted to him nearly every acre of the broad lands in the five English counties possessed by the unfortunate Babington, together with all his goods and property, with the sole exception of a curious clock which she kept for herself.<sup>57</sup> "Clock" is mentioned twice in the play:

I love thee not a jar o' the clock behind  
What lady she her lord.<sup>58</sup>

Wishing clocks more swift?  
Hours, minutes? Noon, midnight?<sup>59</sup>

The mention of such items as "fardel," "wool," and "clock" is not extraordinary when the words are considered separately; but when these and other related words such as "fairy-gold," "warden-pies," and others to be mentioned later, are piled up in the same play, surely there is some connecting link behind them when they can all be related to the life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In the beginning of the play Leontes says to his young son Mamillius, "Art thou my boy?" to which the boy replies, "Ay, my good Lord." Then Leontes says:

I' fecks?  
Why, that's my bawcock. What! hast smutcht thy  
nose?--  
They say it is a copy of mine. Come, captain,  
We must be neat;--not neat, but cleanly, captain:

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<sup>56</sup>Furness, 11:169.      <sup>57</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 31.

<sup>58</sup>1. 2. 43      <sup>59</sup>1. 2. 289

And yet the steer, the heifer, and the calf  
 Are all call'd neat. Still virginalling  
 Upon his palm?--How now, you wanton calf!  
 Art thou my calf?<sup>60</sup>

This incident has nothing to do with the story of the play, but it is significant that the boy is called "Captain," and that Leontes represents authority, "the ruler of the land." It is also significant that Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the most famous Captains of his time, had an aquiline nose extremely like that of Queen Elizabeth. On the occasion of the Christmas dance at Greenwich, 27 December 1584, she noticed a smudge on Raleigh's nose.

As long as the dancing lasted she [the Queen] summoned young and old and spoke continuously. All of them knelt before her. She chatted and jested most amiably with them, and pointing with her finger at the face of one Master or Captain Rall (Raleigh), told him that there was smut on it. She also offered to wipe it off with her handkerchief, but he anticipating her removed it himself. They say that she now loves him beyond all others, and this one may easily credit, for but a year ago he could scarcely keep one servant, whereas now owing to her bounty he can afford to keep five hundred.<sup>61</sup>

The pun on "neat"--which means ox--in the above passage, is a reference to Lord Oxford's and Sir Walter's rivalry for the Queen's affection. Other synonyms are used--steer, heifer, calf--except the obvious one--ox. "Neat" also is an ancient word for "horned cattle,"<sup>62</sup> which would

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<sup>60</sup>1. 2. 120-5

<sup>61</sup>Victor Von Karwill, ed. Elizabeth and Some Foreigners (London: John Lane, 1928), p. 338.

<sup>62</sup>Furness, 11:24.

suggest that someone is being "cuckolded" by someone. Then there is the word "virginalling," a possible reference to Raleigh's colony, Virginia, or to Elizabeth's playing upon the virginals, or to the behavior of the "Virgin Queen," or perhaps to all three.

There is a passage in which an allusion to the Queen's fondness for Raleigh is made; her pet name for him being "water."<sup>63</sup>

He says he loves my daughter:  
I think so too; for never gazed the moon  
Upon the water, as he'll stand, and read,  
As 'twere, my daughter's eyes: and, to be plain,  
I think there is not half a kiss to choose  
Who loves another best.<sup>64</sup>

The "moon" of course refers to the Queen, who was often called Cynthia. It was a question of where Raleigh's love lay--for his Virginia project or for his Queen.

I repeat here for emphasis that what I am presenting are not "proofs"; it is not possible to "prove" what was in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote the plays. An interpretation of poetry cannot be proved in the same way that a physics theory or a chemical equation can be proved. I am presenting conjectures, possibilities, suggestions, not in any way meant to be absolutes. It is because the many allusions in a single play seem to cluster around a specific individual that I am interpreting these reflections as I do. In this vein then, I believe

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<sup>63</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 37.

<sup>64</sup>4. 3. 171-6

that in some parts of The Winter's Tale Perdita personifies the small band of Virginia colonists organized under Raleigh's direction, carried to America by Sir Richard Grenville, and left on the shore of a strange land to face the hazards and dangers of an uncivilized and uncultivated country under the leadership of Governor Ralph Lane.

The act of leaving a band of people in a strange land to suffer the hardships of winter, to face unknown savages and beasts, and to be without ships to take them back in case of trouble, was watched with apprehension by all Englishmen, and probably many were critical of the Queen for allowing them to go without her full financial, material, and moral support. We must remember also that the actual hardships, bad as they were, were mild in comparison with the exaggerated stories told by returning travelers--tales that grew with each telling.

In a letter Governor Lane sent by Grenville to Walsingham, there was the following sentence: "God will command even the ravens to feed us."<sup>65</sup> The prayer of Antigonus bears a strong resemblance to these words:

Come on, poor babe:  
Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens.  
To be thy nurses!<sup>66</sup>

Polixines may be a lightly sketched portrait of Raleigh. One possibility for this name may be that it

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<sup>65</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 78.

<sup>66</sup>2. 3. 184-6

derives from Polybius, a Greek historian (c. 205-124 B.C.). In Raleigh's The Historie of the world, which he started to write when he was confined to the tower in 1603, one extract is described as "gathered out of Polybius and other authors by the famous historian Sir Walter Raleigh."<sup>67</sup> Whether Shakespeare knew Raleigh was studying Polybius cannot be known. If he did, he may have, in his passion for word games, combined this name with the Greek "xeno," meaning guest, to label this character "guest of Polybius" or Polixenes. It is Raleigh's colony, Roanoke Island in Virginia, that is the rough kingdom Archidamus speaks of to Camillo in the opening scene of the play:

You shall see, as I have said, great difference  
betwixt our Bohemia and your Sicilia.<sup>68</sup>

There may be a difference in the lands, but Camillo reminds Archidamus of the close relationship between Sicilia (England) and Bohemia (Virginia):

Sicilia cannot show himself over-kind to Bohemia. They were train'd together in their childhoods; and there rooted betwixt them such an affection, which cannot choose but branch now. Since their more mature dignities and royal necessities made separation of their society, their encounters, though not personal, hath been royally attorney'd with interchange of gifts, letters, loving embassies; that they have seem'd to be together, though absent; shook hands, as over a vast [sea]; and embraced, as it were, from the ends of opposed winds. The heavens continue their loves!<sup>69</sup>

In calling Sicilia England, I am drawing on the derisive name used by Leicester's party for England--

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<sup>67</sup>Ernest A. Strathmann, Sir Walter Raleigh A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 13.

<sup>68</sup> 1. 1. 3-4      <sup>69</sup> 1. 1. 21-33

Regnum Cecilianum. This term was used in a letter written by Lord Burghley in which he said:

. . . They that say in rash and malicious mockery that England is become Regnum Cecilianum may use their own cankered humour.<sup>70</sup>

There is also the fact that in Cymbeline, Posthumus Leonatus, husband of Imogen, dreams of his father, Sicilius Leonatus, a name which bears a strong resemblance to Regnum Cecilianum. If Sicilius represents England and Leonatus stands for "Leo," Sicilius Leonatus means "Ruler of England," as does Regnum Cecilianum, or Leontes, King of Sicilia, who speaks for Elizabeth when he says, "There is a plot against my life, my crown; / All's true that is mistrusted."<sup>71</sup> This "Ruler of England" sounds like Queen Elizabeth, consumed with jealousy and unwilling to let Raleigh out of her sight, and in fear of conspiracies that are being plotted against her.

Hermione may be a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, standing in front of tyrannical authority, foredoomed, defending herself with poise and dignity.

#### LEONTES

Prepare you, lords;  
Summon a session, that we may arraign  
Our most disloyal lady; for, as she hath  
Been publicly accused, so shall she have  
A just and open trial. While she lives,  
My heart will be a burden to me.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Hume, Burghley, p. 393.

<sup>71</sup>2. 1. 46-7

<sup>72</sup>2. 3. 201-6

## HERMIONE

Since what I am to say must be but that  
 Which contradicts my accusation, and  
 The testimony on my part no other  
 But what comes from myself, it shall scarce boot me  
 To say, 'Not guilty:' my integrity  
 Being counted falsehood, shall, as I express it,  
 Be so received. But thus: if powers divine  
 Behold our human actions, as they do,  
 I doubt not, then, but innocence shall make  
 False accusation blush, and tyranny  
 Tremble at patience. You, my lord, best know,  
 Who least will seem to do so, my past life  
 Hath been as continent, as chaste, as true,  
 As I am now unhappy; which is more  
 Than history can pattern, though devised  
 And play'd to take spectators; for, behold me,--  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . a king's daughter,  
 The mother of a hopeful prince.<sup>73</sup>

The innocence of Polixenes is a reflection of Raleigh's innocence in the Babington plot in which he was accused of being involved. Hermione also claims to be innocent: "Now, for conspiracy, / I know not how it tastes."<sup>74</sup>

At the beginning of the play, Polixenes (Raleigh) beseeches Leontes (Queen Elizabeth) not to keep him from his voyage to Bohemia (Virginia).

Press me not, beseech you, so.  
 There is no tongue that moves, none, none i' the  
 world,  
 So soon as yours could win me: so it should now,  
 Were there necessity in your request, although  
 'Twere needful I denied it. My affairs  
 Do even drag me homeward: which to hinder,  
 Were, in your love, a whip to me.<sup>75</sup>

Just so did Raleigh plead with his Queen to be allowed

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<sup>73</sup>3. 2. 22-40

<sup>74</sup>3. 2. 71-2

<sup>75</sup>1. 2. 19-25

to venture to America.

When asked if he is fond of his son, Polixenes replies, "He's all my exercise, my mirth, my matter."<sup>76</sup> This son's name is Florizel, prince of Bohemia.

The Random House Dictionary lists the word "donzel" as being an archaic expression for a young gentleman not knighted, the word being the equivalent of dominus (us), lord, plus --cellus, dim. suffix. Using this same formula, Florizel may be a combination of Florida plus --cellus, or Florizel, young Florida.

When Leontes says:

. . . you'll be found,  
Be you beneath the sky.--[aside] I am angling now  
Though you perceive me not how I give line.<sup>77</sup>

this is an accurate description of how Elizabeth pulled strings and angled and manipulated those around her.

In the next act, Paulina declares that the infant (the Virginia colonists) is a free and independent entity.

The child was prisoner to the womb, and is,  
By law and process of great nature, thence  
Freed and enfranchised; not a party to  
The anger of the king, nor guilty of,<sup>78</sup>  
If any be, the trespass of the queen.<sup>78</sup>

This recalls Elizabeth's attitude of not wanting any legal responsibility for the new colonies. "That brat is none of mine," says Leontes. "It is the issue of Polixenes."<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>1. 2. 167

<sup>77</sup>1. 2. 179-181

<sup>78</sup>2. 2. 52-63

<sup>79</sup>2. 3. 92-3

But Paulina insists there is no mistaking the resemblance between parent and offspring:

It is yours;  
 And, might we lay the old proverb to your charge,  
 So like you, 'tis the worse.--Behold, my lords,  
 Although the print be little, the whole matter  
 And copy of the father,--eye, nose, lip;  
 The trick of 's frown; his forehead; nay, the valley,  
 The pretty dimples of his chin and cheek; his smiles;  
 The very mould and frame of hand, nail, finger;--<sup>80</sup>

Leontes insists:

'tis a bastard,  
 So sure as this beard's gray,--what will you  
 adventure  
 To save the brat's life?<sup>81</sup>  
 . . . . .  
 We enjoin thee,  
 As thou art liegeman to us, that you carry  
 This female bastard hence; and that you bear it  
 To some remote and desert place, quite out  
 Of our dominions; and that there you leave it,  
 Without more mercy, to its own protection  
 And favour of the climate.  
 . . . . .  
 . . . commend it strangely to some place  
 Where chance may nurse or end it . . .<sup>82</sup>

And Antigonus says, "Poor thing, condemn'd to loss!"<sup>83</sup>

Leontes sends Cleomenes and Dion to Apollo, the oracle at Delphos, to learn if his jealousy has been justified. Hume wrote that Raleigh had captured the Queen's ear and she was taken in by his election. She took him for "a kind of oracle, which nettled them all."<sup>84</sup> One possible interpretation of the passages regarding the "oracle" is that they refer to Raleigh, with whom the Queen consulted on the affairs of Ireland, the affairs

<sup>80</sup>2. 3. 97-105      <sup>81</sup>2. 3. 160-2

<sup>82</sup>2. 3. 172-182      <sup>83</sup>2. 3. 191

<sup>84</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 34.

of Queen Mary of Scots, matters in Spain and in the Low Countries, and the explorations in the New World. Her ministers certainly must have been nettled to be overlooked on these matters. It is significant that Leontes (as Elizabeth) sends to the "oracle" for a decision on Hermione's conduct.

We should also note Leonte's insistence that Polixenes remain longer in Sicilia, in spite of his own kingdom's need for his attention. Hume tells us that most of the misfortunes which befell Raleigh's attempts to settle his new dominion arose from the fact that his duties near the Queen prevented him from giving it his personal supervision.<sup>85</sup> Elizabeth scarcely ever allowed the handsome captain to leave her side.

When Cleomenes and Dion return from Delphos, they describe the land they have seen:

CLEOMENES

The climate's delicate; the air most sweet;  
Fertile the isle; the temple much surpassing  
The common praise it bears.

. . . . .

DION

If the event o' the journey  
Prove as successful to the queen,--O, be't so!--  
As it hath been to us rare, pleasant, speedy,  
The time is worth the use on't--<sup>86</sup>

This could refer to the expedition Raleigh sent out under Barlow and Amadas in 1584. They returned with glowing reports of the new land.

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<sup>85</sup>Hume, Raleigh, p. 77.

<sup>86</sup>3. 1. 1-3, 11-14

. . . we viewed the land about us . . . so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else . . . I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found. . . . This island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares and Fowle, even in the midst of summer in incredible abundance.<sup>87</sup>

This was part of the account of the voyage Captain Barlow wrote for Raleigh in 1589, which was, in part, intended to encourage later expeditions. After Barlow and Amadas returned, Raleigh started organizing another expedition for the purpose of colonizing Virginia.

The message brought back from the oracle reads:

Hermione is chaste; Polixenes blameless; Camillo a true subject; Leontes a jealous tyrant; his innocent babe truly begotten; and the king will live without an heir, if that which is lost is not found.<sup>88</sup>

A vision of the Queen tells Antigonus:

The babe

Is counted lost for ever, Perdita,  
I prithee call't.<sup>89</sup>

This is the clue that the infant may represent the "Lost Colony," the venture that failed. And when Antigonus says:

. . . poor wretch!

That for thy mother's fault art thus expos'd  
To loss and what may follow. . .<sup>90</sup>

we are reminded that what help Elizabeth gave was both limited and secret. Antigonus believes that the child

. . . being indeed the issue

Of king Polixenes, it should here be laid,

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<sup>87</sup>Hakluyt 6:122-3. <sup>88</sup>3. 2. 133-7

<sup>89</sup>3. 3. 32-4 <sup>90</sup>3. 3. 49-50





Map 20. Virginia and Florida. From Hakluyt's  
Principal Navigations.

Sicilia (England) rather than

To unpath'd waters, undream'd shores, most certain  
To miseries enough: no hope to help you.<sup>96</sup>

In some of the references to Perdita, if the word "Virginia" is substituted, the meaning still holds true. For instance:

Ay, the most peerless piece of earth, I think,  
That e'er the sun shone bright on.<sup>97</sup>

and

. . . This is a creature,  
Would she begin a sect, might quench the zeal  
Of all professors else, make proselytes  
Of who she but bid follow.<sup>98</sup>

Life is so difficult in the land where Perdita grows up that labor is expended to grow utilitarian herbs only, and never decorative flowers:

For you there's rosemary and rue: these keep  
Seeming and savour all the winter long.

. . . . . Here's flowers for you:  
Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram.<sup>99</sup>

It was natural that the colonists should take with them seeds for herbs for seasoning and cooking, rather than for cultivated flowers. When Camillo says:

I should leave grazing, were I of your flock,  
And only live by gazing.

Perdita replies:

Out, alas!  
You'd be so lean, that blasts of January  
Would blow you through and through.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>4. 3. 571-2      <sup>97</sup>5. 1. 95-6      <sup>98</sup>5. 1. 106-9

<sup>99</sup>4. 3. 74-5; 104-5      <sup>100</sup>4. 3. 109-113

She means that the settlers can not be idlers; everyone must work and raise crops to store for the winter.

Bohemia is a "desert country near the sea,"<sup>101</sup> about which the Mariner says:

. . . this place is famous for the creatures  
Of prey that keep upon't.<sup>102</sup>

reminding us of the strange stories that the voyagers brought back about monsters and serpents.

Perdita returns to her native land after sixteen years, with Florizel and with the assistance of Camillo. It may be that these sixteen years represent the sixteen months the Virginia colonists were away from England between 1585 and 1586, and that in the last part of the play Camillo represents Sir Francis Drake who rescued the desperate group from a very dire situation. If this is so, Camillo would be expressing Drake's longing to see England and the Queen after his long absence:

Now were I happy, if  
His going I could frame to serve my turn;  
Save him from danger, do him love and honour;  
Purchase the sight again of dear Sicilia,  
And that unhappy king my master, whom  
I so much thirst to see.<sup>103</sup>

. . . . .  
Methinks I see  
Leontes opening his free arms, and weeping  
His welcomes forth.<sup>104</sup>

Camillo asks the young people to take "A course more promising / Than a wild dedication to yourselves."

He continues:

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101<sub>3</sub>. 3. s.d.

102<sub>3</sub>. 3. 11-12

103<sub>4</sub>. 3. 512-17

104<sub>4</sub>. 3. 551-3

If you may please to think I love the king,  
 And, through him, what is nearest to him, which is  
 Your gracious self, embrace but my direction,--  
 If your more ponderous and settle project  
 May suffer alteration,--<sup>105</sup>

The "project" is the Virginia settlement about to be given up. When Camillo offers to provide the proper clothes for the bride of a prince, he says:

Prosperity's the very bond of love,  
 Whose fresh complexion and whose heart together  
 Affliction alters.<sup>106</sup>

This allusion is to the great treasure Drake had with him when he returned. Camillo is saying what Drake might have said, that his sovereign would be pleased to see these riches and would be more forgiving about the failure of the colony because of them.

Returning to Leontes we find that his (Elizabeth's) unmarried state and lack of heirs is being discussed:

PAULINA .

You are one of those  
 Would have him wed again.

DION.

If you would not so,  
 You pity not the state, nor the remembrance  
 Of his most sovereign name; consider little  
 What dangers, by his highness' fail of issue,  
 May drop upon his kingdom, and devour  
 Incertain lookers-on . . .

. . . . .  
 . . . . . --for royalty's repair,  
 For present comfort, and for future good,--  
 To bless the bed of majesty again  
 With a sweet fellow to't?

PAULINA

. . . . .  
 For has not the divine Apollo said,  
 Is't not the tenour of his oracle,

That King Leontes shall not have an heir  
Till his lost child be found? . . .<sup>107</sup>

The last lines may imply that the oracle (Raleigh) is asking Elizabeth to support the colony.

When Leontes meets Perdita he calls her a paragon:

And hath he too  
Explored this paragon to the fearful usage--  
At least ungentle--of the dreadful Neptune,  
To greet a man not worth her pains, much less  
To adventure of her person?<sup>108</sup>

Then we learn that the oracle (Raleigh) "is fulfilled; the king's daughter is found," the king has "found an heir."<sup>109</sup>

The Winter's Tale is not the only play in which reflections of Sir Walter Raleigh can be seen. There are several authors who agree with John Dover Wilson that Love's Labour's Lost was written as a topical play and that most, if not all, of its characters were meant by Shakespeare to be portraits or caricatures of living persons,<sup>110</sup> and further, that it was written as a satire of Raleigh and his group of mathematicians, astronomers, and poets, his coterie of scholarly nobles and gentlemen. Some of the authors go one step further and suggest that Raleigh may have been caricatured in the figure of the fantastical Spaniard, Armado.<sup>111</sup> The Ogburns see

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<sup>107</sup>5. 1. 23-40    <sup>108</sup>5. 1. 151-5    <sup>109</sup>5. 2. 25, 32

<sup>110</sup> John Dover Wilson, ed. Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1923), Intro., p.xvi.; William Wakiss Lloyd, Essays on the Life and Plays of Shakespeare (London: C. Whittingham, 1858), fol. U 2.

<sup>111</sup>Wilson, p. xxxiv. Also, among others:

in Rosencrantz and Guildenstern a composite representation of Raleigh and in Troilus and Cressida, in Paris, a representation of Sir Walter, who has stolen Helen [Elizabeth] from Menelaus [Leicester], and is the new lover and favorite.<sup>112</sup>

There are other possibilities and ramifications of the theory that Raleigh's image flitters through the reflections in the mirror of the plays; and all these theories would probably bring forth disagreement from one sector or another. However, the one play about which there is almost total agreement that it is a play about America is The Tempest, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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Frances A. Yates, A Study of Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1936); Arthur Acheson, Shakespeare and the Rival Poet (London and New York: John Lane, 1903); The New Shakespeare Edition, ed. Richard David, Introduction (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951); The Arden Edition of Love's Labour's Lost (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951)

<sup>112</sup>Ogburn, 613, 653.

## CHAPTER VIII

### WHERE WAS PROSPERO'S ISLAND?

The Virginia catastrophe of 1587 somewhat weakened the enthusiasm of Elizabethan advocates of colonization. It was about this time that the indefatigable publicist and propagandist for American colonization, the younger Richard Hakluyt, began his campaign of encouraging Englishmen to invest in American settlements by publishing or inspiring publication of foreign tracts on North America. The first of these was Banier's edition (1 March 1586) of Laudonnière's Florida narrative. At the same time there appeared in the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles several brief factual accounts of the Virginia enterprises. Early in 1588 Thomas Hariot's A Brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia appeared in the first English version. Hakluyt himself had, 1582, published his Divers voyages, touching the discoverie of America, and in 1589 and early in 1590 his The principall navigations, voiajes, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation was printed with almost all the major texts of the Virginia ventures of 1584-9. These publications demonstrated fully the capacity of Englishmen to explore and found

plantations in North America. In 1598-1600 Hakluyt published an expanded version of The principall navigations which included letters written to him by many of the explorers themselves, Hariot's A brief and true report, and Sir George Peckham's A true reporte of the discoveries of the newfound landes (1583). He also included John White's account of his voyage to Virginia (1586) and a plea for the resumption of the Virginia enterprises.

Hakluyt selected for publication texts that had some bearing on the Virginia enterprises and used these as the base for his propaganda campaign. His publications were not only a history of English exploration up to this time, but were also a guide to future efforts. The survival of practically all that is known about the voyages is due mainly to Hakluyt's efforts. He was a prime mover in the forming of the Virginia Company of London and was one of the four patentees of the first charter granted to the company in 1606. During these years he was preacher to the Middle Temple and had interested many members of the legal profession in colonization, as well as many gentlemen and courtiers of the city who had received their education at the Inns of Court and were still in touch with their affairs.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>S. G. Culliford, William Strachey 1572-1621 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), p. 98.

Alongside of Halkuyt's outstanding chronicles, there flowed a stream of broadsides and tracts that gave additional information of the New World. By 1600, due to the efforts of men of letters who were writing in this direction, there was more general interest than there had been before in the idea of American settlements.

In March 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, an experienced seaman, decided to try the colonization experiment again. By accident he missed his intended route to Virginia and landed in a country that maps up to this point had ignored--a point midway between the old Virginia settlement and the scene of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's venture. He and his crew named this point of land Cape Cod and stayed about a month. They also gave the name Elizabeth to one of the islands off the coast. The plans for thirty-two men to stay and start a colony were changed at the last minute and they all returned to England.<sup>2</sup>

On his next trip Gosnold was unable to carry out his plan to return to Cape Cod. Instead he sailed on to Virginia. There he was an important force in the building of the permanent settlement of 1607, but he died before he could see the completion of his work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Sidney Lee, "The Call of the West: American And Elizabethan England," Scribner's Magazine (Sept., 1907), Vol XLII, No 3, p. 313.

<sup>3</sup>Lee, pp. 320-1.

At the time of Queen Elizabeth's death, Englishmen had attempted settlements over the previous twenty-five years in five different regions of America-- Labrador, Newfoundland, North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Venezuela. But nothing had developed fully. No English colonist had as yet set up and occupied a home in any part of America for any length of time. The maritime voyages of Queen Elizabeth's reign had done little to establish the hope of colonization. Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish were names that were feared by the Spanish navy, but they did not diminish by conquest the area of Spanish control in America. And no new land had been discovered that might be open to English colonists and free from Spanish intervention. At this point it was only in the Arctic regions that Elizabethan explorers had made discoveries that were theirs alone.

In the last years of Elizabeth's reign, death was still taking a high toll of English explorers. Cavendish had perished in the South Atlantic. Drake had died off the coast of Panama. The spirits of England's colonial aspirants dropped very low at the time of the Queen's death. But unseen forces, coming mostly from the writings of Hakluyt and others, were rising to the surface. In the first year of James I's reign, the idea of colonization entered a new phase and determined efforts to form permanent settlements in America were to bear fruit before the end of his reign. There was now

renewed activity in exploration and settlement.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest Jacobean venture was made by Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, son of Sir Humphrey. In 1603 he went on a trading expedition to the West Indies and, still hoping to find some trace of the lost Virginia colony, went on to the Virginia coast. He landed off Chesapeake Bay, well to the north of the old Virginian settlement. Here he and four of his companions were fatally wounded by a tribe of hostile natives.<sup>5</sup>

In the same year Martin Pring, backed by Bristol merchants and by Richard Hakluyt, was able to obtain an accurate picture of the Massachusetts coastline and established friendly trade with the Massachusetts Indians. George Weymouth explored the Cape Cod Highlands, Monhegan, and the Georges Islands, and St. Georges River in 1605. One of the chief supporters of these three enterprises was the Earl of Southampton. Weymouth's recorder, James Rosier, brought back details of the natural and human resources of the Maine coast. These last voyages were important because they showed that the ocean could be crossed rather safely with reasonable accuracy well to the south of the route usually followed by the Newfoundland fishing fleets and that there was a fertile and forested land with a climate not too different from that of England.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Lee, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup>Lee, p. 328.

<sup>6</sup>Quinn, p. 16.



**Fig. 60. Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton. From E. G. Swem, The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets.**

Back in England Weymouth's reports on the fertility of the land which Gosnold and Pring had first reached and that he had now rediscovered, brought forth renewed enthusiasm in James I's subjects for colonization.

Even though the war with Spain was over in 1604, Spain still asserted her ancient papal claim to North and South America. When a new attempt by James's subjects was made on Virginia, protests from Madrid were louder and more furious than ever before. But Englishmen pressed onward to England's destiny.<sup>7</sup>

It was the London merchants who made possible continued attempts at colonization. They made repeated investments hoping the men who settled in America would experiment with timber products, try out iron- and glass-making, and develop potash manufacturing. They hoped the colonists would trade with the Indians for furs and whatever else they might have, and that they might establish a fishery. Further exploration of the country was also a goal.<sup>8</sup>

But there was another aspect. Religious and social problems actually supplied the main impetus for Englishmen to establish permanent American colonies. While James I was getting settled on his throne there were acute religious and economic crises developing

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<sup>7</sup>Lee, p. 323.

<sup>8</sup>Quinn, p. 19.

and many Englishmen were looking seriously to America for solutions.

Since the Reformation of Henry VIII, Protestantism had been the dominant power in England; Catholics were a persecuted minority. Queen Elizabeth's most cherished dream had been the coercive enforcement of a uniformity of religion. But in the last part of the sixteenth century there arose a new division. There was internal warfare among the Protestants and, as a result, the government now, in addition to persecuting Catholics, was also pursuing the Puritans. Persecution of Puritans had started in 1565 under the influence of Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it had been pursued systematically and persistently throughout the years.<sup>9</sup>

The ecclesiastical governors of England decided that banishment of nonconformists was a better means of promoting religious unity than penal legislation and the Law of Banishment was passed in 1593.<sup>10</sup> As a result, through the closing years of the sixteenth century and the opening of the seventeenth century, the Puritans were forced to consider emigration to a country where they could follow their religious practices in peace.

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<sup>9</sup>Douglas Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England, and America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1892) 2 vols., 1:486.

<sup>10</sup>Campbell, 2:198.

But since the Puritans still held great pride and love for their English heritage, their first refuge in Holland was not satisfactory. They then looked toward America. A settlement where the English flag could fly over their own religious institutions was the ideal they dreamed of.

The conception of America as an asylum from religious persecution helped to invest the American aspirations of Jacobean England with an irresistible force. The English Catholics, even though they were encouraged by the Pope and the Catholic kings of Spain and France to settle in their countries, also were reluctant to surrender their English heritage and they too thought of America as a land where the English language and English modes of life might continue alongside religious freedom. The Catholic and Puritan quest for religious freedom in an English way of life gave colonial enterprise its strongest push forward.<sup>11</sup>

Another force at work was the pressure of economic problems during the first years of James I's reign. Unemployment spread like a plague throughout England. There were threats of rebellion in the Midland countries and the growth of population was out of proportion with the means of survival. The notion that the unemployed might be able to build new lives for themselves in

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<sup>11</sup>Lee, pp. 324-6.

America became another driving power. As these forces grew, interest in colonial enterprise grew. Men of influence in all walks of life were discussing colonial schemes. Statesmen, courtiers, judges, clergymen, merchants, gentlemen of all ranks were offering contributions to the expenses of exploring expeditions. Such endeavors were now considered justifiable and practicable. Now at last the question arose as to whether such enterprises should be controlled by the State.<sup>12</sup>

In the third year of James I's reign the Northern region of America was the chief attraction for many colonial thoughts. The reports of Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth were responsible for this state of thinking, but the South still held the imagination of other colonial aspirants. The desires of American colonization now needed a unifying, centralizing motivation. The scattered colonial endeavors of Jacobean England took on a concrete shape when James I suddenly declared that he was the sole owner of the territory called Virginia, whether in northern or southern latitudes. In 1606, by royal intervention, the successful future of Jamestown and New England was assured. The turning point in colonial endeavor came with this proclamation of national responsibility.

On 10 April 1606, James I proclaimed that the

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<sup>12</sup>Lee, p. 327.

King of England had annexed a tract of territory six hundred and sixty miles long and one hundred miles broad, stretching along the American coast, and all adjacent islands, between the latitudes of 34 and 45 degrees. This territory was declared to be an English province under the perpetual rule of the English monarch. A central body, vested with supreme authority over all American affairs, was instituted in London. This was the King's Council of Virginia.

Under the Council's auspices, two joint stock companies were formed, one in London and one in Plymouth. Each was to plant at its own expense a separate colony in America. The London Company was to plant its colony in the southern region of Virginia, the Plymouth Company in the northern region, and a one-hundred-mile border was to separate the two colonies.<sup>13</sup>

Under the auspices of the Virginia Company of London, on 20 December 1606, three vessels set sail from England with the first group of colonists for Virginia. Arriving in America, they built a fort at Jamestown with great hopes for success.<sup>14</sup> The settlers had been reluctant to establish themselves on the old site which was associated with so much suffering and disaster of the last venture. They chose to lay their foundations on the mainland many miles north of the Roanoke Islands.

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<sup>13</sup> Lee, p. 394.

<sup>14</sup> Culliford, p. 99

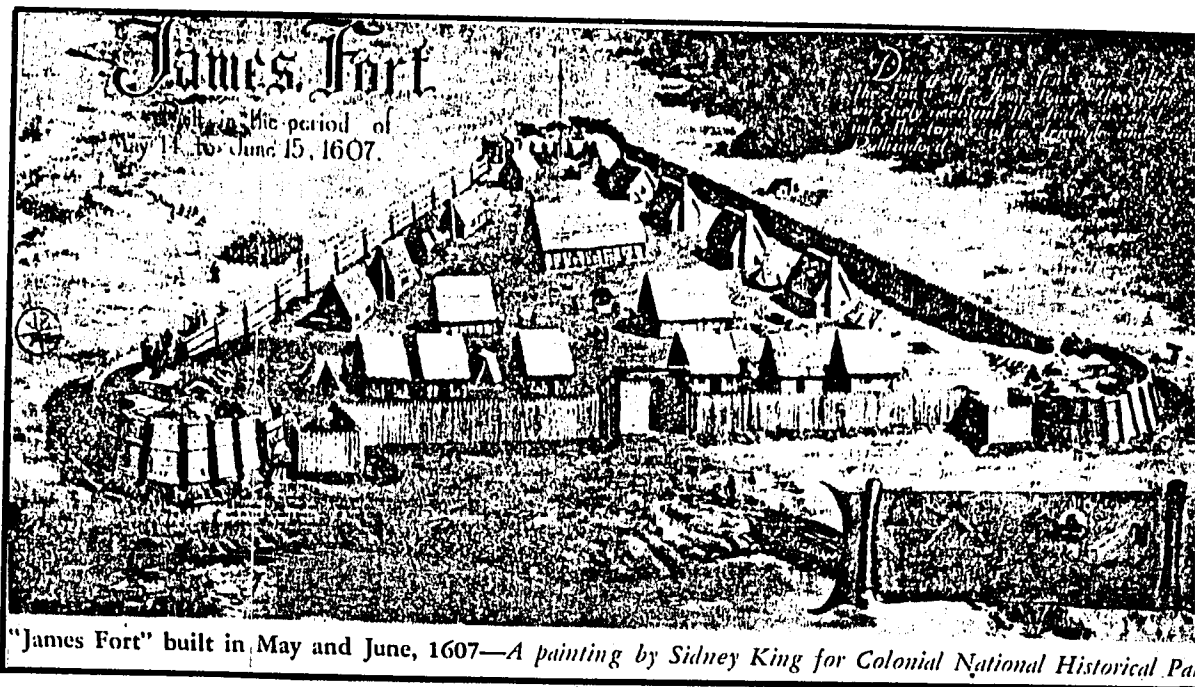


Fig. 61. From Swem's The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets.

One of the hardest working settlers was Captain John Smith under whose inspiring leadership the Virginia colony passed through the early difficulties of its formation into a future of hopeful possibilities.

Now the tempo increased. Captain Newport was back in England for reinforcements in July 1607; out again in October; additional reinforcements reached Jamestown by January 1608; a third group by August; and a fourth by April 1609. Each time more men and supplies arrived. In late 1608 there were also a few women. The increased momentum, the continuity, the greater scale of the first two years of Jamestown was a new phase in English North American settlement. The chief reason for this change of pace was that English capital, that of the London merchants, had at last been tapped for American colonization. This venture attracted enough capital from the gentry outside the city to provide resources sufficient for continuous colonization.<sup>15</sup> Another important factor was that during these years, though there was no royal financing of the voyages, there was outright state encouragement: an important major breakthrough.

At the end of May 1609 the Virginia Company of London organized another voyage under its second charter. This expedition was the largest yet to sail to the colony

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<sup>15</sup>Quinn, p. 20.

on the James River in the New World. A fleet of seven ships and two pinnaces, under the admiralship of Sir George Somers, left Plymouth harbor on 2 June with Captain Christopher Newport commanding the admiral's vessel, the Sea Venture.<sup>16</sup> Various estimates, ranging from 500 to 800, are given of the number of colonists with this fleet,<sup>17</sup> but even if the lower figure is correct, this was the most ambitious project yet entertained by the Virginia Company and all of England was excited about the expedition. On board the flagship was Sir Thomas Gates who was going out to be governor of the colony as deputy for Lord De La Warr. Also on board was William Strachey who later, after the drowning of Matthew Scrivener, secretary of the colony, was named the succeeding secretary. Instead of the usual route by the West Indies, the fleet sailed directly to Virginia and Somers

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<sup>16</sup>The name of the vessel is given in contemporary documents as both the "Sea Venture" and the "Sea Adventure." See A Voyage to Virginia, Intro. ix.

<sup>17</sup>The following give the number as five hundred: Frank M. Bristol, Shakespeare and America (Chicago: Wm. C. Hollister Bros., 1898), p. 63; Edward D. Neill, History of the Virginia Company of London (Albany: J. Munsell, 1869), p. 30; Charles E. Hatch, Jr., The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624 (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1957), p. 15. Six hundred is given by Louid B. Wright, ed. Voyage to Virginia in 1609, Two Narratives (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1964), Introduction, p. lx. Eight hundred is given by Charles M. Andres, The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934-38), 1:108.

designated the Bermudas as a meeting place in case of separation.<sup>18</sup> The voyage was uneventful until the fleet of nine vessels was within seven days' sailing time of the Virginia coast. Suddenly on the night of July 23, heavy clouds gathered, signaling that a storm of unusual intensity was on its way. In the morning a hurricane swept down from the northeast, "which swelling and roaring as it were by fits, some hours with more violence than others, at length did beat all light from Heaven; which, like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us."<sup>19</sup>

Most of the vessels managed to stay in one piece and on August 11 the first contingent of the fleet that had sailed from Plymouth moved lamely up the James River. First came the Blessing and three other vessels of the original flotilla--the Lion, the Falcon, and the Unity--; then followed the Diamond with her mainmast missing; and two or three days later the Swallow appeared in the same condition.<sup>20</sup> There was no sign of the Sea Venture. The arrival of this small group marked the first step in the transformation of Virginia from an experimental outpost into a permanent colony.

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<sup>18</sup>Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, eds. The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612), by William Strachey (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), Introduction, pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>19</sup>William Strachey, A True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight. In Voyage to Virginia, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>Neill, p. 31.

Arriving in Jamestown, these two or three hundred men, women, and children, with no provisions of their own, found fearful conditions existing among the small group of starving settlers they found there. The first report of the disastrous storm and of the miserable conditions in the colony to arrive in London was a letter written by Captain Gabriel Archer to the council at home. Dated 31 August 1609, and received in late October, it reported on the "contentions, factions, and partakings" in the small settlement due to Gates not yet having arrived.<sup>21</sup> The Sea Venture was still missing.

In relating what had happened at sea, Archer wrote that

. . . upon St. James Day (June 24), being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West Indies, in crossing the Gulfe of Bahoma, there happened a most terrible and vehement storme, which was the taile of the West Indian Horacana; this tempest separated all our Fleet one from another, and it was so violent that men could scarce stand upon the Deckes, neither could any man heare an other speake; being thus divided, every man steered his owne course . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Slowly through the rest of the year vessel after vessel returned to England, bringing news of the loss of the Sea Venture and depressing reports of hunger and discouragement in the settlement on the James River.<sup>23</sup> Since more than five hundred persons had gone out from English

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<sup>21</sup>Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and co., 1890), 1:327-32.

<sup>22</sup>Purchas, 19:2.

<sup>23</sup>Brown, 1:332-3.

homes to Virginia with this fleet, the news of the disaster was the sensation of the day. Friends and relatives of the colonists talked of nothing else. The Earl of Southampton and Raleigh were among the promoters of the colonization of Virginia, as were many members of the leading families of England. The Virginia Company of London represented more than just the commercial interests of its London investors; its membership included many gentlemen of importance. Some, of course, were seeking financial gains; but other subscribers had supported the enterprise because of a sense of public responsibility. The Virginia adventure was a public undertaking, the purpose of which was to advance the fortunes of England no less than the fortunes of the adventurers and of the investors.<sup>24</sup>

What was still unknown to the rest of the fleet and to the people in London was the fate of the Sea Venture. After battling the winds and waves for four days and nights, with good fortune and good seamanship, the flagship, with her seams open and her rigging gone, had at last been driven upon the shore of an island, which to the horror of the superstitious sailors turned out to be one of the Bermudas, already ill-famed as the "Isle of Devils." Miraculously the ship came to rest between two

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<sup>24</sup>Wesley Frank Craven, The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624. Jamestown Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Booklets ed. Earl Gregg Swem (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1957), No. 5, p. 3.

rocks off St. George's Island and the sea subsided. Manning their boats, the whole company came ashore safely. Luckily they were able to salvage some food that had not been spoiled by sea water and they were able to bring ashore their tools and equipment.<sup>25</sup>

In the gentle climate of the Bermudas the shipwrecked party managed quite well. In the ensuing eleven months they lived on fish, crabs, turtles, birds, eggs, hogs, and palmetto cabbage. They even planted gardens. Under the leadership of Somers and Gates the small group fared well despite some minor rumblings of discontent and unrest and several threats of mutiny. They also accomplished the remarkable feat of building two ships, the larger of eighty tons, the other of thirty tons, from the timbers of the Sea Venture and from the cedarwood they found on the island. The two ships, aptly named the Deliverance and the Patience, set forth with all on board on 10 May 1610. After thirteen days the one hundred and fifty men and women landed at Jamestown carrying supplies of salted port, birds, and fish.<sup>26</sup> They were pleased to learn that all the other vessels of the fleet except one pinnace had been able to find their way to the port. But what they found in the colony was a sad spectacle of a few famished settlers. The colony was on its last legs.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Bristol, p. 63.      <sup>26</sup>Neill, p. 34.

<sup>27</sup>Voyage to Virginia, p. xv.

Only about sixty of the original group of several hundred colonists were there. Many had died of disease and malnutrition during what was called the "starving time" of the past winter.<sup>28</sup> Some had gone to live with the Indians while they were still friendly, and eighty had formed a new settlement twenty miles from the fort.<sup>29</sup>

After distributing what provisions he had, Gates accepted the resignation of George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been serving as governor, and assumed control. He tried to bring order to the colony and to find some means to live by. Emphasizing the change from royal to company control, according to the terms of the new charter,<sup>30</sup> he introduced a code of martial laws, a code that was strengthened later by De La Warr and made famous by its strict enforcement during the governorship of Sir Thomas Dale.<sup>31</sup> But the shortage of food and the scarcity of strong, able men, were discouraging factors. Gates took counsel with the leaders and they decided to abandon the colony. With two pinnaces and the two vessels they had built in Bermuda, the small group started out, hoping to reach Newfoundland, where they might obtain passage home in the fishing fleet.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>William Wright Abbot, A Virginia Chronology 1585-1783. The Three Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Booklets (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1957), No. 2, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup>Neill, p. 31.

<sup>30</sup>Abbot, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup>Hatch, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup>Voyage to Virginia, p. xv.

The next morning as they neared Mulberry Island they met a long-boat from the fleet of Lord De La Warr, who was following on the Virginia with two other ships and reinforcements, provisions, and equipment.<sup>33</sup> The bad news that had reached England by the returning ships late in 1609 had caused considerable stir in the circles of the Virginia Company and had resulted in De La Warr's leaving for Virginia with one hundred and fifty settlers and generous supplies.<sup>34</sup> Gates and his group returned to Jamestown. The saving of the settlement was considered an act of Providence. There was now new life and new hope in the settlement and Virginia now had a government that made for stability. From this time onward the Virginia enterprise moved steadily forward.

On 15 July 1610, Gates set out for England to bring back a fresh stock of cattle. When he arrived in September the reports he brought with him aroused and excited all England. Among his possessions he carried with him a letter from William Strachey addressed to an "Excellent Lady." This letter contained a very detailed and realistic account of the disastrous events that the fleet of nine vessels had encountered and of the devastating conditions that the survivors had found in Jamestown.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. xv.

<sup>34</sup>Hatch, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup>Strachey, p. xxi.

Because of the great interest at the time in the Virginia Company's enterprise, and because of the excitement aroused by the reports of the shipwreck of the latest expedition, Strachey's letter was feverishly passed about among the company's members and their friends. But Strachey's description of the balkiness of some of the group and of the attempted mutinies that almost ruined their chances to escape from the Bermudas was not a tale the Virginia Company of London wanted published.<sup>36</sup> At the moment, the company was doing its best to stifle all unfavorable reports of the expedition. A campaign of propaganda was being carried on to convince investors that the Virginia enterprise was still a potentially profitable undertaking.<sup>37</sup> Such lines as "Unto such calamity can sloath, riot, and vanity bring the most settled and plentiful estate."<sup>38</sup> were in direct opposition to the promotional tracts being published by the Virginia Company. Strachey's realistic description of the suffering encountered in the colony was not considered suitable for the general public to read. It had to wait fifteen years until it was put into print in 1625 by Samuel

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<sup>36</sup>Voyage to Virginia, p. xiv.

<sup>37</sup>Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire: the Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), pp. 84-114.

<sup>38</sup>Voyage to Virginia, p. 66.

Purchas with the title A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of Bermudas: his coming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord De La Warre, July 15, 1610. written by William Strachey, Esquire.

Though Strachey's letter was not printed until 1625, other accounts did appear. The first by Sylvester Jourdain, one of the survivors, was published in October 1610 and was titled Discovery of the Banmudas. Shortly after appeared the Company's authorized pamphlet, A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise.

The events of 1609 have a definite bearing on the interpretation of Shakespeare's The Tempest. There is, as I have said, wide agreement among the commentators and critics that this play definitely reflects Shakespeare's interest in America. Beyond this agreement, however, the literature on the conflicting opinions dealing with what the specific influences were on Shakespeare's imagination and on the assumptions as to where the exact location of Prospero's island was, would fill a respectable library.

The early editors of Shakespeare's plays--Theobald, Warburton, Johnson, Capell, Farmer and Steevens--used the accounts of the voyages of discovery to explain

certain general allusions in the play, but none of them suggested in their writings that the play was based on any one report or was influenced by an one incident directly.<sup>39</sup>

Edmond Malone was one of the first to suggest the relation of The Tempest to contemporary interest in American discovery and settlement in his "Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Play," published in 1790. He surmised that the play may have been based on "some particular and late misfortune at sea." In 1808, in a pamphlet titled "An Account of The Incidents from which The Title and Part of The Story of Shakespeare's Tempest were derived; and its True date Ascertained," he confirmed this opinion. He wrote that Shakespeare, when he created The Tempest, had in view the particular circumstances of the storm by which Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates were shipwrecked on the island of Bermuda in July 1609 on their passage with a large supply of provisions and men for the infant colony in Virginia. In this dreadful hurricane the Admiral-ship "having those two commanders on board, was separated from the rest of the fleet, and wrecked on the Island of Bermuda."<sup>40</sup> This disaster, said Malone, suggested to Shakespeare the title as well as the incidents of that admirable comedy. He

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<sup>39</sup>Furness, The Tempest, p. 308.

<sup>40</sup>Edmond Malone, An Account of the incidents from which the title and part of the story of Shakespeare's Tempest were derived; and its true date ascertained (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1808), pp. 1-2.

added that Shakespeare's particular attention must have been drawn to the colonial projects that took place at the time because Lord Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, had early shown a strong disposition to encourage voyages of discovery. In 1605, Southampton and his brother, Lord Arundel of Wardour, had fitted out a ship under the command of Captain George Weymouth, with the hope of making discoveries on the coast of Virginia. In 1608, Lord Southampton and some of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, sent Captain Harlow to Cape Cod. Southampton also had a strong interest in the new charter of 1609 leading to the expedition of Somers and Gates. Malone concluded that Shakespeare "when he wrote The Tempest, had in view the particular disaster of which so ample an account has been given."<sup>41</sup> He names fourteen publications dating from 1602 to 1612 which deal with Virginia and the Bermudas. Boswell reprinted thirteen of these and stated that he believed the list to be far from complete. The list in Boswell is as follows:

1. A briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia, being a most pleasant, fruitfull, and commodious, soile, made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen their associates, by the permission of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, & c. written by Mr. John Brereton, one of the voyage. 4to. 1602.

2. A prosperous Voyage on the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia. By Captain George Weymouth. 4to. 1605.

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<sup>41</sup>An Account, p. 3.

3. Nova Britannia, offering most excellent Fruites by planting in Virginia. 4to. 1609.--This tract was entered in the Stationers' Register, Feb. 17, 1608-9.

4. A good Speed to Virginia. By Robert Gray. Entered in the Stationers' Register, May 3, 1609.

5. A Sermon preached in London before the Right Hon. Lord Delaware, Lord Gov'nor and Captayn Gen'rall of Virginia, and others of his Ma'ties Councell for that Kingdome, 21st of Feb. last, entitled, A Newe Year's Gifte to Virginia. Entered in the Stationers' Register, March 29, 1609-10.

6. Newes from Bermudas. This tract, which I have never seen, appears to have been that set forth by Thomas Gates, and was probably published in September or October 1610. My knowledge of the title is obtained from a manuscript marginal note in an old hand, in one of the pamphlets relative to Virginia, in the collection of my friend, Mr. Bindley.

7. Virginia News:--published before Oct. 1st, 1610, as appears by an assignment of that date, in the Stationers' Register. I am not sure that this and the next are not the same pamphlet.

8. A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the isle of Divells, &c. by Sil. Jourdan, 4to. 1610. Republished with additions, in 1613.

9. A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise. Published by advise and direction of the Council of Virginia, 4to. 1610. Entered in the Stationers' Register, Nov. 8, 1610.

10. The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-la-Ware, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the colonie planted in Virginea, 4to. 1612. Entered in the Stationers' Register, by W. Welby, 1611, under the following title:

The Relac'on of the Right Hon'ble the Lord Delaware, Lord Gove'nour of the Colony planted in Virginia, made to the LL. and others of the Counsell of Virginia, touchinge his unexpected returne home, &c. and afterwards deliverd in the gen'rall assembly of the sayd Councell at a Courte holden the 25th of June, 1611; published by order of the sayd Councell.

11. A Ballad, called The Last News From Virginia,

being an Encouragement to all others to follow that noble Enterprise, &c. Entered in the Stationers' Register by John Wright, August 16, 1611.

12. The New Life of Virginea, declaring the former Success and present Estate of that Plantation.

13. The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia, from 1606 to the present Year 1612.<sup>42</sup>

In his discussion on the relation of The Tempest to these accounts, Malone first makes the details of the famous wreck clear, by quoting from Stith's "History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia." Then he quotes from the "True Declaration" issued by the Council, 1609-10, and from Jourdain's pamphlet, 1610, pointing out similarities between these quotations and details in the play. Although Malone's work has since been proved not wholly accurate, his conclusions have been generally accepted and repeated by many writers since the publication of his work.

In 1799, George Chalmers went one step further than Malone and placed the action of The Tempest actually on the Bermudas. He referred to Stephano as king of Bermuda and said:

Knowing the common opinion, that the Bermudean isles were enchanted, and governed by spirits, our maker showed great judgment, in causing, by enchantment, the King's ship to be wrecked on the still-vex'd

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<sup>42</sup>Edmond Malone, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators (London: C. Baldwin, 1821), 20 vols. 15:389-90.

Bermoothes.<sup>43</sup>

He also referred to the shipwreck of Somers and the government of spirits on the island. Chalmers said that Shakespeare drew his ideas for The Tempest from Raleigh's account of Guiana (1596), May's description of the Bermudas (1594), and Jourdain's "A Plain description of the Bermudas now called Sommer islands" (1613). He believed the play was one which "has so many references to the new-found, and new-settled world,"<sup>44</sup> and added:

The measures, which were pursued in 1612 for extending colonization in the new-world, upon a policy of disputable principle, were plainly ridiculed by Shakespeare.<sup>45</sup>

The main point that Chalmers and Malone tried to establish was that the title of the play and the circumstances of the storm in the first scene, were suggested by the dreadful hurricane that dispersed the fleet of Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates in July 1609, and that the account of the hurricane which was published in the succeeding year by Jourdain supplied Shakespeare with the particular incidents of the storm which he delineated.

As to agreement among the writers, Furness says:

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<sup>43</sup>George Chalmers, A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in Shakspeare-Papers. Being a Reply to Mr. Malone's Answer (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971), Eighteenth Century Shakespeare No. 26, p. 441.

<sup>44</sup>George Chalmers, An Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk Street (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1971), Eighteenth Century Shakespeare No. 25, p. 576.

<sup>45</sup>Supplemental Apology, p. 440.

To both Halliwell and Hunter the parallelisms which were to Malone so remarkable and so convincing in Jourdan's pamphlet, were either commonplace or non-existent. To Dr. Garnett, on the other hand, 'it seems marvellous that any one should disagree with Malone'.<sup>46</sup>

In 1807, Francis Douce, whose remarks were still unknown to Malone while he was writing his 1808 pamphlet, had written;

The important particulars of his [Sommers] shipwreck, from which it is exceedingly probable that the outline of a considerable part of this play was borrowed, has been unaccountably overlooked.<sup>47</sup>

Douce gave as possible references Jourdain, Strachey, and Stowe's Annals.

Malone's opinion in regard to Somer's shipwreck as the source of several incidents in The Tempest has been repeated through the years. I propose to present here opinions of some of those who have written since Malone on the possible sources of influence on The Tempest and on the location of Prospero's island. Then, as a jury of one, I will state my own conclusions. The reader, of course, will draw his conclusions in accordance with the way in which he sees the evidence.

Thomas Moore, the poet, in a footnote to his "Epistle to the Marchioness Dowager of D--LL." from Bermuda, January, 1804, wrote, "Among the many charms which Bermuda has for a poetic-eye, we cannot for an instant for-

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<sup>46</sup>Furness, 9:313.

<sup>47</sup>Francis Douce, Illustrations of Shakspeare, And of Ancient Manners (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807), p. 8.

get that it is the scene of Shakespeare's Tempest, and that here he conjured up the 'delicate Ariel' who alone is worth the whole heaven of ancient mythology."<sup>48</sup>

Anna Brownell Jameson, in 1889, wrote:

The Bermuda Isles, in which Shakespeare has placed the scene of the tempest, were discovered in his time. Sir George Somers and his companions having been wrecked there in a terrible storm, brought back a most fearful account of those unknown islands, which they described as "a land of devils--a most prodigious and enchanted place, subject to continual tempests and supernatural visitings."<sup>49</sup>

In 1839, another location was nominated as the model for Prospero's island by Joseph Hunter. He believed the action of the play takes place on the island of Lampedusa which lies in the Mediterranean Sea, midway between Malta and the African coast.

Sailors from Algiers land Sycorax on its shores. Prospero sailing from an Italian port, and beating about at the mercy of the waves, is found at last with his lovely charge at Lampedusa. Alonzo, sailing from Tunis, and steering his course for Naples, is driven by a storm a little out of his track, and lights on Lampedusa.<sup>50</sup>

Lampedusa is in circuit thirteen and a half miles; it is located in a stormy sea; and there are narratives which tell of ships in storms driven upon its rocks and lost. In this area there is often seen the beautiful

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<sup>48</sup>Thomas Moore, The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (Philadelphia: Crissy, 1835), p. 106.

<sup>49</sup>Anna Brownell Jameson, Shakespeare's Heroines (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1898), p. 178.

<sup>50</sup>Joseph Hunter, A Disquisition on the Scene, Origin, Date, etc. of Shakespeare's Tempest (London: C. Whittingham, 1839), p. 19.

phenomenon called by sailors the *Querpo Santo*, or the Fires of Saint Helmo, called by some commentators the fires of Ariel. Lampedusa in the time of Shakespeare was a deserted island and was often called The Enchanted Island among the mariners of the African coast. Hunter continued; after giving further grounds for his belief:

With these attributes of Lampedusa before us, there is no occasion to go out into the Atlantic for any archtype of the island of Prospero.<sup>51</sup>

He proceeded to present points of resemblance between the geographical and real island, and the island of the Poet, which seemed to him too peculiar and too critical to be accounted for on any principle which excludes the Poet's acquaintance with the actual island. The island has "troglodytic caves" on it, hollowed out rocks. One of these, found by Captain W. H. Smyth, was where the Hermit of Lampedusa lived and in there was a chapel and a mosque ready for seamen of either faith.<sup>52</sup>

Caliban collects firewood; Ferdinand is engaged in piling up thousands of logs of wood; and the real island of Lampedusa supplies the island of Malta with firewood. Lampedusa, says Hunter, "is in fact the scene where all the incidents of the play take place, and was intended to be so regarded by the Poet."<sup>53</sup>

Theodor Elze followed Hunter in placing Prospero on a real island in the Mediterranean, but he chose the

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 28.      <sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

island of Pantelaria, instead of Lampedusa. The way he saw the situation, Prospero must have been taken to the nearest seaport to Milan when he was expelled, which is Genoa. Then he probably drifted southwards in the direction of some island off the African coast. When Alonzo sailed from Tunis to Naples he must have steered north-north-east.

Now the point where these two courses intersect will be found to be pretty near a group of islands, and, supposing that shortly after leaving Tunis Alonzo's fleet was struck by a westerly storm and driven farther to the east, we shall see that he must have been wrecked on the island Pantalaria.<sup>54</sup>

Elze says Hunter's Lampedusa is too far to the east to permit the assumption that when Sycorax was banished from Argier she was carried past the nearer island to the farther one. Just as Hunter found that Lampedusa answered to every need of the drama, so Elze finds Pantalaria equally responsive with its fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile; and if Lampedusa has the advantage in its being deserted, Pantalaria surpasses it in that the name of the town, 'Seiaxghibir,' suggests the name of Sycorax. Further more, on the opposite coast of Africa, between Tunis and Hammamet, stands the town of Calibia, known as such from the days of Diego Ribeyro's chart in 1529.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Furness, 9:3.

<sup>55</sup>Theodor Elze, "Italienische Skizzen du Shakespeare" Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft (Germany, 1880; Kraus Reprint Ltd., Vaduz, 1963) pp.230-265.

Whence we have the simplest and most natural explanation of the name of Caliban, that is, an inhabitant of Calibia, instead of the far-fetched and metathesis of Cannibal. . . . And when all this lay so near to the scene of his drama why should Shakespeare, who, forsooth, connected Tunis with Carthage and Widow Dido, have to devise, out of an American word, a name that all the while lay ready to his hand?<sup>56</sup>

As for Lampedusa and Pantalaria, though much ingenuity was used to explain the authors' convictions, there is not the slightest real evidence presented by either author that Shakespeare might have heard of either island or that either island had attracted any public attention in the Elizabethan period, or that any of the chroniclers had written about them.

There is still another candidate. In 1859, William Bell said:

It could only have been Corcyra which was intended. He gives no reasons for his opinion.<sup>57</sup> Corcyra is the ancient name of Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands off the northwest coast of Greece.

Another suggestion was made by Edward Everett Hale--the island Cuttyhunk, which lies off the southern coast of Massachusetts, one of the chain of islands at the mouth of Buzzards Bay. The group which includes Cuttyhunk is called Elizabeth and there is a town on

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<sup>56</sup>Elze, translated by Furness, 9:3.

<sup>57</sup>William Bell, Shakespeare's Puck and his folklore (London, 1852-64; reprint New York: AMS Press Inc, 1971), 3:vols., 2:308.

Cuttyhunk called Gosnold, in honor of the adventurer who came to the coast of New England with his crew in May 1602. There were three accounts written about Gosnold's voyage, two of which were published in 1602: a letter from Gosnold to his father, an account of the voyage by Gabriel Archer, and a "Brief and True relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia" by John Brereton.<sup>58</sup> Hale reminds us that the chief financial backer of the expedition was the Earl of Southampton. He wrote:

Any person who gave the account of the Gosnold voyage in brief would say that, "here was a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water where the ship could supply itself." He would describe the arrival of the small vessel in one of those coves from which two parties of men go out, one of whom contracted a jealousy for the other,-- the "Gentlemen Adventurers" and the seamen. What the "Gentlemen Adventurers," who write our accounts, say of the seamen is greatly to their discredit. These parties go to work separately, and the gentlemen cut sassafras logs for the return cargo. They are lost out at night in a storm. They are obliged to feed on the products of the island, which prove to be mussels from the streams, pig-nuts dug from the ground and scamels or sea-mews from the rocks. In their description of the island they speak of it as a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water.

Now when you turn to Shakespeare, you find that the vessel arrives at one of the coves of an island after the tempest, from which two parties straggle off into the island, which is small and heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water. One of these parties is kept out in the woods in a storm of thunder and lightning, and the food of the island appears in what Caliban says to the sailors when he is trying to persuade them to give him more liquor.

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<sup>58</sup>All these may be found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VIII, third series, pp. 70-94.

"I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries."

"With my long nails I'll dig thee pig-nuts, show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how to snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee to clustering filberts; I'll get thee young seamews from the rock."<sup>59</sup>

Hale gives a series of parallels between the reports of Gosnold and passages from The Tempest. He believes "that the local coloring of The Tempest is in part derived from the narratives of Gosnold's adventurers.<sup>60</sup> In rejecting Bermuda as the model for the locale of the play, Hale says:

. . . there is no allusion to an orange, a banana, a yam or a potato, a feather cloak or a palm tree, or a pineapple, or a monkey, or a parrot, or anything else which refers to the Gulf of Mexico, or to the tropics. Does not this seem as if he meant that the local color of "The Tempest" should be that which was suggested by the gentlemen adventurers and the seamen who were talking of Cuttyhunk, its climate and its production, as they told travellers' stories up and down in London."<sup>61</sup>

Henry Cabot Lodge, in commenting on Hale's theory, wrote that Shakespeare evidently did have the New World in mind and was probably using the narratives of the adventurers for material and that the similarities between the attributes of the island of Prospero and those mentioned by Gosnold, with whom Shakespeare had a peculiar tie, were too marked to be overlooked. He continued that while Shakespeare found his material for the storm, the

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<sup>59</sup>Edward Everett Hale, Prospero's Island (New York: Columbia University Dramatic Museum, 1919), Series 4, no. 3, p. 99.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 100.      <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

wreck, and the St. Elmo's fire in Strachey and Jourdain, he took from Brereton and Gosnold, friends of his patron Southampton, suggestions for the island itself which he might have thought better suited to the scene that he had in mind.<sup>62</sup>

Of course, as most students of Shakespeare criticism know, the majority of the critics to date have opted for the shipwreck of Somers and Gates as the main influence on The Tempest. Here is a sampling:

1898, Rudyard Kipling:

May I cite Malone's suggestion connecting the play with the casting away of Sir George Somers on the island of Bermuda in 1609.<sup>63</sup>

1911, Sidney Lee:

The references to the gentle climate of the island on which Prospero is cast away, and to the spirits and devils that infested it, render unquestionable its identification with the newly discovered Bermudas. There is in fact no reasonable ground for disputing that the catastrophe from which the plot of the play issues was suggested by the casting away, in a terrific storm, on the rocky coast of Bermuda, of a ship bound for the new settlement of Jamestown. Prospero's uninhabited island reflects most of the features which the shipwrecked sailors on this Virginia voyage assigned to their involuntary asylum in the Atlantic, where they seemed to be face to face with nature's elementary forces in energetic activity. Such a scene easily stirred in the dramatist's fertile imagination the further ambition to portray aboriginal man in his own home, and to define his form and faculty.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>63</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "To the Editor of the 'Spectator'," Spectator (July 2, 1898), pp. 15-16.

<sup>64</sup>Sidney Lee, "Introduction," The Tempest a Comedy (Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1910), p. xiii.

1921, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch:

Further, we can easily allow the play to contain many passages suggested by the mis-adventure of the Virginian voyage of 1609.<sup>65</sup>

1930, Edmund Kerchever Chambers:

That it [The Tempest] cannot have been written much earlier than 1611 is clear from the use [Shakespeare] made of the narratives describing the wreck of Sir George Somers at the Bermudas during a voyage to Virginia on 25 July 1609.<sup>66</sup>

1936, George Lyman Kittredge:

. . . that Shakespeare owes something to the narratives of Somer's adventures is certain.<sup>67</sup>

1937, Leslie Hotson:

. . . it is clear that Shakespeare not only read it [Strachey's letter] in 1610, but used phrases and ideas from it in composing The Tempest.<sup>68</sup>

1938, Robert Ralston Cawley:

One of their ships ran aground on the Bermudas and stranded its unlucky passengers there until the next year, an incident which Shakespeare

<sup>65</sup>Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, ed. with John Dover Wilson, The Tempest (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p. xlviii.

<sup>66</sup>Edmund Kerchever Chambers, William Shakespeare; A Study of Facts and Problems, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 1:149.

<sup>67</sup>George Lyman Kittredge, ed. The Complete Works of Shakespeare (New York: Ginn & Co., 1939), p. 3.

<sup>68</sup>Leslie Hotson: I, William Shakespeare, do appoint Thomas Russell (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 224.

unquestionably utilized in The Tempest.<sup>69</sup>

1961, Louis B. Wright:

Shakespeare's imagination, we know, was stimulated by stories of the wreck of the Gates and Somers expedition on Bermuda.<sup>70</sup>

1962, E. P. Kuhl:

It was the account of Gates's fellow colonizer William Strachey that Shakespeare drew upon.<sup>71</sup>

Though many authors agree on the influence of the 1609 disaster on the writing of The Tempest, on the subject of which particular report influenced Shakespeare's imagination most, there is of course disagreement. This disagreement tends to diffuse the "obviousness" that some writers claim for the parallels they cite. Here is a sampling of the works stressed:

1896, Frederick S. Boas:

So many passages in The Tempest recall Jourdan's descriptions that Shakspeare must have had them before him. Thus we have the allusion to the 'still-vexed Bermoothes'; the question of Stephano on his first encounter with Caliban, 'Have we devils here?' the separation of the King's ship from the rest of the fleet, and the miraculous preservation of the shipwrecked mariners. These and similar coincidences between play and pamphlet cannot have been accidental, and The Tempest, it is reasonable to conclude, was written while Somers' perilous adventure was still

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<sup>69</sup>Robert Ralston Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938), p. 277.

<sup>70</sup>Louis Booker Wright, ed. The Tempest (New York: Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare, 1961), p. x.

<sup>71</sup>E. P. Kuhl, "Shakespeare and the Founders of America: The Tempest," Philological Quarterly, XLI (October, 1962), No. 4, p. 123.

an eager topic of discussion.<sup>72</sup>

1906, Morton Luce:

Mr. Luce notices particularly: The Despatch sent by De la Warre in charge of Gates July 15, 1610; Strachey's Letter or "Repertory" written to some 'excellent lady' in England and probably carried by the same ship; Jourdan's "A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Devils . . .," written soon after the author landed in England; and "A True Declaration . . . published by Advise and direction of the Councell of Virginia, 1610." From the last three accounts, Mr. Luce has cited a large number of parallelisms, both in thought and phrasing, between the pamphlets and the play, the cumulative evidence of which is reasonably convincing that Shakespeare based "The Tempest" in part on contemporary accounts of travel.<sup>73</sup>

1918, David Horne:

Even more than these 'Bermuda pamphlets' is Shakespeare indebted to a letter written by one William Strachey and brought to England shortly after July 15, 1610.<sup>74</sup>

1921, Quiller-Couch:

That Shakespeare used at least one or two out of several pamphlets dealing with this wreck (by Silvester Jourdain, by William Strachey, and by 'advise and direction of the Councell of Virginia'--to mention no others). . .<sup>75</sup>

1926, Cawley:

The aim of this section will be to estimate the extent to which Shakspeare, in his description of the storm, used Strachey's True Reportory . . .

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<sup>72</sup>Frederick S. Boas, Shakspeare and his Predecessors (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896), p. 528.

<sup>73</sup>Rachel M. Kelsey, "Indian Dances in The Tempest," The Journal of English and Germanic Philology (Urbana, Illinois, 1914), Vol. XIII:100.

<sup>74</sup>David Horne, ed. The Tempest (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1918), p. 103.

<sup>75</sup>Quiller-Couch, p. xlviii.

Another work, A True Declaration, makes the connection between the tempest at sea and the tempest of conspiracies on shore which Shakespere must have had in mind:

The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwrack in the continent of Virginia, by the tempest of dissention.

Elsewhere the same tract speaks of the whole affair as "this tragicall Comedie." And still another work, A True and Sincere Declaration, may have suggested to the dramatist his very title:

That which seemes to disharten or shake our first grounds in this supplye; ariseth from our principall sources . . . ; First, the Tempest.

The word Tempest is italicized and capitalized in the original.

In the comparison of The Tempest with a True Reportory incidental parallels can be taken account of because other parallels make it virtually certain that Shakspere was following the document closely.<sup>76</sup>

1930, Chambers:

Shakespeare doubtless used the prints of 1610, but numerous verbal parallels make it clear that his main authority was the True Reportory.<sup>77</sup>

1936, Kittredge:

These three narratives, however, are in no sense to be regarded as sources of The Tempest. At most they furnished Shakespeare with a few items of information or with miscellaneous suggestions which he followed after his own fashion.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Robert Ralston Cawley, "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in The Tempest," P.M.L.A. (September, 1926), XLI, no. 3, p. 689.

<sup>77</sup>Chambers, A Study, p. 492.

<sup>78</sup>Kittredge, p. 3.

1958, Frank Kermode:

The industry of Luce, Lee, Gayley, Cawley, and Hotson has put the issue [that Shakespeare knew these three narratives] beyond reasonable doubt. . . . Luce, Gayley and Cawley agree that Strachey's exceeds the other works in importance . . .<sup>79</sup>

An interesting comment was made by W. W. Lloyd who found some similarity of incidents in The Tempest and tales of settlers, but established no connection between the play and any particular enterprise. He does, however, combine the idea of the Mediterranean with the influence of the Atlantic voyages in general.

Now, it is quite true that in the play all hints of place and time pertain to the Mediterranean and Italian civilization, and nothing, so far, can be more remote from the associations of the age, in voyage and adventure, as derived from journals and narratives of the comrades of Raleigh and Drake. Yet the maritime and colonial adventures of the time were highly stimulating to intellect and interest, and we may see that Shakespeare, though far above the mere putting on the stage of the topic of the day, did not let the opportunity pass of presenting those views of man and nature, that, true eternally, might never so vividly be apprehended as to the moment of such excitement. It was in this sense that Shakespeare conceived the relation of the Drama to the day and set forth as the noble aim of the dramatist, the showing "the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure,"

While, then, the drama before us is apparently so remote in locality and detail from Virginia, it is most curious to observe how many of the topics brought up by colonies and colonization, are indicated and characterized in the play.

The wonders of the new lands, new races: the exaggerations of travellers, and their truths more strange than exaggeration: new natural phenomena,

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<sup>79</sup>Frank Kermode, ed. The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare: The Tempest (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. xxvii.

and superstitious suggestions of them, the perils of the sea and shipwrecks, the effect of such fatalities in awakening remorse for ill deeds, not unremembered because easily committed: the quarrels and mutinies of colonists for grudges new and old, the contests for authority of the leaders and the greedy misdirection of industry while even subsistence is precarious: the theories of government for plantations, the imaginary and actual characteristics of man in the state of nature, the complications with the indigenae, the resort, penally or otherwise, to compelled labour, the reappearance on new soil of the vices of the older world, the contrast of moral and intellectual qualities between the civilized and the savage, and the gradual apprehension of the wondrous strangers by the savage, with all the requirements of activity, promptitude, and vigour demanded for the efficient and successful administration of a settlement--all these topics, problems, and conjunctures came up in the plantation of Virginia by James I.; and familiarity with them and their collateral dependence, would heighten the sensibility of the audience to every scene of a play which presented them in contrasted guise, but in a manner that only the more distinctly brought them home to their cardinal bearings in the philosophy of society--of man.<sup>80</sup>

To many readers the Mediterranean locale was one which could not be overlooked in discussing The Tempest. M. W. MacCullum also combined the Mediterranean with the influence of Bermuda:

He [Shakespeare] nominally leaves his scene somewhere in the Mediterranean or at least off Africa. He even finds it advisable to tell us that his island is not Bermuda and makes Ariel say that he was once sent on a distant errand to fetch dew

"From the still-vex'd Bermoothes"

But this does not interfere with the fact that Bermuda has furnished the landscape, the chart, the sights, the sounds, the climate, the ailments, of the sea-girt plot of marvels. Now Shakespeare's borrowing traits from a recent voyage of discovery

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<sup>80</sup>William Watkins Lloyd, Essays on the Life and Plays of Shakespeare (London: C. Whittingham, 1858), no page numbers.

and colonisation had one important result. It added a distinctively contemporary element to the medley of legend and romance that the other sources supplied. It brought the theme within the sphere of current experiences and enterprises and problems. It invited the dramatist to touch on matters that arose with the attempts to explore and settle the new world beyond the Atlantic.<sup>81</sup>

It is important to this study that one fact be emphasized: there were descriptions of the Bermudas in existence before 1609. Theobald was completely in error when he wrote in the preface to his second edition of Shakespeare's works in 1740:

In his *Tempest*, our author makes mention of the Bermuda islands, which were unknown to the English, till, in 1609, Sir John Summers made a voyage to North-America, and discovered them, and afterwards invited<sup>82</sup> some of his countrymen to settle a plantation there.

The following was written by Sir Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke and is part of "Certain learned and elegant works of the Right Honourable Fulk Lord Brooke, written in his youth, and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney" (folio, 1633). Since Sir Philip died in 1586, the poem was surely written before that date.

Whoever sails near to Bermuda coast  
Goes hard aboard the monarchy of Fear,  
Where all desire, but life's desire, are lost,  
For wealth and fame put off their glories there.  
Yet this isle, poison-like, by mischief known,  
Weans not desire from her sweet nurse, the sea,  
But, unseen, shews us where our hopes be sown,

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<sup>81</sup>Mungo William MacCullum, "The Making of 'The Tempest'," Southerly (September, 1944), Vol V, no. 2, pp. 31-46.

<sup>82</sup>Theobald, "Preface," in Malone's Plays and Poems, 1:23.

With woeful signs declaring joyful way.  
 For who will seek the wealth of western sun,  
 Oft by Bermuda's miseries must run.<sup>83</sup>

In 1595 an account was printed of a shipwreck suffered by Henry May in the Bermuda seas, after having been on the island for five months building the ship in which he returned home May wrote:

The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to have his ship cast away upon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda after midnight. . . the place is subject to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine.<sup>84</sup>

Sir Robert Dudley, the adventurous son of the Earl of Leicester, on his return to England in May 1595, directed his course towards the Bermudas, hoping to find there the Havana fleet. He wrote:

I caused the Master (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Havana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping to find the fleete dispersed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes.<sup>85</sup>

In his Discovery of Guiana (1596), Raleigh wrote:

The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.<sup>86</sup>

Therefore, the dangers of the Bermuda waters were well-known. The islands were "still-vext," that is, constantly, always vexed by storms and tempests, from the

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<sup>83</sup>Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, Caelica (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1898), p. 103.

<sup>84</sup>Hakluyt, 7:162-3.      <sup>85</sup>Hakluyt, 7:170.

<sup>86</sup>Raleigh, p. 96.

accounts of them that the voyagers brought home, which were so unvarying in description that, as Hunter says, the Bermudas became a commonplace in Shakespeare's time whenever storms and tempests were the themes. Shakespeare did not have to wait for the pamphlets of 1610 and 1611 to learn about the Bermuda sea dangers.

The Island of Bermuda had first been shown on the Peter Martyr map of 1511, and then on the Michael Lok map of 1582. The Lok map was first published after Drake's circumnavigation of the earth and must have received a great deal of attention in England.

When Ariel says:

Thou call'dst me up at midnight, to fetch dew  
From the still-vex'd Bermoothes<sup>87</sup>

we have indisputable proof that Shakespeare knew of the Bermudas and of the stormy character of the seas which surrounded these islands. That is all the words tell us. Nothing more. And this is information he could have learned before the disaster of 1609.

Henry Cabot Lodge quotes Swift as saying;

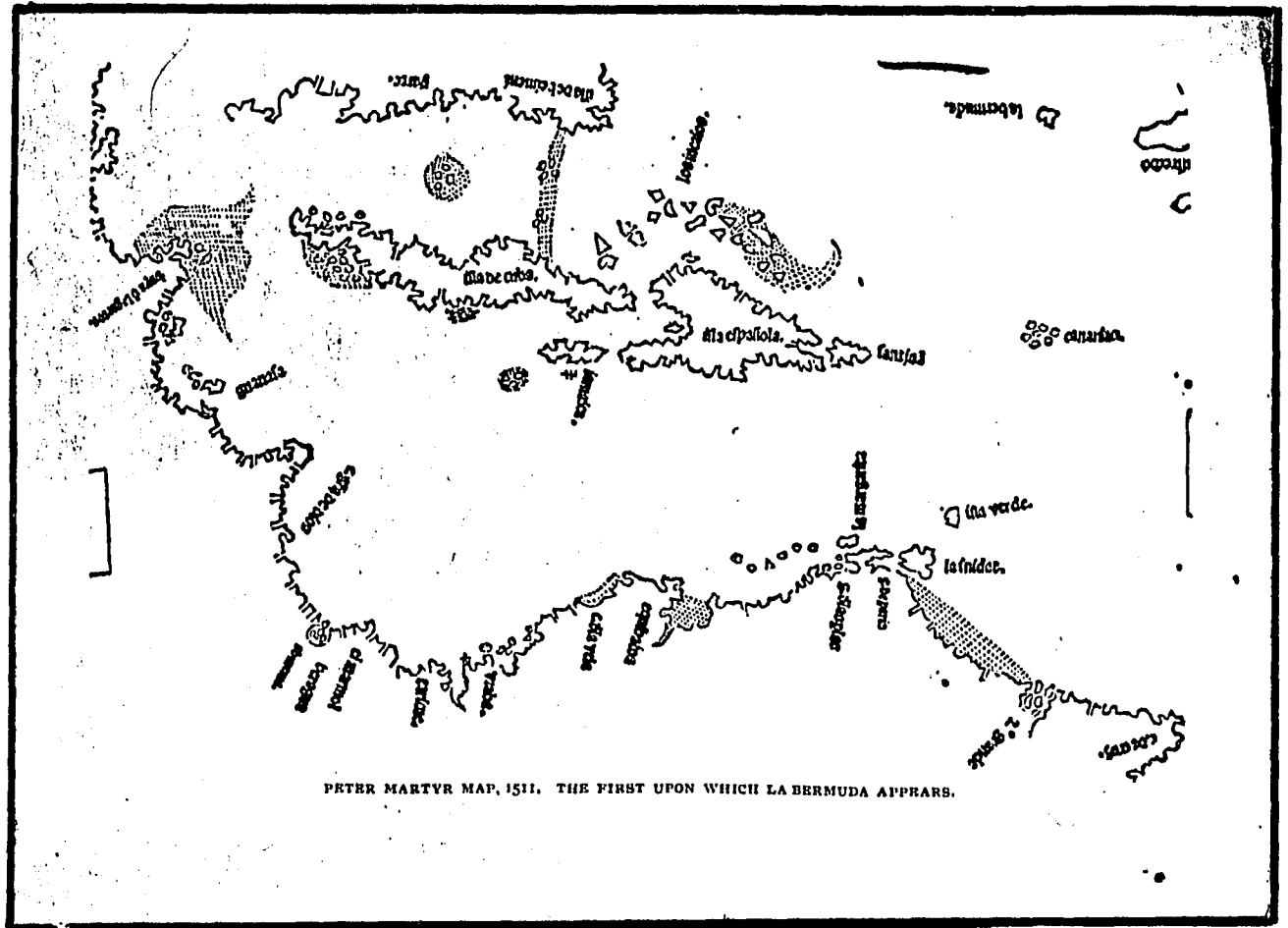
What they do in heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not do we are told expressly, that they neither marry nor are given in marriage.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, we are not sure where Prospero's island was, but we can be sure it was not one of the Bermudas for Ariel says, "From the still-vex'd Bermoothes." Ariel did not bring

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<sup>87</sup>TMP 1. 2. 229

<sup>88</sup>Hale, p. 3.



PETER MARTYR MAP, 1511. THE FIRST UPON WHICH LA BERMUDA APPEARS.

Map 21. From Bristol's Shakespeare and America.

dew from Bermuda to Bermuda; he must have brought it to some other island. The points of similarity between Shakespeare's storm and those in the accounts given by the voyagers who were quoted by the commentators mentioned above, were such as might be given in any description of any shipwreck or any storm at sea. It was the repeated reports of the dangers of the sea voyages that made a lasting impression on Shakespeare's imagination, not any one particular incident. It is doubtful, says John D. Rea,

. . . if anyone would have connected this wreck in the Bermudas with The Tempest had it not been for Ariel's reference to the 'still-vex'd Bermoothes'; but this of course, far from supporting the belief that the Bermudas are the scene of the play, merely indicates the contrary; the point of the speech is that the Bermudas are at a considerable distance rather than near at hand.<sup>89</sup>

There are other points of reference that Shakespeare could have drawn from the literature that existed before the Virginia pamphlets were written. For instance, the name "Setebos" is borrowed from Richard Eden's History of Travayle (1577), in which the Patagonians, as observed during Magellan's voyage, "roared lyke bulles and cryed upon theyr great devill Setebos, to helpe them."<sup>90</sup>

Kermode believes Shakespeare also knew Eden's version of Peter Martyr and had read in that work of the

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<sup>89</sup>John Dougan Rea, "A Source for the Storm in The Tempest," Modern Philology, Vol. 17 (Chicago; Sept, 1919), p. 279.

<sup>90</sup>The First Three English Books, p. 252.

identification of the West Indies with Atlantis; the belief of the natives that the voyagers had descended from heaven; the elaborate description of "the golden worlde" with land "as common as sunne and water," and the natives knowing no difference between "Mine" and "Thine"; and the "horrible roringes of the wild beastes in the woodes." He could also have found there reports of pugnacious and terrible bats, compared to "ravenous Harpies"; the Spanish custom of hunting natives with dogs; a Carthage in the New World to remind him of older colonial adventurers; and an account of the manner in which natives "were wonderfully atoned to the sweet harmony" of music.<sup>91</sup>

He had also read of "certayne wild men . . . without any certayne language," and of a number of Indians who, after being educated as Christians, became the treacherous enemies of "the Monastery where they had been brought up with fatherly charity," and of territory abounding in "wild Boares, thorny Hedgogges, and Porkepennes"; of attacks by apes, and of "a Monster of the Sea like a Man." It is very likely that he knew the accounts of Raleigh's voyages, and in his hints of a cannibal theology he may owe something to Hariot's report on the religion of Virginia -- "Some religion they have already, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the sooner and easier reformed."<sup>92</sup>

Gonzalo's reference to the dewlapped mountaineers was straight out of a widely read adventure book of the period: The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (3:3). And the

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<sup>91</sup>De novo orbe, 5<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 96<sup>r</sup>, 120<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>,

<sup>92</sup>De novo orbe, 140<sup>r</sup>, 258<sup>v</sup>, 299<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>, 300<sup>r</sup>; Hakluyt, 6:187; quoted by Kermode, p. xxxiii.

men with heads in their breasts was either from Raleigh or Ptolemy, as mentioned before.

Rachel M. Kelsey wrote a treatise on her belief that portions of the masque element in the play were influenced by the account of the Weymouth expedition fitted out by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, published in 1605. She quotes Ariel's song, act 1, scene 2, which in the 1623 Folio reads:

Come unto these yellow sands,  
 and then take hands;  
 Curtsied when you have and kist  
 the wilde waves whist;  
 Foote it featly heere, and there, and sweete  
 sprights beare the burthen. BURTHEN DISPERSEDLY  
 Harke, harke, bowgh wawgh; the watch-dogges  
 barke, bowgh-wawgh.

Ar. Hark, hark, I heare, the straine of  
 strutting chanticlere cry cockadidle-dowe.

The 1605 pamphlet described an Indian dance on the shore:

Griffin which lay on Shoare, reported unto me their manner, and (as I may tearme them) the ceremonies of their Idolatry, which they perform thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he judged) riseth right up, the rest sitting still, and so sodainely cryed, Bowh, waugh; then the women fall downe, and lye upon the ground, and the men altogether answering the same fall a stamping round about with both feet as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry loud outcries and change of voice and sound.<sup>93</sup>

Kelsey gives quotations from Purchas which bear a resemblance to the masque in act 3, scene 3, which is different in nature from the two other more conventional masques in act 4.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Purchas, 18:344.

<sup>94</sup>Kelsey, p. 103.

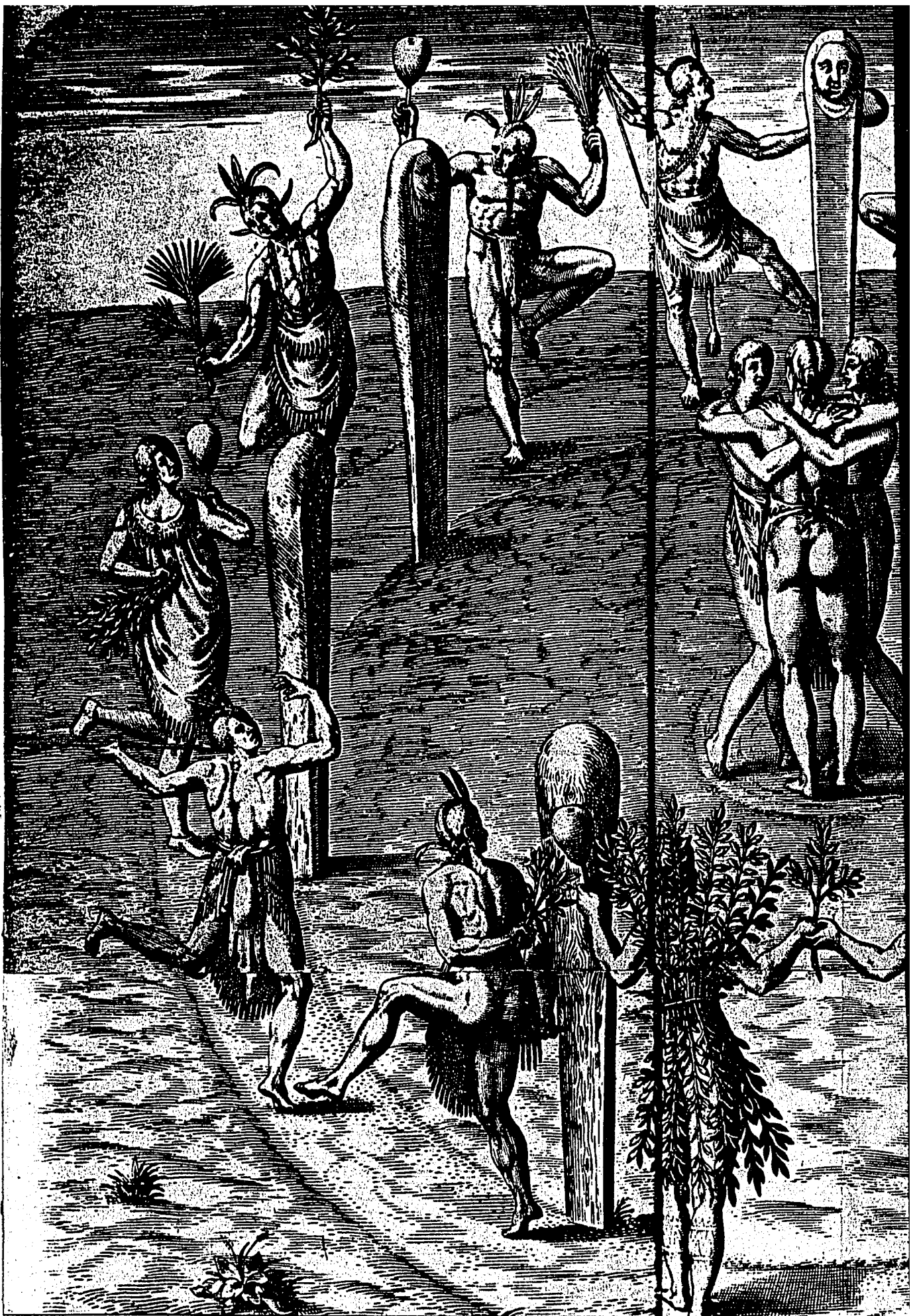
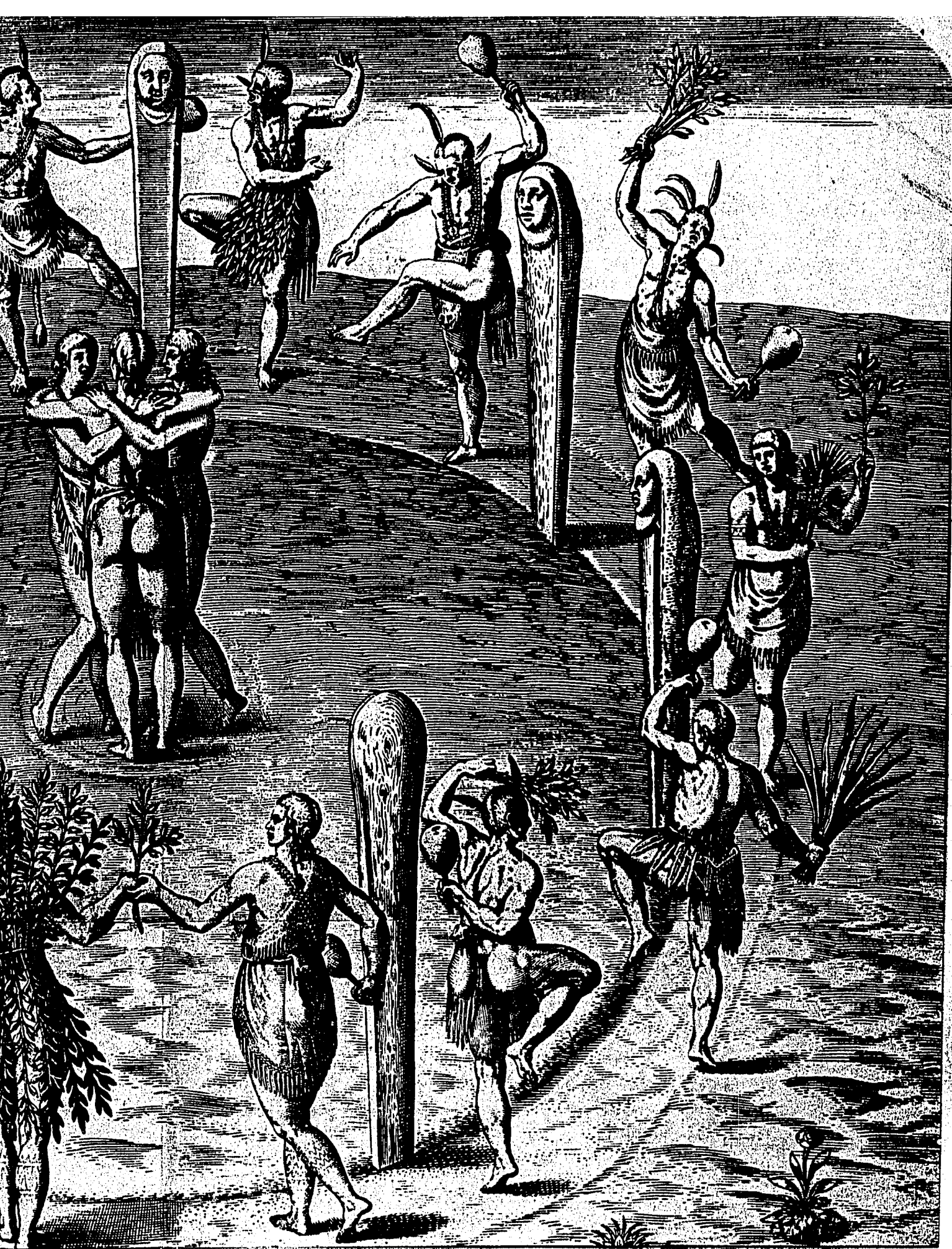


Fig. 62. A RELIGIOUS DANCE

Theodore De Bry's engraving after John White's painting



I have already mentioned Shakespeare's borrowing from Florio's translation of Montaigne the idealized Golden Age in act 2, scene 1.<sup>95</sup> According to Neilson, Lord Southampton was the patron of both Florio and Shakespeare, a fact which might have facilitated Shakespeare's access to Florio's work.<sup>96</sup> In many respects, says Neilson, Shakespeare "is Raphael Hythloday turned dramatist."<sup>97</sup> Hythloday tells us about the adventures of Vespucci's crew, after their captain departed. They began to win the love and favor of the people, and within a short time dwelt among them without harm, for the natives of that country lived together in peace and good order. Raphael tells us about the "wise and prudent institutions that he observed. . . states that are well and wisely governed."<sup>98</sup> More tells us what civilized people can do to deprave the savages and in The Tempest Prospero usurps Caliban's position as sole owner of the island and Caliban is cast in the role of a common drudge. Historically, such was the fate of all native people whose lands were visited by the educated adventurers in search of treasure. Shakespeare knew from the literature published in his day what the Spanish had done to the natives of South America.

There are still other sources Shakespeare might have drawn on. The following passage occurs in a translation of The Travels of Marco Polo, published in 1579; where it is said of the Desert of Lob:

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<sup>95</sup>Chapter I, this work.      <sup>96</sup>Neilson, p. 80..

<sup>97</sup>Neilson, p. 179.      <sup>98</sup>More, p. 4.

You shall hear in the air the sound of tabors and other instruments, to put travellers in fear, and to make them lose their way, and to depart their company and lose themselves: and by that means many do die, being deceived so by evil spirits that make those sounds, and also do call divers of the travellers by their names.<sup>99</sup>

So too Ariel, invisible according to the stage direction, plays a tune on tabor and pipe; and Caliban to comfort his allies tells them that the isle is full of noises, sounds and sweet airs, sometimes a thousand twangling instruments, sometimes voices that make him sleep and dream again. And when Ariel maddens the three chief criminals and "departs their company," Alonzo seems to hear the wind and waves speaking, and the thunder pronouncing the name of Prospero. Ariel is a Hebrew name, variously used in magical writings for one of the spirits who control the elements of the planets.<sup>100</sup>

There are echoes in Caliban of Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage. The following is out of Eden:

One day by chaunce they espyed a man of the stature of a giant, who came to the haven daunsing and singyng, and shortly after seemed to cast dust over his head. . . . When he sawe the captayne with certayne of his company about him, he was greatly amased, and made signes, holding up his hande to heaven, signifying thereby, that our men came from thence. . . . The heare of his head was coloured whyte, and his

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<sup>99</sup>MacCullum, p. 34.

<sup>100</sup>Chambers, A Study, p.494.



Fig. 63. "Lead, monster; we'll follow. I would I could see  
this taborer: he lays it on"

The Tempest, Act III, sc. ii.  
From The Tempest with Illustrations in Colour by Paul Woodroffe.

apparell was the skynne of a beast sewed togeather. This beast (as seemed unto us) had a large head, and great ears lyke unto a mule, with the body of a camell and taylor of a horse. The feet of the giant were foulded in the sayde skynne, after the manner of shooes. . . . This giant was very tractable and pleasaunt. He soong and daunsed, and in his daunsing lefte the print of his feet on the ground.--The captayne retayned two of these, which were youngest and best made. He tooke them by deceite, in this maner . . . then caused two payre of shackels of iron to be put on their legges. . . . When they felt the Shackels fast about theyr legges, they began to doubt; but the captayne dyd put them in comfort, and made them stande still. In fine, when they sawe how they were deceived, they roard lyke bulles, and cryed uppon their great devill, Setebos, to help them. . . . They say, that when any of them dye, there appeare x or xii devils, leaping and daunsing about the bodie of the dead. . . . One of these gigantes which they tooke, declared by signes that he had seene devylles with two hornes above their heades, with long heare to theyr feete, and that they caste foorth fyre at theyr throates, both before and behind.<sup>101</sup>

The following footnote appears in Malone's edition:

The dress worn by this character [Caliban], which doubtless was originally prescribed by the poet himself, and has been continued, I believe, since his time, is a large bearskin, or a skin of some other animal; and he is usually represented with long shaggy hair, as in the foregoing description. In the play we find Stephano speaking of Caliban's two mouths and a forward and backward voice, which may have been suggested by the words above-quoted. In the same scene Caliban asks, "Hast thou dropp'd from heaven?" and in other places twice mentions his dam's god, Setebos. The singing and dauncing of the savage Act II, Scene ii, seem to be derived from the same source.<sup>102</sup>

Of course Caliban is not a precise presentation of any particular American native. He is an imaginary composite portrait, part of which was the aboriginal type which the chroniclers wrote about. Traits of the

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<sup>101</sup>First Three English Books, p. 251.

<sup>102</sup>Malone, Works, 15:13.

friendly Indian of Virginia and the Caribbean seem to mingle freely in Caliban with those of the irredeemable savages of Patagonia. Caliban is not the Arcadian innocent Montaigne wrote about; he is a creature who represents man stumbling from savagery to civilization. Prospero's experience is the experience of the Europeans in their first encounter with the American Indian. Caliban's meeting with Trinculo is somewhat like the way the Indians greeted the Spanish, the French, and the English explorers. They came like gods to the American native-- Pizarro in Peru, Cortez in Mexico, Cartier in Canada, and Sir Francis Drake on the western coast of California. In accord with history, Prospero wins Caliban's love by teaching him the true functions of the sun, the moon, and the stars. He teaches him his own language. Shakespeare may have read in Martyr:

This gigante . . . remayned longe with owre men who named him Iohan. . . . He could wel speake and playnely pronounce these words: Iesus: Ave Maria, Iohannes, euen as we doo, but with a bigger voice.<sup>103</sup>

Like all the explorers, Prospero pitied Caliban's limited sounds of communication, and taught him to speak. He says:

I pitied thee,  
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour  
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,  
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like  
A thing most brutish. I endowed thy purposes  
With words that made them known . . .<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>First Three English Books, p. 251.

<sup>104</sup>1. 2. 353-8

When Stephano gets Caliban drunk, we are reminded of another practice among the colonizers, that of giving the Indians "fire-water" in exchange for skins and corn. This practice often angered the tribal chiefs and was a source of friction between the Indians and the Europeans.

Just as the Virginia Indians did for the early settlers, so does Caliban do chores for Prospero. He cuts wood, draws water, ~~scrapes~~ trenches, fishes, and cleans, and eventually becomes indispensable to Prospero. When he changes masters he says to Stephano, "I'll fish for thee," and to Prospero he says, "No more dams I'll make for fish."<sup>105</sup> This is a direct reminder of how dependent the colonizers were on the Indians for food. In the wide rivers of Virginia, the Indians had an intricate method by which they caught fish. They constructed in the water a series of dams and weirs, a very ingenious system in which the fish were trapped. It was on the fish which the Indians caught for them that the first English settlers existed. The reports of Raleigh's early agents in Virginia expressed amazement at the mechanical skill with which the natives constructed their fish dams whereby they caught an uninterrupted supply of fresh fish. When Governor Lane, in 1586, detected signs of hostility among the natives near his camp, his first con-

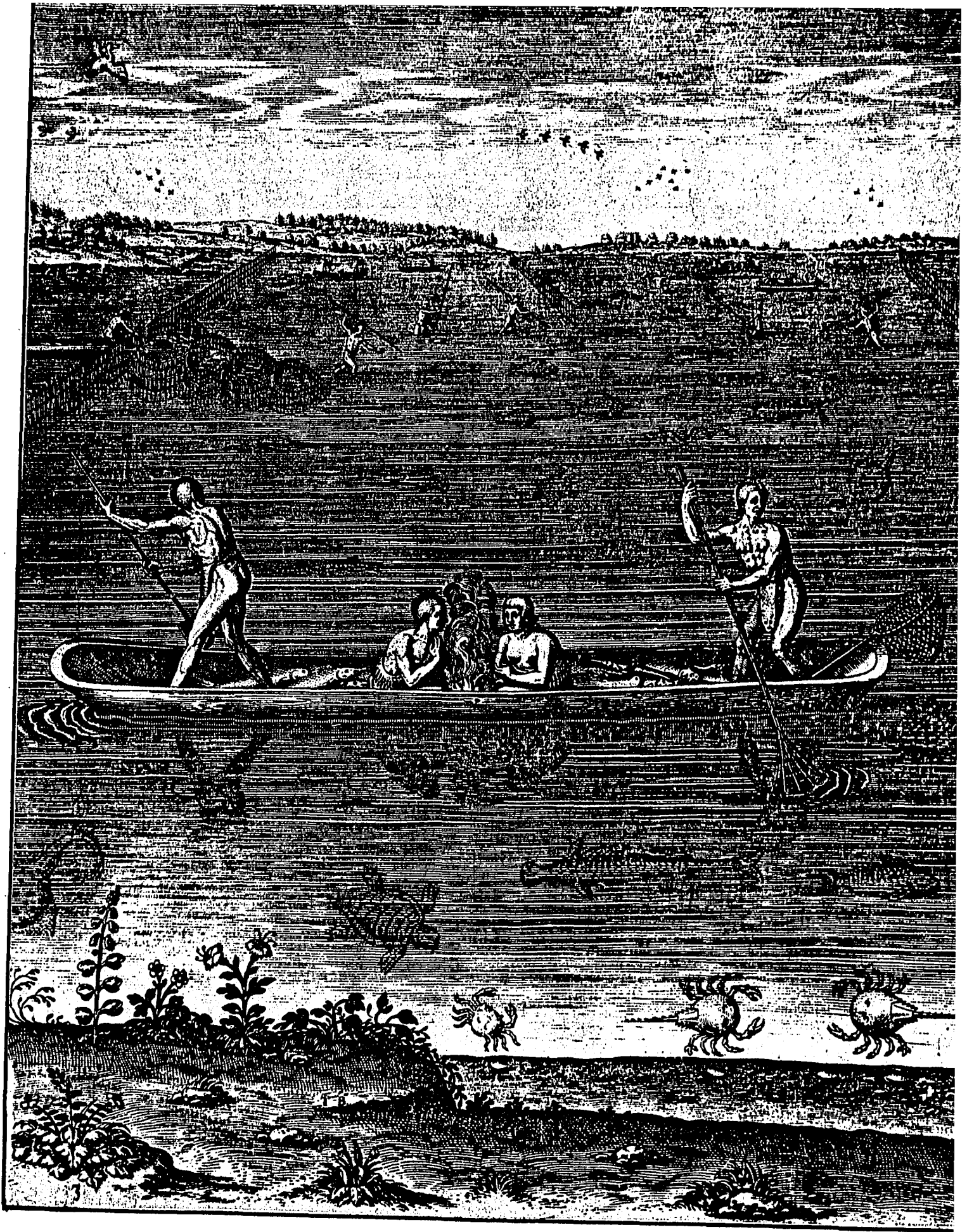


Fig. 64. Theodore De Bry's engraving of John White's "Indians Fishing."

The weirs can be seen in the upper left hand corner.

From Lorant's *The New World*.

cern was for the fish dams.<sup>106</sup> Caliban's threat to "make no more dams for fish" exposes Prospero to a very real and possible danger.

The alienation of the Indians in those early days of Virginia and the withdrawal of help in obtaining food was a chief cause in the disastrous termination of Raleigh's colony.

But autumn and winter brought anxieties and hardships; and in the spring food ran short and bitterness between the English and the Indians sprang up. Suspicion and treachery grew, and plot was met with counterplot, and treachery with treachery. . . . Certainly, many illusions had been shattered on both sides. The settlers had been accepted as temporary God-like creatures in 1585; by 1586 they had become men who threatened the security of the Indian society and aroused savage cupidity by their wealth.<sup>107</sup>

From the information presented here, we can be fairly certain that Shakespeare did not draw on any one single source for the details of The Tempest. Some of the names in the play may have come from Eden's History where we find Alonso, Ferdinand, Sebastian, Gonzales, Anthonio, and Setebos. The name Adrian may have been borrowed from Adrian Gilbert, brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Miranda may have come from "mirandous" meaning "wondrous."

On the subject of Caliban, there have been many

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<sup>106</sup>Sidney Lee, "The Call of the West: America and Elizabethan England," Scribner's Magazine (Sept. 1907), Vol. XLII no. 3, pp. 313-330.

<sup>107</sup>David Beers Quinn, Raleigh and the British Empire (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p.96.

theories presented on the origin of his name. The Soderini letter says Vespucci met another tribe called "Caniballi."<sup>108</sup> And in Utopia, More did not ask Hythloday about "Scyllas, ravenous harpies, and canibals" because they "are easy to find anywhere."<sup>109</sup> In addition, Montaigne's Essay XXX is titled "Of the Caniballes." If the 'n' and the 'l' in the word 'cannibal', which is used in all these sources, are transposed, we have a familiar name--Caliban. Rogers says:

Christobal, Mogor, Argiers, and many other names familiar to travellers, exemplified the interchange of 'l' and 'r', so that there was ample precedent for the metathesis.<sup>110</sup>

What the literature of 1610 and the following years did was to reinforce the information that had already been available, to bring it to the fore, and to make it more familiar and more meaningful. One passage from Strachey's letter that is often quoted by the commentators is impressive, but it has no new information. It reads:

During all this time, the heavens look'd so blacke upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed, nor a Starre by night, not Sunne beam by day was to be seene. Only upon the Thursday night Sir George Somers being upon the watch had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint starre, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, half the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or four hours to-

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<sup>108</sup>Vespucci, p. 25.

<sup>109</sup>More, p. 4.

<sup>110</sup>Rogers, Shakespeare's England, 1:176.

gether, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with us; running, sometimes along the Main-yard to the very end, and then returning. At which, Sir George Somers called divers about him, and showed them the same, who observed it with much wonder, and carefulnesse; but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Seamen make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which nevertheless is usuall in stormes: the same (it may be) which the Graescians were wont in the Mediteranean to call Castor and Pollux, of which, if one only appeared without the other, they took it for an evill signe of great tempest . . . But it did not light us any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now-(as do hoodwinked men) at all adventure, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West.<sup>111</sup>

Shakespeare's Ariel seems to owe something to the sailors' legend of the dancing light, but the legend was known before, even to the Greeks, as Strachey himself says. However, Strachey's passage reminded the reader of the legend.

ARIEL

All hail, great master! grave sir, hail! I come  
To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly,  
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride  
On the curl'd clouds, to thy strong bidding task  
Ariel and all his quality.

PROSPERO

Hast thou, spirit,  
Peform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee?

ARIEL

To every article.  
I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,  
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,  
I flamed amazement: sometimes I'd divide,  
And burn in many places; on the topmast,  
The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly.  
Then meet and join. Jove's lightnings, the pre-  
cursors

O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary  
And sight-outrunning were not . . .

PROSPERO

My brave spirit!

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<sup>111</sup>Strachey, pp. 12-13.



Fig. 65. " . . . on the topmast,  
The yards, and bowsprit, would I flame dinctly,"

The Tempest, Act I, sc. ii.  
From The Tempest with Illustrations in Colour  
by Paul Woodroff.

Who was so firm, so constant that this coil  
Would not infect his reason?

ARIEL

Not a soul  
But felt a fever of the mad and play'd  
Some tricks of desperation. All but mariners  
Plunged in the foaming brine and quit the vessel.  
Then all afire with me: the king's son, Ferdinand,  
With hair up-starting,--then like reeds, not hair,--  
Was the first man that leap'd; cried, "Hell is empty,  
And all the devils are here."<sup>112</sup>

The sailors' "apparition," and "evill signe of great tempest," that Strachey wrote about were the same vision as the diaphanous Ariel from Argier, a vision known to all seamen.

Though many writers have stressed the importance of the Virginia pamphlets in influencing The Tempest, especially Strachey's letter, there are those who concede that Shakespeare's interest in the voyagers in general was an important factor.

In Malone's Supplement, Henley is quoted as saying:

Whatever might have suggested to Shakspeare the fable of this drama, it is obvious to remark that he frequently refers in it to the late discoveries made in America, and the adventures thither, which so many engaged in from the hopes of inordinate gain. The absurd stories brought from thence by those who had been there, concerning the country, its natives, and preternatural inhabitants, gave ample scope to the poet for displaying a system of magick and daemology, happily adapted to the popular belief of his time; and also for ridiculing that boundless credulity and avarice, which then so generally prevailed.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>1. 2. 188-215

<sup>113</sup>Edmond Malone, ed. Supplement to the edition of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens ( London: C. Bathurst, 1780), 1:85.

To support my theory of the importance of the voyages in general on Shakespeare's creations, I give another sampling:

1897, William Winter:

In the century that followed the discovery of the American continent, the minds of Europeans were frequently excited by the announcement of new wonders. The marvellous exploit of Columbus had awakened a bold spirit of adventure, and the names of Vasco da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, Sebastian Cabot, Francis Drake, Walter Raleigh, and other navigators, remain as memorials of an age of discovery that produced a great change in the aspect of the world, expanded the scope of human knowledge and thought by the constant presentation of new objects, and laid the foundation of those marvels which have emanated from modern science. The age of discovery is indirectly indicated by "The Tempest."<sup>114</sup>

1944, MacCullum:

There is thus abundant proof that Shakespeare was greatly interested in and well acquainted with the Elizabethan literature of travel and navigation.<sup>115</sup>

1958, Kermode:

The New World stimulated interest in the great and perennial problem of the nature of Nature; . . . the relations of the play to the literature of voyaging remain of the greatest interest and usefulness.<sup>116</sup>

1959, Nuzum:

In short, the play presents not only life on a desert island, but also attractive aspects of colonization.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>William Winter, Preface, The Tempest (London: Privately printed for Mr. Daly, 1897), p. 3.

<sup>115</sup>MacCullum, p. 35.      <sup>116</sup>Kermode, p. xxv.

<sup>117</sup>David G. Nuzum, "The London Company and The Tempest," Western Virginia University Bulletin Philological Papers (November 1959), Vol. 12, p. 12.

1961, Wright:

With all the talk and writing about the New World, . . . it would have been strange if some of this had not found a reflection in The Tempest.<sup>118</sup>

1967, James:

We are not to think that Prospero's island came first to Shakespeare's mind when news of the Bermuda shipwreck of 1609 came to England; the New World was in men's minds in Shakespeare's lifetime as journeying to the moon is in ours; and the journeys to America were more exciting (and, it seems, more dangerous) than ours to a fruitless moon.<sup>119</sup>

After all their discussions of influences, most of the authors finally give Shakespeare credit for his own imagination and genius in creating The Tempest. For instance, Malone, though he stressed the influence which the early accounts of the Bermudas has on Shakespeare's construction of the play and listed the many agreements he detected between the Bermudas and Prospero's island, did not actually place the events of the play on the island. He wrote:

. . . our poet himself also, in some measure, contributed to lead the most sedulous inquirer astray, by very properly making the scene of his piece an island at a considerable distance from Bermuda, in order to give the magical part of his drama a certain mysterious dignity which Bermuda itself, then the general topick of conversation, could not have had. . . he well knew that . . . an unknown island would give a larger scope to his imagination, and make a greater impression on theatrical spectators, than one of which the more enlightened part of his audience had recently read a minute and circumstantial account.--Unquestionably, however, the circumstance of Bermuda's having been considered an

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<sup>118</sup>L. B. Wright, Folger Edition, p. xi.

<sup>119</sup>James, p. 76.

enchanted island gave rise to the magick of The Tempest, and was immediately in his thoughts during its composition.<sup>120</sup>

There are several authors with whom I agree, such as Horne, when he writes:

The true source of The Tempest is Shakespeare's experience in coming to terms with life. The symbols which permeate it lie so deep and so near to the heart of humanity that even if a closely parallel play or narrative were to be unearthed--and this hypothesis is dubious in the extreme--it could only in a very limited sense be called a source. The billowing themes of Shakespeare's tragedies, the nuances of the comedies, the moral philosophy that threads its way through the histories--all are here.<sup>121</sup>

Then there is the statement by James Russell Lowell that

. . . in The Tempest the scene is laid nowhere, or certainly in no country laid down in any map. Nowhere, then? At once nowhere and anywhere,--for it is in the soul of man, that still-vexed island, hung between the upper and nether world, and liable to incursions from both.<sup>122</sup>

And Knight's conclusion was

. . . that the poet had no locality whatever in his mind, just as he had no notion of any particular storm. Tempests and enchanted islands are of the oldest materials of poetry. . . . We believe the island sunk into the sea, and was no more seen, after Prospero broke his staff and drowned his book.<sup>123</sup>

Perhaps Lodge had the final answer as to where Prospero's island was:

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<sup>120</sup>Malone, An Account, p. 2-3.      <sup>121</sup>Horne, p. 102.

<sup>122</sup>James Russell Lowell, Among My Books (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1870), p. 199.

<sup>123</sup>Knight, p. 382.

Yet I am personally quite sure that I know well where Prospero's Island was, where it is indeed at this moment. It lies off the sea-coast of Bohemia, not far from Illyria where Viola met Malvolio and Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek and where Feste is still singing in the moonlit garden: the Athens known to Oberon and Titania is within easy reach and hard by is the Forest of Arden. It is part of that beautiful land where we can escape from the cares that infest the day, where sorrows for an hour cease to weigh us down, where we forget ourselves, where we can sit by Miranda and with hearts full of gratitude to the greatest and most beneficent of geniuses can join with her in crying out:

"O brave new world that has such people in't."<sup>124</sup>

In reviewing the evidence set forth by many authors who have written on the subject, I have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Gates-Somers shipwreck of 1609 was not the prime influence on the writing of The Tempest. And the innumerable times that writers have echoed Malone's statement does not change this fact.
2. Descriptions of the perilous seas around Bermuda were commonplace before 1609.
3. There were descriptions of sea storms in many of the existing chronicles of the voyages of discovery.
4. Shakespeare drew on Eden, Hakluyt, Raleigh, and many other chroniclers for some of the details in the play.

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<sup>124</sup>Hale, pp. 29-30.

5. The writing of Vespucci and More on America had a special influence on The Tempest.
6. Shakespeare's interest in the voyages and discoveries in general was the most important influence on the play.
7. The location of Prospero's island was, in the final analysis, in Shakespeare's imagination, a location imagined to have some of the characteristics of a Mediterranean island but with many features borrowed from the reports of the voyages to America.

Shakespeare may have read in the report of Columbus's first voyage:

This Island he called Hispaniola: on whose northe side he approched nere the lande, the keele or bot-tome of the biggeste vessell ranne vpon a blynd rocke couered with water, and cloue in sunder. But the playnnesse of the rocke was a helpe to them that they were not drowned.<sup>125</sup>

The description of Caliban as half-fish, half-human, he might have picked up from Fletcher:

There is likewise in the river Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members utterly of humane shape, and yet without any voyce . . . fish of humane fourme . . .<sup>126</sup>

Stephano accepting Caliban's worship and swearing him in by making him kiss the bottle, is a fair representation of some of the dissolute men who were shipped to the Virginia colony. Miranda may have been suggested by the story of Virginia Dare, grand-daughter of

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<sup>125</sup>First Three English, p. 66.    <sup>126</sup>Hakluyt, 2:331.

Captain John White, the first child born in America of English parents. She was among those abandoned in the colony in 1587. In 1607, when the settlement was revived, it was reported that there were seven of the English alive among the Indians, "four men, two boys, and one maid."<sup>127</sup> The rebellion of Caliban and Sebastian may be an echo of the rebellion that almost occurred on Bermuda among Gates's men.

Caliban, with his affectionate loyalty to the drunkard, his adoration of valour, his love of natural beauty and feeling for music and poetry, his hatred and superstitious fear of his task master, and the simple cunning and savagery of his attempts at revenge and escape--all this is a composition wrought from fragments of travellers' tales . . .<sup>128</sup>

It is Prospero, as in "prospero-us voyage" who discovered the new island, which I take to be in part a symbol of America, where future colonies did later prosper. There is general agreement then that The Tempest does have echoes of America in it.

But if I reject the influence of the shipwreck of 1609 to be the prime influence, why are so many authors able to find many parallels between the play and the pamphlets published after 1609? To answer this I must touch on a subject I have deliberately avoided until now

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<sup>127</sup>Raleigh, p. 182.      <sup>128</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

--the dates of creation of Shakespeare's plays. The only facts we can be certain of at this point are the dates of the first appearance in print of each play according to existing editions. If a play was printed prior to an edition we have, we have no proof of this fact, if it does not exist today. We cannot know the dates of the creation of these plays. If we could, there would not be the vast amount of dissenting literature that exists today on the subject of the chronology of the plays.

I have summarized my conclusions on the location of Prospero's island and now I add that after extensive reading and searching I have also concluded that The Tempest was written much earlier than 1611 as claimed by Malone<sup>129</sup> and that the resemblances of passages in the play to passages in the Virginia pamphlets, if indeed there are such, are there because they were inserted into an altered and revised later form of the play.

In A True Declaration we find:

The heavens were obscured, and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror . . . The Islands on which they fell were the Bermudos, a place hardly accessable, through the environing rocks and dangers; notwithstanding they were forced to runne their ship on shoare, which through Gods providence fell betwixt two rockes, that caused her to stand firme, and not immediately to be broken . . . These Islands of the Bermudos, have ever beene accounted as an inchaunted pile of rockes, and a desert inhabitation for Divels . . . What is there in all this tragicall Comaedie that should discourage us with impossibilitie of the enterprise?

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<sup>129</sup>Malone, Plays, 2:296.

when of all the Fleete, one onely ship, by a secret leake was indangered, and yet in the gulfe of Despair was so graciously preserved . . . that which we accompt a punishment against evill is but a medicine against evill.<sup>130</sup>

This is a sample of the quotations that are given to establish that Shakespeare drew on the Virginia pamphlets when he was writing The Tempest. If these lines are read carefully, what we learn is, that the skies were dark for a long time, that the ship was forced to land on the rocky shore of Bermuda which has always been known as an enchanted island inhabited by the devil, and that one ship with a leak was spared. What is there in this passage that is unusual for a description of a storm? What is there specific enough to be seen as an unusual element in the play?

Furness makes the point that the Strachey letter of 1612, which is quoted so often as the most important influence, is not definitely known to be identical with that printed in Purchas and that he was unable to find the original pamphlet.<sup>131</sup> If we cannot be sure where the quotations actually come from, how can we be sure of their influence? Cawley admits honestly that he alludes to publications known to post-date The Tempest.

. . . such as The Historie of Travaile (part of it finished in 1612) and Hamor's True Discourse (1615), which post-date The Tempest; but in these cases not as possible sources but only to illustrate the general spirit of the times.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>A True Declaration, p. 10. <sup>131</sup>Furness, 9:313.

<sup>132</sup>Cawley, PMLA, p. 688.

What must be emphasized, and what I have tried to point to in my entire study is exactly this--the general spirit of the times.

However, there is still another point to be considered: that, if there are specific similarities between the Virginia pamphlets and the play, these could have resulted from later alterations and revisions of the play. I am not alone in this opinion. A number of distinguished Shakesperean scholars have believed the play was recast and that it was recast for the performance at Court in 1613.<sup>133</sup>

A quotation from Ben Jonson has been made by Elze . . . in an attempt to prove that The Tempest was written not in 1610 or 1611 but in 1604. In Volpone (Act iii, 2) acted 1605, an allusion is made to thefts by English authors from Montaigne. The principal passage in Elizabethan literature borrowed from the French essayist is Gonzalo's speech in The Tempest (Act II, I) describing his ideal Utopian commonwealth. Elze considers that Jonson is alluding to this passage, which Shakspeare had found in Florio's translation of Montaigne, 1603. In support of his theory that the play dates from 1604, he points to the similarity between Prospero's prophecy beginning 'like the baseless fabric of this vision' and some lines in Darius, a tragedy by the Earl of Stirling, 1603. He asserts that Stirling's lines made a great impression upon Shakespere and 'involuntarily dropped from his pen while still fresh in his memory.'<sup>134</sup>

Winter wrote, ". . . there is some reason to believe that "The Tempest" had already been written when that calamity occurred,"<sup>135</sup> referring to the 1609

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<sup>133</sup>James, p. 117.

<sup>134</sup>Boas, p. 529.

<sup>135</sup>Winter, p. 31.

disaster. Quiller-Couch also questioned the date of the play's creation given by Malone.

But nothing of this is inconsistent, either with the play's having been presented by the King's Players on Hallowmas, 1611, or with its having been recast and 'revived' for the festivities of the Princess Elizabeth's betrothal.<sup>136</sup>

Wilson believed there were long passages inserted to replace "matter originally shown in action."<sup>137</sup>

The editor of the "Irving Shakespeare" says of The Tempest, there may have been "an older play, acted before 1596." Clark thinks the original play was produced in 1584;<sup>138</sup> and the Ogburns suggest 1583 for the original version.<sup>139</sup>

To give the reasons for these suggested dates would be too lengthy for this study. I have not included a discussion of the dates of creation of any of the plays because that will be included in a future study. My point here is that those who used quotations from Strachey's letter and other reports of the Bermuda voyage and disaster as a basis for dating the creation of the play, may have been in error. If they were in error, then the influence of the Virginia pamphlets must be disregarded. I am touching on the matters of date and revision only to point out that there are alternative conclusions that may be made. Mine is as stated. The reader is,

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<sup>136</sup>Quiller-Couch, p. xlviiii.

<sup>137</sup>Chambers, A Study, p.492.    <sup>138</sup>Clark, p. 424.

<sup>139</sup>Ogburn, p. 536.

of course, free to draw his own.

I conclude that there were many sources that could have suggested details for The Tempest: Columbus, Vespucci, More, Martyr, Pifagetta, Eden, Ptolemy, and Hakluyt among others. In creating this play, Shakespeare probably did have the New World in mind and probably drew on the narratives of the adventurers themselves as well as the reports of the chroniclers. It was the frequently repeated reports of the dangers of the sea voyages that must have made a deep impression on him. The voyages in general, not any one particular voyage, influenced him, giving him the idea of an island which combined some of the features of the islands in the Mediterranean with some of the characteristics of the Bermudas, an island which was a "brave new world" and existed in Shakespeare's imagination.

## CONCLUSION

After a great deal of probing and analyzing, and weighing the observations of many writers, my conclusion is that Shakespeare must have been deeply interested in the discoveries of the sixteenth century and the colonization of the New Land, and that he probably read a great many of the reports describing these events, kept himself informed of the latest developments, studied maps and globes, and discussed with returning travelers what they had seen.

In referring back to the questions I formulated when I first embarked on this study, I find that I can now make the following statements in reply:

1. The name "America" is used once, in The Comedy of Errors.

2. Though the name "America" is used only once, there are references to America in terms such as "West Indies," "The Indies," "Inde," "Western Inde," "Mines of Inde," and "New World." There are also numerous references to Russia, Moscovy, Africa, Tartary, Barbary, Algiers, Carthage, Tunis, Morocco, Libya, the Canaries, and Ethiopia, which were all part of the discovery story.

3. In the plays there is mention of "the frozen

north," "sleds," "Poland winter," "frosty Caucasus," "Sultan Solyman, the Sophy," "Emperor of Russia," "Tawny Tartar," "Flinty Tartar," "Stubborn Turks," "Turn'd Turks," "the Cham's beard," African serpents," "Canarie wines," and "Lapland sorcerers," which reflect the northeastern explorations to Russia.

There is reference to "venemous worms of the Nile," "Nilus' slime," "stuffed alligators," "African elephants," "Barbary horses," "Barbary cock-pigeon," all reflections of Africa.

And we hear of canibals, potatoes, crocodiles, unicorns, pelicans, monkeys, parrots, which were all mentioned by the writers who recorded the voyages to America.

4. There seem to be in many of the characters in the plays hints that some of the voyagers served as prototypes for these characters, *i. e.*, Sir Francis Drake may have suggested some of the characteristics of Coriolanus, and possibly Camillo in The Winter's Tale; Sir Walter Raleigh could have furnished some parts of Armado in Love's Labour's Lost, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in Hamlet, Paris in Troilus and Cressida and Coriolanus; and Sir Richard Grenville and the Earl of Essex may also have contributed something to the character of Coriolanus.

There is also evidence that a number of the characters may be based on some of the men who invested in the voyages, *i. e.*, Lord Leicester can be seen reflected in the Duke of Gloster (2H6), Achilles (TRO), Claudius

(HAM), Shallow (WIV), Julius Caesar (ANT), and Theseus (MND); the Earl of Sussex in Posthumus (CYM), John of Gaunt (R2), and the Ghost in Hamlet; Sir Francis Walsingham in Antonio (ADO); Sir Philip Sidney in Claudio (ADO), Boyet (LLL), Slender (WIV), Sir Andrew Aguecheek (TN), Ned Poins (H4), Ajax (TRO), and Laertes (HAM); and Lord Burghley in Leonato (ADO), Polonius (HAM), Gonzalo and Antonio (TMP), Capulet (ROM), Pandarus (TRO), Cassius (JC), Duke of Milan (TGV), Falstaff (WIV), Sly (SHR), Shylock (MV), and Bottom (MND).

6. There are numerous instances in which passages from Hakluyt, Eden, Martyr, Fletcher, and other chroniclers of the voyages are reflected. Many examples have been given throughout the text.

7. In addition to the words listed in 2 and 3, there are words such as antipode, Cataian, Anthropophagi, savage man of Inde, and plantation, which reflect the influence of the voyages, especially those to America, on Shakespeare's language.

8. Shakespeare's expert knowledge of seamanship has been commented on by many authors including Alexander Frederick Falconer, L. G. Carr Laughton, W. B. Whall, Foster Watson, and Anne Treneer. These and others have attested to <sup>the</sup> accuracy of the technical sea references in the plays. The manning and running of ships and the ceremonies observed on them; the duties of seamen and officers and their characteristics and manners; the

strategy and principles of sea warfare, boarding and disembarking; the structure--rigging, masts, sails, anchors, cables--of the main types of ships--all were familiar to Shakespeare. And the tides, waves, currents, storms, and calms of the sea itself are felt throughout the plays. He draws on all this knowledge not only in creating incidents and characters but also in nautical imagery and figures of speech. Moreover, says Flaconer, only a detailed glossary could do justice to the extent and accuracy of his use of sea terms.<sup>1</sup>

When Falstaff says, ". . . thou art our admiral, thou bearest the lantern in the poop, . . ." <sup>2</sup> he is using a detail of sea life that few landsmen would be familiar with. Several times Shakespeare uses "boarding" as a metaphorical reference, usually in the sense of accosting. The metaphor is appropriate because an enemy does not have full possession of a ship until he can get below the deck, or under the hatches. An opening in the deck is a hatchway, and the coverings are hatches. To "clap on the hatches" is an expression frequently used in stories of storms or boarding.

Another example of Shakespeare's knowledge of ships is when Pistol cries, "Clap on more sails; pursue; up with your fights;" <sup>3</sup> The "fights" were screens of cloth,

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Frederick Falconer, Shakespeare and the Sea (New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1964), p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>1H4 3. 3. 29

<sup>3</sup>WIV 2. 2. 136

usually colored, laced on above the bulwarks where they were low, in order that the men on deck might be hidden from the enemy's fire.

In writing about the first scene in The Tempest Laughton said that, on the whole, this scene is well thought out, and, with the single verbal slip of "a-hold," which he said was meaningless, the scene was technically perfect. But Laughton must stand corrected. Whall pointed out that "Lay her a-hold" is an obsolete term for keeping a ship close to the wind. "Lay" is a sea word referring to direction as in "Does she lay her course?"

A modern ship can sail six points of the compass from the wind; that is, if the wind be south and it is wished to go south-west, the nearest the ship can steer to that point is west-south-west (which is six points from south, the direction of the wind).<sup>4</sup>

When a ship is sailing "a-hold", then, she is, in modern sea language, "on a bow-line" or "close-hauled."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the sea scene in The Tempest is apparently "technically perfect" with no exceptions. Whall devotes an entire book to explaining 123 sea expressions used in Shakespeare's plays with technical accuracy.

Falconer adds this information:

There are two examples of how the mariner's compass is read; a straightforward reading of an intermediate point in Hamlet: "I am but mad north-northwest"

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<sup>4</sup>W. B. Whall, Shakespeare's Sea Terms Explained (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1910), p. 30.

<sup>5</sup>Whall, p. 30.

(2.2.396), and another in Love's Labour's Lost which is more complicated and shows Armado's liking for extreme precision: "It standeth north-northeast and by east" (1.1.248). It was the seaman's habit to insert 'and' in this way when reading off half and quarter points, perhaps because the words could be sung out more easily and there was less risk of mishearing.<sup>6</sup>

Also to be noted is Shakespeare's knowledge of sea geography. Salarino says:

. . . Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wrackt on the narrow seas; the Goodwins, I think they call the place; a very dangerous flat and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried . . .<sup>7</sup>

and a Messenger in King John reports:

. . . the great supply,  
That was expected by the Dauphin here,  
Are wrackt three nights ago on Goodwin Sands.<sup>8</sup>

Whall writes:

Shakespeare had a good knowledge of nautical geography. "The Goodwins," as they are usually termed by seamen, are the sands lying off Deal, reaching nearly from the North to the South Forelands. Inside of these sands is the well-known anchorage, "The Downs," referred to in King Henry VI, Act II, scene i:<sup>9</sup>

Whilst our pinnace anchors in the Downs.

One more example: Rosalind says of her love:

. . . it cannot be sounded; my affection hath an unknown bottom like the Bay of Portugal.<sup>10</sup>

Whall wonders how Shakespeare was aware of the fact that the Bay of Portugal could not be sounded with the apparatus then in use.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Falconer, p. 90.      <sup>7</sup>MV 3. 1. 2-6      <sup>8</sup>5. 3. 9-11

<sup>9</sup>Whall, p. 59.      <sup>10</sup>AYL 4. 1. 201-1

<sup>11</sup>Whall, p. 60.

There is general agreement among the writers that Shakespeare was familiar with the new facts and detailed knowledge of the world and of the sea that were revealed by the navigators in Shakespeare's day.

9. That the ocean on which the voyages were made constituted a major element in the plays has been discussed in Chapter III, where Shakespeare's use of distance, danger, dispersion, and deliverance were illustrated.

Of all the plays, none has more frequent use of seas, rivers, and ships than Antony and Cleopatra, where much of the action is concerned with ships and we hear of "rigging," a "great navy," "a harbour," "a rudder," "ships' flags," and "galleys," to mention just a few sea references. Antony's failure is a sea-failure and the image of a man's life-voyage compared to a sea-voyage comes up frequently as when Caesar says:

It hath been taught us from the primal state,  
That he which is was wisht until he were;  
And the ebb'd man, ne'er loved till ne'er worth love,  
Comes dear'd by being lackt. This common body,  
Like to a vagabond flag upon a stream,  
Goes to and back, lackeying the varying tide,  
To rot itself with motion.<sup>12</sup>

10. The above quotation is one of hundreds of Shakespeare's sea images, which have also been discussed. One passage that I quoted was Queen Margaret's speech in King Henry the Sixth Part III, in which there are thirty-two

sea-terms in the first thirty-two lines. This is a very nautical speech to put into a queen's mouth. The technical and professional sea-terms which came into the English language and with which Shakespeare was familiar and used accurately such as, "Bring her to the main course"<sup>13</sup> and "Set her two courses--off to sea again: lay her off!"<sup>14</sup> are one thing. But Queen Margaret's speech and the numerous sea similes in the plays are quite another thing. When the Third Gentleman in Henry the Eighth says:

Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman  
That ever lay by man: which when the people  
Had the full view of, such a noise arose  
As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest.<sup>15</sup>

these words are a revelation not only of Shakespeare's accurate knowledge of the sea, but also of his tender sensitivity of the use of sea-terms in his imagery. The shrouds are the heavy ropes of the rigging which support the masts of a ship on either side so that they can carry the sails. A wooden sailing ship, rope-rigged, was, like Prospero's Island, "full of noises" in a gale.

Every beam and timber had a voice, and the storm through the rigging, of which the "shrouds" were a large part, sang exactly the stringent, buzzing sound which can be heard in a crowd before it actually breaks out in shouting.<sup>16</sup>

Whall again wonders how Shakespeare could have known this.

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<sup>13</sup>TMP 1. 1. 35

<sup>14</sup>TMP 1. 1. 47

<sup>15</sup>4. 1. 170-3

<sup>16</sup>Whall, p. 62.

In the fourth act of Cymbeline, Imogen, in a death-like trance, is brought in and Belarius says:

O melancholy!  
Who ever yet could sound thy bottom: find  
The ooze, to show what coast thy sluggish crare  
Might easiliest harbour in?<sup>17</sup>

Imogen's "melancholy" is a vast sea, a bottomless sorrow.

Later, Caius Lucius, referring to the dead Cloten, asks

Imogen, "What's thy interest / In this sad wrack?"<sup>18</sup>

Cowards in battle are "like fragments in hard voyages."<sup>19</sup>

With reunion, the boat is safe in the haven of love:

Posthumus anchors upon Imogen;<sup>20</sup> See,

Gukerius in telling how he murdered Cloten says:

. . . he did provoke me  
With language that would make me spurn the sea  
If it could so roar at me.<sup>21</sup>

This kind of sea-imagery could be quoted from all the plays. I have also given examples of how the lands reached by the voyagers and what they found in those lands affected Shakespeare's imagery, such as potatoes, parrots, monkeys, Cham's Beard, Afric's serpent, a Poland night, etc.

11. The New World had been mentioned a few times in imaginative literature in the early part of the sixteenth century--by Alexander Barclay in The Ship of Fools,

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<sup>17</sup>4. 2. 203-6

<sup>18</sup>4. 2. 366

<sup>19</sup>5. 3. 44

<sup>20</sup>5. 5. 392

<sup>21</sup>5. 5. 294-6

1509; by Sir Thomas More in Utopia, 1517; by John Rastell in Interlude of the Four Elements, 1519; and by an unknown author in "Good Order," 1533. However the New World was not repeatedly and consistently referred to by any one writer of imaginative prose or poetry until Shakespeare, who referred to the New World as Inde, the Indies, West Indies, Western Inde, India, and America.

One final thought should be given to what it was that tied together the three strands of my braid--the explorers, the chroniclers, and Shakespeare. The thought can be summed up in one word: patriotism. They all had this in common--their deep, passionate devotion to their Queen and their country.

It seems hardly necessary to restate that the chief driving force behind the adventurers and the explorers was their love of their country. The great captains--Raleigh, Hawkins, Gilbert, Willoughby, Fro-bisher, Drake--pushed their prows into all the seas, planted colonies in new lands, and extended the dominions of Queen Elizabeth for the glory of England. In Drake's speech to his men after the execution of Thomas Doughty we hear the sentiments of all the explorers: attack from another nation cannot be withstood if there is internal conflict; a Captain cannot fight alone, he needs his crew, he gives them leave to depart if they wish, but if they do they are traitors and will be treated as such; if the voyage is not a success, it

will humiliate England and she will be the laughing stock of Spain and Portugal; and all must be forever loyal to and willing to serve Her Majesty, the Queen, and England. The most important note of the speech, which uses the rhetorical device Peter Ure calls auxesis (arranging sentences in sequence of increasing force)<sup>22</sup> is patriotism, the fervent devotion to and love for England and the Queen.

As for the chroniclers, Hakluyt repeatedly wrote that he undertook the long, arduous task of recording the discoveries for "the ardent love of my country."<sup>23</sup> He constantly preached the benefits of colonization and he lent his hand to all schemes that might lead to English settlements in America. His Discourse of Western Planting, presented to the Queen in the autumn of 1584, was written at the request of Raleigh, and was inspired by the reports of Captains Amadas and Barlow. Hakluyt was one of the Company of Merchants to whom Raleigh assigned his Virginia patent in 1588. After the premature death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the man who did most for encouraging the establishment of England's first colony in America was Richard Hakluyt.<sup>24</sup> The discovery of the world and the expansion of England's dominion were his consuming interests; England's glory as a result of this expansion

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<sup>22</sup>Arden Edition, p. 49.

<sup>23</sup>Hakluyt, 1:13.

<sup>24</sup>Raleigh, p. 140.

was what he lived for.

In this most famous and peerless government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects, through the special assistance and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and, to speak plainly, in compassing the vast globe of the earth more than once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth.<sup>25</sup>

The patriotism which gripped Hakluyt also motivated the other English chroniclers--Richard Eden, William Camden, George Abbot, Giles Fletcher, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Stow, to name a few.

As for Shakespeare, volumes could be written on the evidence in the plays of his patriotism, his ardent devotion to his country. For instance, in Henry the Fifth there is a glorification of the national ideal. The king is a king without a flaw, a pattern of the perfect English king. The play's theme is patriotism. Henry is "the mirror of all Christian Kings;"<sup>26</sup> he is "full of grace and fair regard";<sup>27</sup> "a true lover of the holy church";<sup>28</sup> and English peers owe themselves, their "lives, and services / To this imperial throne."<sup>29</sup>

Gaunt's patriotic speech in King Richard the Second, which includes the famous words ". . . this scepter'd isle . . . This other Eden, demi-Paradise" has already been noted. Louis B. Wright, in the Introduction to the Folger Edition, says this may be "the most

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<sup>25</sup>Hakluyt, 1:13.      <sup>26</sup>H5 2. Pro. 6      <sup>27</sup>1. 1. 21

<sup>28</sup>1. 1. 22      <sup>29</sup>1. 2. 34-5

patriotic speech in the whole of Shakespeare's canon."<sup>30</sup>

The last lines of the speech could easily have been spoken by Drake, who would gladly have given his life to avoid any "inky blots," any shame that might befall England. He would gladly have given his life to avoid any internal conflict--"shameful conquest of itself."<sup>31</sup>

What must be given special note is that, historically, Richard the Second was a medieval king living in a time when nationalism had not yet developed. For him England was a feudal patrimony that the king could deal with in accordance with his power and capacity, even to the extent of giving portions of his territory to his friends and kin, as Edward the Third had done in turning over the Duchy of Lancaster to John of Gaunt as a virtually independent palatinate.<sup>32</sup> But Shakespeare's play reflects the patriotism that had developed under the Tudors, particularly in Elizabeth's reign after the Armada was defeated. "Patriotism" was a word that would have been unknown to the historical John of Gaunt, but the play illustrates Shakespeare's reflection of public opinion toward the realm of England.

Brandes reminds us that the chronicle plays, with the exception of Henry the Eighth, were produced in the course of one decade, the decade in which England's

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<sup>30</sup>Folger Edition, p. xvi. <sup>31</sup>R2 2. 2. 64

<sup>32</sup>Folger Edition, p. xvi.

national sentiment burst into flower and her pride was at its highest.

This then is the knot with which I tie up my tale--the knot of patriotism which bound all Englishmen in the sixteenth century: explorers, adventurers, chroniclers, investors, noblemen, seamen, cartographers, and Shakespeare. All had a part in England's extraordinary greatness.

My conclusion is that though many authors were able to see the direct influence of America and the adventurers on the making of The Tempest, not all were able to see indications of this influence on Shakespeare's other plays. I have tried to show that the influence of the New World and its discovery is evident in all the plays in the Canon, and that the voyages provided source material from which Shakespeare drew freely. I have also tried to show that we cannot read the plays without being aware of an emphasis on great distances, constant movement over vast distances, and the ever-present vast surges of the sea--always there is the sea.

In telling my story I believe I have presented enough evidence to indicate that Shakespeare was interested in the discoveries of the sixteenth century, that he kept himself well-informed on all the aspects of colonization, and that he used the information he gathered in various ways in the plays, with special attention to America--the Indies.

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR THE PLAYS

MND	A Midsummer Night's Dream
AWW	All's Well That Ends Well
ANT	Antony and Cleopatra
AYL	As You Like It
COR	Coriolanus
CYM	Cymbeline
HAM	Hamlet
JC	Julius Caesar
H8	King Henry The Eighth
H5	King Henry The Fifth
1H4	King Henry The Fourth Part I
2H4	King Henry The Fourth Part II
1H6	King Henry The Sixth Part I
2H6	King Henry The Sixth Part II
3H6	King Henry The Sixth Part III
JN	King John
LR	King Lear
R2	King Richard The Second
R3	King Richard The Third
LLL	Love's Labour's Lost
MAC	Macbeth
MM	Measure for Measure
ADO	Much Ado About Nothing
OTH	Othello
PER	Pericles
ROM	Romeo and Juliet
ERR	The Comedy of Errors
MV	The Merchant of Venice
WIV	The Merry Wives of Windsor
SHR	The Taming of the Shrew
TMP	The Tempest
TGV	The Two Gentlemen of Verona
WT	The Winter's Tale
TIM	Timon of Athens
TIT	Titus Andronicus
TRO	Troilus and Cressida
TN	Twelfth Night