A Thesis Submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
In the Faculty of English
Language and Literature of the
University of Oxford

‘A strange, though native coast’: Imperial and Mercantile Reactions to Coastal Arrival in Early Modern Literature

William Humphries
Magdalen College

Table of Contents

PREFACE **6**

A NOTE ON THE THESIS **7**

ABSTRACT **8**

INTRODUCTION **10**

Defining the Early Modern Coast *11*

The Complicated Shorelines of Richard II *16*

The Question of Britain *20*

Forms of Empire *23*

Imitating and Invigorating Classical Models *26*

Chapter Outlines *30*

CHAPTER 1. FORMS OF COASTAL EMPIRE: IMPERIAL AND MERCANTILE MODELS OF NEW WORLD COLONIALISM IN THE WRITING OF RICHARD HAKLUYT **35**

I. 'AND THE SEA-COASTS, BE CALLED OF ALL NATIONS LIKEWISE LITTORA BRYTANIAE': COMPETING VISIONS OF COASTAL SETTLEMENT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL THINKING 37

Sir Francis Walsingham's Mercantile Model of Colonisation *39*

Sir Walter Raleigh's Imperial Model of Colonisation *45*

Hakluyt's Connection to Walsingham and Raleigh *52*

II. 'I CONFESSE TO HAUE TAKEN MORE THEN ORDINARIE PAINES, MEANING TO HAUE INSERTED IT IN THIS THIS WORKE': HAKLUYT'S STRATEGIES OF WRITING, EDITING AND TRANSLATING 55

Hakluyt's Academic, Ecclesiastical and Mercantile Networks of Patronage *57*

Hakluyt's Strategies of Writing *59*

Hakluyt's Strategies of Editing *68*

Hakluyt's Strategies of Translation *79*

III. 'IN KENNING OF THE SHORE': SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COASTAL ARRIVAL IN VIRGINIA AND HAKLUYT'S INFLUENCE ON DRAYTON'S ODE "TO THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE" 86

CONCLUSIONS 89

CHAPTER 2. SPENSER'S "INTEMPERATE" COASTS: CHARTING EROTIC AND IMPERIAL CONFLICT ON THE SHORELINES OF *THE FAERIE QUEENE*.....92

I. 'AT LAST THEY TO A CASTLE CAME | BUILT ON A ROCKE ADJOYNING TO THE SEAS': ARISTOTELIAN TEMPERANCE AND VIRGILIAN CONQUEST IN BOOK II OF THE FAERIE QUEENE 94

The Virtue of Temperance in Aristotle, Virgil and Sidney 96

Erotic Abnegation at the Castle of Medina 101

Imperial Conquest and Voyaging to the Bower of Bliss 105

The Moral Shorelines of Book II 112

II. 'SO FELL PROUD MARINELL VPON THE PRETIOUS SHORE': MORAL DISTRACTION AND EROTIC TRANSGRESSION ON THE ARIOSTAN COASTLINES OF BOOKS III AND IV OF THE FAERIE QUEENE 114

Britomart's Lament and the Moral Distractions of Epic Romance 115

Moral Transgression on the Shore - Florimell, Proteus and the Influence of Ariosto 119

Striving for Moral Certainty on the Shoreline 123

III. 'SO DOWNE THE CLIFFE THE WRETCHED GYANT TUMBLED; | HIS BATTRED BALLANCES IN PEECES LAY': MORAL UNCERTAINTY AND INTEMPERATE JUSTICE ON THE "IRISH" SHORES OF BOOK V 126

Ovidian Justice and the Erosion of Temperance 129

Intemperate Justice on the Shore – Artegall, Pollente and the Giant 132

Shifting Shorelines, Erotic Distractions and the Allure of Radigund 136

Rescuing Irena and Unleashing Moral Uncertainty 138

CONCLUSIONS 142

CHAPTER 3. EROTIC DIDO, IMPERIAL AENEAS: REPRESENTATION AND ALLUSION TO VIRGILIAN COASTAL ARRIVAL ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE FROM 1583-1612 145

I. 'WAST THOU NOT WRACKT UPON THIS LIBIAN SHOARE, | AND CAM'ST TO DIDO': THE POLITICS OF "STRANGENESS" IN GAGER'S AND MARLOWE'S DIDO PLAYS 149

William Gager's Dido *and the Dangers of Foreign Marriage 150*

The Politics of Strangeness and the London Stage 154

Strangers on the Shore in Christopher Marlowe's Dido, Queene of Carthage *157*

Marlowe's Coastal Geography 161

II. 'DIDO AND AENEAS SHALL WANT TROOPS AND ALL THE HAUNT BE OURS': THE SPECTRE OF MARLOWE'S DIDO, QUEENE OF CARTHAGE IN THE SEXUAL AND IMPERIAL POLITICS OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA 165

Questions of Gender in the Erotic-Imperial Conflict of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra *167*

Imperial Conflict in the Coastal Waters of Antony and Cleopatra *173*

The Literary Afterlife of Dido and Aeneas *176*

III. 'NOT SINCE WIDOW DIDO'S TIME': COASTAL ARRIVAL AND DYNASTIC POLITICS IN THE TEMPEST 178

Dido, Aeneas and the British Monarchies *182*

Claribel, Tunis and the "Marriage of Strangers" *186*

Miranda, Ferdinand and the "Marriage of Kin" *189*

The Tempest *and the Shorelines of the British Isles* *192*

CONCLUSIONS 194

CHAPTER 4. FOREIGN LANDS, FAMILIAR SHORES: MOCKING MERCANTILISM IN BEN JONSON AND JOHN FLETCHER'S "VOYAGE" DRAMAS 197

Parodying Shipwreck in Eastward Ho *198*

Coastal Arrival and Early Modern Parody *200*

I. 'WHERE AM I CAST ASHORE NOW': EASTWARD HO AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OPPOSITION TO NEW WORLD COLONIALISM 203

Satirising Virginian Coastal Arrival in Eastward Ho *204*

Financing Merchants in Eastward Ho *208*

Avoiding Censorship and Eastward Ho*'s Anti-Virginian Allies* *210*

Eastward Ho*'s Foreshadowing of Jacobean Colonial Satire* *212*

II. 'WHOLE SHYERES OF FRUITFULL RICH GROUNDES […] DOE PROSTITUTE THEMSELUES VNTO VS': THE GENDERING OF COLONIAL SHORELINES 214

Colonial Propaganda and the Feminisation of New World Shorelines *215*

John Donne's Parody of New World Feminisation *218*

Critiquing a Female New World in Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem *223*

Gender and Early Modern Colonial Satire *228*

III. 'THE DEUILL, PAPISTS, AND PLAYERS': QUESTIONS OF PIETY AND PROFIT IN BEN JONSON'S TREATMENT OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY 229

The Allure of Virginian Gold in Chapman's Memorable Masque *230*

Attacking Piety and Profit in Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair *233*

Satirising the Merchant's Prayer in Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse *237*

Piety and Profit on the Shores of the New World *242*

IV. 'MASTER MERCHANT, STAND BACK AND GIVE YOUR BETTERS LEAVE': MOCKING MERCHANTS ON THE SHORELINES OF FLETCHER'S THE ISLAND PRINCESS AND THE SEA VOYAGE 243

Fletcher's Satires of New World Coastal Arrival *244*

The "Noble" Motives of Merchant-Adventurers in The Island Princess *246*

Amazonian Women and Fool's Gold on the Shores of The Sea Voyage *252*

CONCLUSIONS 260

CONCLUSIONS 262

Coastal Arrival and the Literary Imagination *264*

Colliding with the Shore: The Literary Afterlife of Early Modern Coastal Encounter *266*

BIBLIOGRAPHY 270

Preface

This thesis would not have been possible without the indefatigable assistance of Professor Bart van Es. Throughout the four years that I have been working on this project he has far surpassed the role of academic supervisor and become both a mentor and friend. Even though I am leaving academia to pursue a career in the Law, our time working together has proved invaluable to all aspects of my working life and I am indebted to him for his patience, kindness, and clinical attention to detail. In undertaking such a huge project as a doctoral thesis one is often led down pathways that, while fascinating, do not lead to the intended destination. I want to thank Bart for being my guide during this period – without his help I would have become lost a long time ago.

I would like also to thank my parents, Michael and Juliet, for their support throughout this project. There have been moments when I have valued their encouragement more than they could ever imagine. In particular, I would like to thank my mother, who read through the entire thesis in preparation for my submission.

I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding my studies, as well as the members of the Oxford University English Faculty who took the time to read portions of my work in preparation for my transfer and confirmation of status interviews.

It remains only to thank my partner, Klara Janiec, for putting up with me for so many years while I battled through the highs and lows of the thesis. It cannot be easy tying yourself to the mast of a doctoral student, but with you by my side I have been able to stay the course. Onwards to the next adventure!

A Note on the Thesis

In this thesis there are several translations from Latin, French and Italian, which appear in the footnotes. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. In addition, throughout the thesis I have used modern dating conventions.

Abstract

This thesis explores imperial and mercantile reactions to moments of coastal arrival in early modern English literature. It demonstrates the various ways in which authors presented arrival on shorelines in order to consider political, ethical, and literary issues. Coastal arrival is shown to have become particularly significant during the period, owing to England's complicated sense of itself as an island nation with uncertain colonial aspirations. However, the thesis also reveals the connectedness between such novel representations of arrival shores and earlier classical models of literary coastal arrival. Chapter One examines competing visions of New World colonialism in the writings of Richard Hakluyt. Chapter Two traces the evolving political and ethical treatment of the shoreline in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Chapter Three considers allusion to and adaptation of the classical story of Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage in early modern drama. Finally, Chapter Four charts the ways in which the aspirations of seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers arriving on the shores of America were satirised on London's stage and page. Much as the shoreline is a liminal meeting point between land and sea, so too the literature of the period explores the complex blurring of binaries that takes place at moments of coastal arrival.

Heark then, ah heark, you gentle shepheard-crue;
An Isle I fain would sing, an Island fair;
A place too seldome view'd, yet still in view;
Neare as our selves, yet farthest from our care;
    Which we by leaving find, by seeking lost;
    A forrain home, a strange, though native coast;
Most obvious to all, yet most unknown to most:
– Phineas Fletcher

Introduction

> Welcome, my lords, welcome, brave western kings,
> To England's shore, whose promontory-cleeves
> Show Albion is another little world.
> – Robert Greene[1]

For an island nation, coastlines serve to mark territorial limits and, as such, can become important sites both of departure and arrival. At the same time, stepping onto a foreign shore can become a moment of potential conquest, of mercantile opportunity, or of imperial beginning. Arrival on coasts is also a longstanding *topos* in Classical literature – a defining element especially in Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, where coastal arrival at a promised land is a central organising topic. In 1558, England lost its last continental territory in the Pale of Calais and, in doing so, could imagine itself for the first time, albeit in complex and uncertain ways, as an island nation. In 1623, James I revoked the Virginia Company's charter to manage England's colonial settlements in North America, and the Crown gained its first overseas territory since the loss of Calais some sixty-five years earlier. During the period from 1558-1623, England's position offered competing and complementary visions of nationhood and empire: the country could imagine itself simultaneously bounded by coasts as an island nation as well as unfettered in its evolving relationship with foreign, colonial shores. This thesis is an exploration of moments of coastal arrival as they feature in texts of exploration, epic poetry, and early modern drama and romance. While it will touch occasionally on representations of the physical shoreline, this thesis is not designed to offer an account of early modern littoral geography. Instead, it is primarily concerned with imperial and mercantile reactions to both the prospect and depiction of coastal arrival in early modern texts. As such, this thesis treats coastal arrival as a symbolic event as much as a physical process – something that, I argue, was well understood by early modern writers and which was reflected in their work. The thesis is broadly chronological in its spread of chapters and sets out to explore the ways in which the literary

[1] Robert Greene, "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", *Robert Greene* ed. Thomas H. Dickinson (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1869) Act II, scene i, lines 5-7.

topos of arrival on coasts intersects with a developing and complex story of Britain's emergence as a trading and imperial nation.

Across four chapters, this thesis will explore various ways in which coastal arrival features in early modern writing. In Chapter One, I examine competing visions of New World colonialism in the writings of Richard Hakluyt. In Chapter Two, I trace the evolving political and ethical treatment of the shoreline in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. In Chapter Three, I consider allusion to and adaptation of the classical story of Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage in early modern drama. In Chapter Four, I chart the ways in which the aspirations of seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers arriving on the shores of America were satirised on London's stage and page.

Defining the Early Modern Coast

Before considering the imperial and mercantile reactions to coastal arrival in the literature of the period, it is necessary to come to some sense of what a coastline was in the early modern imagination. In the preface to the second edition of *The Coastlines of England and Wales*, the twentieth-century coastal geographer J. A. Steers writes that 'the coast is a boundary between land and water'.[2] If this description appears simple enough then the remainder of Steers's seven-hundred-page work is spent detailing the process of 'coastal evolution' that has shaped (and continues to shape) the physical shorelines of the British Isles.[3] Indeed, the changing nature of the coastline is what makes it, according to Steers, such a fascinating subject – he notes that 'in few other branches of physical geography does the investigator come across such rapid changes'. [4] While Steers, writing in the twentieth century, documents this evolution meticulously, the fragile nature of the coastline was already beginning to be understood in the early modern period. Between 1573 and 1590, for example, first John Dee and later Ralph Agas

[2] J. A. Steers, *The Coastline of England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), sig. b-2
[3] *ibid*., sig. b-2
[4] *ibid*., p. 1.

surveyed the coastal town of Dunwich, observing how the erosion of the shoreline was rapidly encroaching upon the settlement's habitations.[5] Recording this sense of coastal fragility in his description of the British Isles, William Camden wrote of Dunwich how 'by a certaine peculiar spite and envie of Nature, that suffereth the greedy Sea to have what it will and encroche still without all end, the greatest part thereof is violently carried away with the waves'.[6]

If early modern observers appreciated the fragility of the shoreline, they also understood (as we do now) that the "coast" extends either side of the physical meeting point of land and sea. Steers reminds us that what we study as the "coast" often extends 'inland many miles' as well as some distance out to sea.[7] This reality is implicitly acknowledged in the early modern use of the verb "to coast" – meaning to sail along the coastal waters of a landmass – as well as the distinction between "seaside" and "inland" regions – the former being an area of land near to the sea and the latter being an area of land remote from the sea.[8] In this thesis, I will use the terms "coast", "coastline", "shore" and "shoreline" interchangeably to mean the geography that surrounds and includes the meeting-point of land and sea. The precise meeting-point itself – traditionally considered to be the area between the low and high tides – will be referred to, as it was in the early modern period, as the "beach" or "strand".

While the natural processes that shape the coast have only been fully understood in the last one hundred years, a desire to map the shoreline and understand the processes that had formed it stretches back to the early modern period. In his 1571 treatise on geometrical practice, for example, Leonard Digges included an entire chapter on how 'to draw a platte of any coast', describing the process of setting up one's 'Instrument *Topographicall*' on a high cliff and using the vantage point to 'commodiously behold on euery parte the whole Countrey rounde about adiacent in your *Horrizon*'.[9] For the island people of Britain, surveying the coast was a means

---

[5] E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934), pp. 92-93.
[6] William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), p. 466
[7] J. A. Steers, *The English Coast and the Coast of Wales* (London: Collins, 1966), p. 18.
[8] See *Oxford English Dictionary*, "coast, *v*." meaning 4; "seaside, *n*." meaning 1; "inland, *n*., *adj*., and *adv*." meaning, 2.
[9] Leonard Digges, *Pantometria* (London, 1571), sigs. Kiii^{r}-Kiii^{v}.

of understanding the parameters of the nation; it was a barrier separating the domestic from the foreign. Similarly, when arriving by ship on a foreign land, the shoreline marked the point at which conquest could begin; it was the site where settlements could be established, imperial ambitions realised, and trading opportunities fulfilled. The potent symbolism surrounding such coastal arrival is evident in the "rituals of possession" undertaken upon Martin Frobisher's arrival in Newfoundland in 1576. We are informed that he:

> commanded his company if by anye possible meanes they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he toke in behalf of the Queene's most excellent Majestie thinking therby he might justify the having and enjoying of y^{e} same thinges that grew in these unknown partes.[10]

The process of claiming the shore for God and the Queen is literalised in the taking of organic and inorganic material from the shore. It is significant that Frobisher's men 'brought floures, some greene grasse, and one brought a peece of blacke stone' – the flowers and grasses evoke the Edenic qualities presumed of the New World, whilst also gesturing to the fertility that would prompt calls for colonial planting, at the same time, the black stone (ultimately discovered many years later to be iron pyrite) was presumed to be gold ore and initiated a frenzied search for New World gold to rival the discoveries of the Iberian powers in South America. While this particular coastal arrival was potent with symbolic importance, this thesis is about how early modern authors imagined such arrivals in their works – whether it be on the real shores of America and Ireland or the fictional shores of Prospero's Island and Faery Land. While this thesis is interested in the "event" of coastal arrival and the imperial and mercantile reactions to it in early modern literature, the physical "site" of the shoreline is itself a highly complex and fragile entity that was beginning to earn the attention of sixteenth and seventeenth-century geographical minds.

Over the last three decades, literary critics have demonstrated increasing interest in the ways in which early modern authors interacted with their physical geography – the literary

[10] George Best, *A True Discourse of Discoverie for finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the North-West, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher General,* in *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* ed. Richard Collinson (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1867), p. 75.

spaces of stage and page have been reconsidered in the context of a developing sense of "place" in the period. Richard Helgerson has emphasised the intersection between literature and cartography when defining the English nation; Andrew Hadfield has examined the transmission of exotic locations onto the early modern stage; and Bart van Es has considered the ways in which history and geography could be combined to create "topo-chrono-graphical" river narratives.[11] Meanwhile, exploring the human geography of the early modern period, Garrett Sullivan has examined the dramatic effect of human interaction with the land, focusing on both the '*landscape of imagined community*' and the '*landscape of sovereignty*'; and John Gilles has considered the 'geography of difference' and literary representation of the "other" on the early modern stage.[12] While several topographical and anthropological aspects of early modern geography (eg. rivers, landscapes, nationhood) have received specific critical attention, to date there has only been a single major study of the coastline in early modern literature: Elizabeth Jane Bellamy's *Dire Straits: The Perils of Writing the Early Modern English Coastline from Leland to Milton*.[13] This paucity of critical attention is surprising considering both the literal and symbolic prominence of the coastline during what the historian J. H. Parry has described as 'The Age of Reconnaissance' when Europeans (and Englishmen in particular) were continually arriving on foreign shores.[14]

Given the prominence of *Dire Straits* as the only critical monograph on the subject, this thesis draws in important ways on Bellamy's analysis of the literary depictions of the early modern English coastline. In particular, I have followed Bellamy's lead by approaching my study of the early modern shoreline with a focus on the metaphoric associations of the coast rather than viewing it as a purely inorganic piece of geography. This, I believe, is fundamentally

---

[11] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Writing of Elizabethan England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), Chapter 3; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Chapter 4; Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Chapter 2.

[12] Garrett Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

[13] Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, *Dire Straits: The Perils of Writing the Early Modern English Coastline from Leland to Milton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013)

[14] J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450-1650* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973)

in keeping with how early modern authors observed the world around them. Far from the modern tendency to silo knowledge into discrete categories (geography, literature, history, politics), I agree with Bruno Latour's suggestion in *We Have Never Been Modern* that the early modern mind was far more open to an associative understanding of the world.[15] This approach will be fundamental to the capacious methodological approach evident throughout my thesis. Rather than considering the literary text purely from a single methodological standpoint (feminist, New Historicist, ecocritical), this thesis will attempt to slice through the many strata of symbolic associations that early modern authors understood when writing or reflecting upon moments of coastal arrival. The result is a set of critical readings that demonstrate the sheer variety of ways in which authors considered moments of literary coastal arrival rather than a monolithic conclusion as to *the* early modern understanding of the shore. This is entirely in keeping with the critical precedent that Bellamy has laid down. Appreciating the metaphoric associations of the shoreline, Bellamy acknowledges early in her study that the early modern English coast functioned both literally and symbolically as a point of separation between the island of Britain and mainland Europe. While the coast may act as a barrier, it is also porous, and Bellamy is keen to explore the ways in which the cultural inheritance of European literature influenced English literary depictions of their own shores. Whilst recognising that 'coastal turbulence and isolation are intimately interwoven within the fabric of Anglo-Saxon and medieval English poetry', she indicates that for early modern writers (raised against the backdrop of an Erasmian Humanist curriculum), the coastline was always viewed in 'the fraught context of a longstanding cultural inheritance from antiquity'.[16] Bellamy's foregrounding of the influence of classical literature on early modern imaginings of the coastline forms a major component of my own critical reading of literary moments of coastal arrival, where classical precedent is so often a prism through which encounters with the shoreline are refracted.

In this thesis, I want to build on Bellamy's study of the "English Coastline" by extending the enquiry to include literary moments of arrival on the shores of the New World.

[15] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993)
[16] Bellamy (2013), pp. 16, 1.

This is, I consider, an important innovation in our thinking about depictions of coastal arrival in early modern literature. While Bellamy focuses on the interplay of Old World literary precedents on early modern depictions of the English coast, I want to demonstrate how these precedents inform a wider understanding of coastal arrival that includes arrivals on both the shorelines of Ireland and America. In highlighting the complex relationship that English writers had with notions of coastal arrival on these foreign shores, I will seek to demonstrate how such observations reflected back on the highly complicated understanding of Britain's own shorelines.

The Complicated Shorelines of Richard II

In John of Gaunt's famous 'sceptred isle' speech from *Richard II*, he articulates a politically complex and geographically dubious vision of England. Asserting that 'England' is an island 'bound in with the triumphant sea', the fourteenth-century Gaunt wilfully ignores the fact that both Wales and Scotland were separate political entities at that time, sharing land borders with England but not yet considered part of the larger Kingdom of England.[17] His geographical description of the coastally bounded nation reveals an early modern slippage between what is England and what is Britain – two distinct entities whose complicated relationship was itself fraught by heterogeneous thinking during the period. Furthermore, while Gaunt hopes to foreground English/British exceptionalism in contrast to mainland Europe – informing us that England/Britain is protected by 'a moat defensive' (II.i.48) in the form of the Channel – this too falls short of the realities of the fourteenth century. Since 1346, before the historical Richard II came to the throne, the Pale of Calais in Northern France was a Crown possession, and it remained so until it was reclaimed by the French in 1558. In this latter regard, Shakespeare makes Gaunt speech perhaps deliberately anachronistic; Gaunt is speaking to the political reality of Shakespeare's Elizabethan audience of the 1590s rather than the fourteenth-century

[17] William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), Act II, scene i

king with whom Gaunt is directly conversing. Shakespeare's insistence, therefore, on the significance of the 'rocky shore' as the demarcation between what is England and what is "other" – a political and geographical falsehood both in 1399 when the episode is set and 1595 when it was performed – is highly revealing. It suggests that the 'rocky shore' of England had taken on a literary significance outside of the geographical and political realities of the nation – serving as an important metonym for England itself, just as the white cliffs of Dover would become symbolically important during the European conflagration of the Second World War.

In 1595, the same year that *Richard II* is believed to have been written, the Italian author Giovanni Botero offered his own assessment of "The Kingdom of England" and its inhospitable shoreline. As in *Richard II*, Botero reveals an unconscious slippage between describing the geography of the British Isles while ostensibly focusing on the Kingdom of England alone. In the 1603 translation of the work, Botero describes how 'in strength of situation no kingdome excelleth England' for it is surrounded by 'a deep trench against hostile inuasions, and an easie passage to take in, and send out all commodities'.[18] The seas around England function, according to Botero, like the 'moat defensive' described in *Richard II*; however, in addition, the author identifies the mercantile potential offered by such easy access to the seas – a feature that was increasingly relevant to an early modern Europe looking to extend its trade to both the eastern and western corners of the globe. The English shoreline (and the shoreline in general) becomes, therefore, a significant site of arrival and departure – one that was evidently appreciated by an Italian author seeking to evaluate the distinct merits of the English nation. The strength of the British Isle, according to Botero, was its ability to control the process of coastal arrival on its own shores. Concluding his assessment, Botero notes of England that 'the sea coast is on every side cliffie and inaccessible', revealing that 'without an English Pilot no stranger shalbe able to bring in a vessel in safety'.[19] Coastal arrival was itself, as Botero explains, fraught with potential perils.

---

[18] Giovanni Botero, *An historicall description of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales in the worlde* (London, 1603), p. 23.
[19] *ibid*., p. 23-24.

Botero's historical assessment of the English shoreline and Shakespeare's literary representation of it in John of Gaunt's speech demonstrate the significance of the coastline in early modern political and literary assessments of nation and empire. However, far from having a fixed identity, the shoreline and the reactions of those arriving upon them are highly unstable. Later in *Richard II*, Shakespeare compounds the instability of Gaunt's littoral assertions when Richard arrives on the shores of Wales, having travelled by sea from Ireland. Here Richard announces, stepping onto the beach, that 'I weep for joy | To stand upon my kingdom once again' (III.ii.4-5). Though it may seem like semantic quibbling, it is in fact important to emphasise that the fourteenth-century Richard would have stepped into the Principality of Wales and not the Kingdom of England – a formal union would not be completed until 1542 and, even then, it remained uneasy and highly contested. At this moment in the play, Shakespeare once again speaks to his audience, dramatizing their own sensitivities concerning the shoreline of the British Isles rather than those of a strictly historical Richard. Like Gaunt, the Richard of the play imbues the coastline with a kind of mythical significance. He suggests that:

> This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones
> Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
> Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms. (III.ii.24-26)

And yet, the rebellion is over as quickly as it started and all that is left to Richard is to 'sit upon the ground' (III.ii.155) – the very ground that only moments earlier caused him to 'weep for joy' – 'and tell sad stories of the death of kings' (III.ii.156). Richard's investment in the Kingdom of England is only as meaningful as his mastery over its land – he wears a 'hollow crown' (III.ii.160) since he can define the limits of his kingdom but no longer controls what lies within.

If Shakespeare's presentation of the English coast seems deliberately confused in *Richard II* then it is because he was writing at a time when historical and literary notions of the shoreline were in flux. In a play that grapples primarily with the mythopoetic founding of the Tudor dynasty, Shakespeare nevertheless engages with complex notions of how to define sixteenth-century England in relation both to the archipelagic entity of the British Isles as well

as the broader geography of Europe and the world beyond. Shakespeare's inability to fully articulate these relationships – there is, for example, considerable slippage during the period, if not directly in the play itself, between the terms 'England' and 'Britain' – is a product of the often-fraught thinking about how to view the nation. This has been particularly problematic when considering the extent to which the non-English nations of the British Isles were considered equal components of the larger national project – rather than being simply subsumed within a wider English nation. Much has been made in recent criticism, for example, of the Irish Captain MacMorris's self-questioning declaration in *Henry V*: 'What ish my nation? Ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?'.[20] MacMorris's statement suggests both an erasure of specific national character and a simultaneous enlargement of its capacity to encompass multiple (and at times competitive) forms of identity. Nevertheless, the manner in which these multiple identities are configured remains problematic. Shakespeare plays with this very confusion in *Henry VI, Part II*, when the French Queen Margaret asks Suffolk:

> Is this the fashions in the court of England?
> Is this the government of Britain's isle,
> And this the royalty of Albion's king?[21]

Shakespeare reveals himself here to be attuned to the very complicated notions of nationhood with which his own age was grappling, though he seems unable to offer a definitive answer as to how these historical, political and mythological "nations" should be configured.

---

[20] William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. T. W. Craik (London: Routledge, 1995), Act III, scene ii, lines 124-126; Critics and historians interested in nascent British identity who have explored the character of MacMorris include: Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 56; David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Bernhard Klein, "'Tales of Iron Wars': Shakespeare and the Uncommon Soldier", Barbara Korte and Ralf Schneider, eds., *War and the cultural construction of identities in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 100-101; Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), Amanda Penlington, "'Not a man from England': Assimilating the Exotic 'Other' Through Performance, from *Henry IV* to *Henry VI*", Willy Maley and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton eds., *This England, That Shakespeare: New Angles on Englishness and the Bard* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 165-183.

[21] William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1999), Act I, scene iii, lines 44-46.

The Question of Britain

The eminent philosopher of nationalism studies, Anthony D. Smith, has offered some criteria for defining the "nation". He describes it as 'a large, territorially bounded group sharing a common culture and division of labour, and a common code of legal rights and duties'.[22] From this we can identify three main components: geography, culture and institutions (both economic and political). Based on this definition of the nation, it is easy to see how early modern Britain was a highly complicated entity that both encouraged and resisted unification as a single "nation". The so-called "Question of Britain" and the configuration of its constituent nations was the subject of an important essay by the historian J. G. A. Pocock, who was amongst the first to argue for a re-evaluation of the unstable geographical, political and cultural entity that was early modern Britain.[23] Pocock considered the history of early modern Britain – what he termed in his initial essay the 'New Subject' and called later the 'Unknown Subject' – to have been defined far more by a 'historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations'.[24] Pocock's assessment of the heterogeneous ambitions of the "nations" of Britain and the incomplete process of their unification should caution us against viewing nationhood in the period in terms of a collective striving towards a monolithic cultural identity. Instead, the centripetal forces bringing together the various nations of Britain and early modern literary evaluations of them should be seen as part of this "experiment" – a process that was itself ongoing and complicated by competing visions. Pocock's work, heavily challenged at the time, though subsequently gaining the status of critical orthodoxy in historical circles, has been the starting point for a later generation of literary scholars interested in examining how the question of Britain was articulated in the literature of the period. Important studies by David J. Baker, Andrew Hadfield and John Kerrigan have helped to further problematise our notion of early modern nationhood

[22] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 47.
[23] J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: a Plea for a New Subject", *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 47 (1975), pp. 601-628.
[24] J. G. A. Pocock, "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject", *American Historical Review* Vol. 87 (1982), p. 318.

by asking us to view the literature of the period through the lens of this on going "experiment".[25]

Baker, whose work is perhaps the most self-consciously Pocockian of the three, adopts the terminology of the 'two nations' (considered by Pocock to be England and Scotland) when considering the literary and cultural transmission 'between nations'. While Baker is evidently concerned with identifying the borders between nations, this is not for the purpose of policing these boundaries. In his chapter 'Border Crossings', for example, he seeks to foreground the hybridisation of England and Irish legal and cultural traditions in Ireland through the lens of Edmund Spenser's 'A View of the Present State of Ireland'. While this becomes, to a great extent, a process of English annexation, Baker complicates our understanding of the process by highlighting the fluidity of identities between the Native Irish, Old English, and New English inhabitants. Ultimately, we find that the literary and cultural transmission of the period works along both the horizontal axis (between the constituent nations of Britain) and the vertical axis (between a constituent nation and the supranational entity of "Britain"). Nevertheless, what is achieved by those invested in the British project during this period never amounts to anything properly unified but is instead 'fragmented and tenuous'.[26]

In the same vein of critical enquiry, Hadfield has noted the problematic erasure of Welsh identity during the sixteenth century, pointing to the title of Holinshed's *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577, 1587) as evidence of the manner in which Wales was culturally subsumed by the Act of Union in 1536. Equally, he recognises that it is not until the closing years of the sixteenth century and the impending Stuart succession that political union with Scotland was considered with any great seriousness by those in England. Given, therefore, that the majority of Hadfield's engagement is with literature of the Elizabethan period, the emphasis of his study is necessarily centred around England's complicated and long-standing relationship with Ireland. Alongside this, however, Hadfield demonstrates how the newly emergent "other" of English cultural consciousness – the Native American – served both

[25] Baker (1997); Hadfield (2004); John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
[26] Baker (1997), pp. 170-171.

to intensify English presentations of the Irish "savage" (through, for example, John White's complementary watercolours of the Native American and Pictish warrior) as well as reassuring some English settlers that the subjugation of Ireland was a "domestic" rather than "colonial" project. These contradictory attitudes, simultaneously isolating and embracing Ireland to the central concept of Britain, led Sir William Herbert confusingly both to advocate a rapprochement between the Irish and English as well as express a desire to destroy and conquer it.[27]

Kerrigan, whose study begins with the ascension of James I to the English throne in 1603, recognises that it was during the seventeenth century that unification of the nations of Britain became simultaneously its most viable and also its most problematic. James's repeated attempts to force the English and Scottish parliaments to recognise him as a legal and political King of Britain were never fully realised during his reign and were a constant source of frustration to him. The extent to which the various nations of the British Isles could be successfully incorporated into the wider "British" entity was, Kerrigan suggests, a question of ability as much as it was of ambition. Unlike Wales, which had been more or less subsumed into the Kingdom of England by the mid-sixteenth century, Ireland retained a far greater sense of autonomy owing largely to the difficulty of conquest. This problem was compounded when placed into the context of, what Kerrigan calls, the 'nascent phenomenon' of overseas empire.[28] Nevertheless, Kerrigan argues that towards the end of the seventeenth century it was, in fact, consideration for the North American colonies that brought many Scots to acknowledge the benefits of a closer union with England.[29] Kerrigan's hope to replace the terms "British" or "English" with "Archipelagic English" both recognises the complex island geography of the British Isles as well as the political and cultural reality of England's predominant position in the unifying process. Nevertheless, Kerrigan's study of the literature relating to this process reveals not a unity of purpose amongst writers but instead the competitive, complicated, and often

[27] Hadfield (2004), p. 20.
[28] Kerrigan (2008), pp. 50-51.
[29] *ibid*., pp. 50-51

unresolved manner in which writing engaged with the complex questions of national identity in the seventeenth century.

Forms of Empire

In 1992, the historian Perry Anderson attempted to resolve the distinction between the national and imperial interpretations of the British Isles by arguing that 'in Britain the organizing definition of the national was inescapably imperial – the "British" people, strictly speaking, emerging as an artefact of an empire-state, from the various island nationalities'.[30] More recently, Willy Maley has argued from a literary perspective that ''England' and 'Empire' are the twin umbrellas that adumbrate the British Problem'.[31] These two categories are necessarily porous and Maley has rightly noted, in implicit agreement with Anderson, that there is an 'imperialism implicit in Britishness itself'.[32] Building on Anderson's historical argument, David Armitage has suggested that the early modern development of the British nation and empire was not merely simultaneous but contingent upon one another. Armitage concludes that 'the ideological history of the relations between the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland in the sixteenth century reveals the inseparability of – and, in many ways the identity between – state-formation and empire-building in the early modern period'.[33] They are "inseparable", I would argue, not only because they are contingent upon similar political forces working at the time, but also because of the overlapping mythmaking that justified such projects. Richard Helgerson's analysis of early modern 'forms of nationhood' implicitly acknowledges this overlap in his choice of literary material and we might borrow and broaden many of his conclusions to encompass a more capacious study of England's early modern *forms of empire*. As Meredith Anne Skura has correctly concluded, modern critics must be more

[30] Perry Anderson, *English Questions* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 10.
[31] Willy Maley, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 26.
[32] *ibid*., p. 26.
[33] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 24.

attuned to the multiplicity of 'New World *discourses'* rather than attempting to reconstruct a singular, imperial discourse.[34] The overlap between state-formation and empire-building in early modern England/Britain is hardly surprising when the "identity" (to use Armitage's word) of any particular territory of the nation or empire was so unsettled. The complicated position of Ireland (seemingly half-domestic and half-colonial in relation to the British nation and empire), for example, as well as the literary reactions to English involvement there, reveal the extent to which the boundaries between domestic and imperial mythmaking were to be necessarily porous.

The combination of geography, politics and mythmaking in the service of state-formation and empire-building was importantly configured in the sixteenth century by the mathematician, astronomer and some-time alchemist John Dee. Dee is credited with coining the term "British Empire" and spent much of his time during the 1570s describing what he saw as the historical precedent for imperial expansion in the North Atlantic.[35] In a work entitled *Britianici Imperii Limites*, circulated in manuscript amongst the Elizabethan court, Dee detailed the historical precedents that he believed granted Elizabeth I 'title Royall to all the Coasts, and Ilands beginning at or about *Terra Florida*, and so alongst, or neere vnto *Atlantis*, goinge Northerly: and then to all the most Northern Ilands great and small, And so compassinge about *Groenland*, Easward and Northern Boundes of the Duke of Muscovie his dominions'.[36] This was to constitute what Dee called the 'great British maritime empire'.[37] Dee's justification for such territorial claims, he acknowledged, 'depende chieflie vppon our King *Arthur*'.[38] While the Galfridian myths were considered quasi-historical at the time, Dee's *Limites* reveals something more fundamental about the ideological origins of empire than it does the specific mythological justification for it. First, it articulated for the first time the concept of a 'maritime empire' that

[34] [my italics] Meredith Anne Skura, "Discourse and the Individual: the Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*", *Shakespeare Quarterly* Vol. 40 (1989), pp. 42-69.
[35] Details of Dee's interest in the formation of a "British Empire" can be found in William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 148-200.
[36] BL. Additional MS 5968, quoted in Sherman (1995), p. 187.
[37] *ibid*., p. 187.
[38] *ibid*., p. 188.

would be largely confined to the coasts and small islands of the Atlantic. This was in stark contrast to the penetrative, territorial empires that the Iberian powers forged in South America. Second, it demonstrates the extent to which both nation and empire were seen as part of a continuum of historical and even mythical precedent that could be articulated and justified through literary example.

For Dee, state-formation and empire-building were not separate projects. In 1597, he produced another work entitled *THALATTOKRATIA BRETANIKI; Miscelanea quaedam extemporanea; De imperij Brytanici Iurisdictione, in Mari* [THE BRITISH SEA-SOVEREIGNTY; or an Extemporaneous Miscellany on the Sea-Jurisdiction of the British Empire]. This work built on the imperial treatises that had occupied him in the 1570s by 'inducing the consideration of her Ma:[ties] Royal Sealimits'.[39] The work predated the seventeenth-century debate between Hugo Grotius and John Selden concerning *mare liberum* and *mare clausum* but adumbrated a similar interest in the limits and sovereignty of Britain's imperial waters. What is, perhaps, most intriguing is not that Dee advocated a position of *mare clausum* but that the manner in which he justified it relied on establishing sovereignty over the coastline. The work takes the form of a literary and littoral circumambulation of the British Isles (including Scotland) and justifies sovereignty of the sea based on sovereignty over the coast. Sovereignty over the coastline was, in fact, fundamental to Dee's legal justification for British sea-sovereignty – tied, as William Sherman notes, to the distinction between Limits Absolute and Limits Respective.[40] The former of these applied when a body of water was flanked by the same monarch's coastal territory – in this case, the monarch could claim all the waters lying between the two. The latter applied when the body of water was between the shores of two or more different monarchs – in this case, the monarch could claim 100 miles of sea or half the total distance between the two coasts. Dee's literary circumambulation is not, therefore, so much concerned with directly claiming the waters around the British Isles but first establishing sovereignty over the coastlines. The implications of this are significant when placed in a

[39] BL MS Harley 249, quoted in Sherman (1995), p. 193.
[40] Sherman (1995), pp. 194-195.

colonial context. If the coastlines of Ireland and Scotland, for example, could be rightfully claimed by the English Crown, then the seas (in particular the Irish Sea) necessarily fell under the monarch's sovereign power. If the coastline of the Americas could be claimed then much of the Atlantic Ocean could potentially have been considered British waters.

Dee's work reveals the extent to which the coastline functioned as a political and even imperial entity in early modern England and the degree to which sovereignty was justified through historical precedent, fashioned, as it so often was, in literary accounts. The imperial self-fashioning undertaken in literary reactions to coastal arrival often harked back to models established by the Roman Empire and its own literary mythologising. In the politically febrile climate of early modern Europe, Armitage has noted how 'the powerful language of [Roman] *imperium* could and did sustain many rulers in their battles, both internal and external, for independence and supremacy'.[41] This was particularly the case for the British Isles, where the configuration of individual nations under the banner of imperial unity was so potentially fraught by competing visions and hesitant participation. When extended beyond the British Isles, the manner in which external territories claimed in the name of colonial conquest fitted into this imperial model was always likely to be messy. When further examining notions of early modern empire, we discover that imperial thinking was far from monolithic or programmatic but riven by competing factions with partisan interests. Imitation, particularly of Classical literary models, became a necessary means by which early modern imperialism could be rehearsed and justified in literature.

Imitating and Invigorating Classical Models

There has been longstanding critical interest in Classical imitation and the reception of ancient literary models in the literature of the early modern period.[42] In his comparative study of Italian,

[41] Armitage (2000), p. 33.
[42] An extensive bibliography of criticism related to Classical reception and imitation has been compiled by Craig Kallendorf, "Classical Reception in English Literature, 1558-1660: An Annotated

French and English modes of early modern *imitatio*, Thomas M. Greene emphasised the emergence of 'new intertextual structures' that governed the interplay between early modern readers and the multiple (and often convoluted) lines of literary transmission that brought Classical texts into new and surprising contexts.[43] Greene's argument is historically defined: the development of models of imitation (through the rediscovery of Classical rhetoricians such as Quintillian) began in the fifteenth century on the Continent and reached its peak in English literature during the closing decades of the sixteenth century. Greene places the power of *imitatio* in the 'shock of anachronism' – a power that necessarily became 'dulled' once 'dramatized, manipulated, and tamed' to the point of over-familiarity.[44] By the mid-seventeenth century in England, Classical imitation was already fading after 'the play of parody and travesty', as Greene describes it, had eroded writers' earnest recourse to such literary models.[45] This parodic mode is something that will be explored later in this thesis, where the satirical impetus of city comedy in the early years of James I's reign became the vehicle to mock the earnest, quasi-heroic ambitions of the Virginia Company in North America.

Since the developments of New Historicism in the 1980s, critics have become increasingly attuned to identifying the intersections between early modern politics and Classical imitation in literary works. As Curtis Perry has so succinctly argued: 'for early modern English writers, political thought was typically mediated by the dynamics of classical receptions'.[46] However, where Perry emphasises the reception of, for example, Ciceronian texts as impacting on the development of early modern political thought, we may broaden our understanding of the intersection between Classical reception and early modern politics to include the way in which ancient literary works (rather than strictly political ones) offered early modern readers models for considering state-formation and empire-building. In his study of epic and empire, David

---

Bibliography", *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, eds. David Hopkins and Charles Martindale, 5 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), Vol. 2, pp. 657-741.

[43] Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 28.

[44] *ibid*., p. 293.

[45] *ibid*., p. 293.

[46] Curtis Perry, "Cultural Contexts, a. Politics and Nationalism", in Hopkins and Martindale (2015) Vol. 2, p. 147.

Quint has identified the twin impulses of early modern imitation that gave voice both to the conqueror and the conquered. Quint proposes that 'to the victors belongs epic, with its linear teleology; to the losers belongs romance, with its random or circular wandering'.[47] Quint chooses not to apply this axiom directly to an examination of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*; however, it will, in many ways, underpin the transition from colonial enthusiasm to imperial melancholy that Chapter Two of this thesis will chart on the shorelines of Spenser's poem. Virgilian models of imperial arrival on foreign shores in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, I argue, give way to Ovidian models of exile by Book V. Throughout this thesis, the achievements and ambitions of early modern empire will be seen reflected through the competing models of Classical epic and romance.

Elsewhere, Margaret W. Ferguson has been sensitive to the ways in which we might read Classical precedent into the imperial and gendered reactions of writers she terms the "daughters of Dido" in early modern descriptions of New World encounter.[48] The gendering of native and colonial shores was a key part of the early modern geographical imagination and was linked to notions of sexual conquest. Dido's liminal position, according to Ferguson, in debates about 'history and fiction, about licit and illicit sexual behaviour, about masculine and feminine social roles, and about the dangers of speaking and listening to strangers' make her a highly significant figure in the early modern imagination and one whose presence ultimately reverberates though its literature.[49] The figure of Dido becomes an important point of reference for early modern writers wishing to explore complicated notions of sexuality, nationhood and empire. My own examination of the Dido and Aeneas episode, and particularly the arrival of a foreign prince on the shore, in Chapter Three of this thesis reveals the mutating significance of this image in the light of an evolving historical context. The figure of Dido becomes part of a complex web of allusions in the period to female monarchy, moulded by the context in which she appears but never fulfilling a single, programmatically political agenda. As the historical

[47] David Quint, *Epic and Empire: politics and generic form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 9.
[48] Margaret W. Ferguson, *Dido's Daughters: Literary, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)
[49] Ferguson (2003), p. 1.

and cultural context changed, particularly with the Stuart succession, early modern writers can be seen imitating and invigorating Classical models with surprising new interpretations that resist simple or singular modes of reading.

The non-programmatic but nevertheless highly political nature of Classical reception in early modern England has been argued for by David Womersley in his study of Sir Henry Savile's translations of Tacitus.[50] Here Womersley offers a model for reading early modern translations of Classical texts in which we must consider the role of patronage in shaping the political potential of a work as well as the ways in which contemporary readers were primed to identify commentary on current political events in such writing. It is not, Womersley argues, that the text itself has programmatic political intentions – nor even that it was published to coincide specifically with any particular political event – but, instead, that the work becomes part of a wider nexus of political commentary that reflects on certain key historical moments through analogy in the mind of the reader. In her study of Shakespeare's Troy and early modern translations of empire, Heather James has reached similar conclusions about the use of Classical literary precursors. James argues that by resisting the temptation to map an author's political intentions into their use of classical allusions, we may become more receptive to the plurality of ways in which writers 'respond playfully or polemically to social and political preoccupations and to do so through textual surrogate for political powers'.[51] The text is not a key to unlocking the author's political thinking but instead a site for the interplay of ideas as they appear in, what James persuasively terms, the 'textual surrogates' that Classical models represent.

In recent years, Colin Burrow has been particularly attuned to the messy, playful, incomplete and, at times, even inaccurate manner in which Classical models found their way into early modern texts.[52] Burrow has significantly identified, in regards to Shakespeare and humanistic culture, how 'misremembering and mishearing the classical tongues can be as much

[50] David Wormersley, "Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts", *Review of English Studies* (1991) XLII (192), pp. 313-342.
[51] Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, politics, and the translation of empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 147.
[52] Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

a response to "the classics" as careful imitations and artful echoes'.[53] This is a key paradigm to reading Classical influence in the early modern literary texts with which this thesis is concerned. Early modern writers, especially figures such as Shakespeare whose engagement with Classical sources is particularly idiosyncratic, cannot be relied upon to map their sources directly or accurately into their work. My examination in Chapter Three of this thesis, for example, of the spectre of Dido in Shakespeare's late romances requires this kind of capacious and indirect engagement with the author's Virgilian and Ovidian (and, as I shall argue, Marlovian) sources.

Chapter Outlines

This thesis, as outlined above, is informed by criticism concerning early modern nationhood, criticism on empire, and the longstanding but recently developing criticism on Classical imitation. The structure of this thesis is broadly, though not programmatically, chronological with the Stuart succession proving to be an important fulcrum around which many aspects of nationhood and empire turn. The thesis is not intended as an intellectual history of early modern conceptions of the shoreline but hopes to demonstrate how the literary *topos* of coastal arrival intersects with the story of British state-formation and empire-building.

In Chapter One, I offer the most historically-driven account of coastal arrival of any chapter in the thesis, focusing on the forms of empire imagined for the New World by England's sixteenth-century colonialists. It focuses on two dominant models of coastal empire that emerged in the 1580s: what I term Sir Francis Walsingham's "mercantile model" and Sir Walter Raleigh's "imperial model". Historical and critical accounts of the period have so far underappreciated the differences in these models of New World colonialism; the former, emphasised the construction of a series of small, coastal trading-settlements designed to facilitate mercantile opportunities through the Northwest Passage to Cathay; the latter, focused

[53] Colin Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture", in *Shakespeare and the Classics* eds. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 15.

on the construction of a single, self-supporting colony in the New World that would give England an imperial foothold in the Americas and challenge the presence of the Iberian powers. Having outlined these important historical differences, the chapter turns to a consideration of the period's chief colonial promoter, Richard Hakluyt, and how his writing accommodated and promoted these two models. Rather than seeing Hakluyt's colonial writing as a monolithic, uniform entity, this chapter attempts to demonstrate how the pressures of patronage (chiefly from these two individuals) were fundamental in shaping the nuances of his writing. By examining Hakluyt's strategies of writing, strategies of editing, and strategies of translating in turn, this chapter offers a new consideration of a large body of the author's work in light of these pressures of patronage. The chapter demonstrates the heterogeneity of literary and colonial conceptions of coastal arrival in the New World during the sixteenth century as the "mercantile" and "imperial" models jostled for primacy. Hakluyt's centrality in promoting both colonial models in the sixteenth century left space for a hybrid model to emerge in the seventeenth century when interest in New World settlement was resurrected. The chapter concludes with a brief reading of Michael Drayton's "Ode to the Virginian Voyages", which, I argue, reflects the hybridisation of these distinct earlier models of coastal arrival in the New World for new generation of seventeenth-century colonialist.

In Chapter Two, I turn to the writing of Edmund Spenser and, in particular, the erotic-imperial conflicts that occur on the shorelines of Books II-V of *The Faerie Queene*. Coastlines, I argue, are central to the moral and imperial architecture of the poem. This chapter explores how Spenser's use of coastal arrival in the poem is connected to Classical and contemporary European literary traditions of epic and epic-romance. While it has become orthodoxy amongst Spenser scholars to foreground the shift from Virgilian, imperial optimism in the 1590 instalment of *The Faerie Queene* to Ovidian pessimism in the 1596 instalment, this chapter will demonstrate how Spenser foregrounds this transition through his characters' interaction with the poem's littoral geography. The chapter begins by establishing how the coast functions as a temperate middle-space in Book II and how the Aeneas-like Sir Guyon negotiates the erotic distractions found on the shoreline in order to complete his imperial quest. The narratively and

coastally linear progress of Book II is disrupted in Books III and IV by the Ariostan epic-romance digression found in the story of Florimell, Marinell and Proteus. It is here that the virtue of temperance begins to erode on the shoreline and the moral vision of Book II is challenged. By Book V (structurally similar to Book II in the arrangement of its coastal geography), interactions on the shoreline become particularly fraught as Artegall is no longer governed by the virtue of temperance but, instead, veers wildly between intemperate excesses and deficiencies of justice. While Book II concludes with the coastal arrival at Acrasia's Bower of Bliss and Sir Guyon's destruction of it, Book V sees Artegall arrive on the shores of Irena's kingdom, where his defeat of the giant Grantorto is far from uncomplicated and results in the unleashing of the Blatant Beast. Throughout the chapter, the coastlines of *The Faerie Queene* are viewed through the prism of sixteenth-century imperialism and, in particular, the process of colonisation undertaken in Ireland. While moments of coastal arrival in the poem are seen to be part of a wider interest in imperial conquest, the chapter offers a new perspective on how this is connected to the deeper moral architecture of *The Faerie Queene*. Ultimately, my exploration of Spenser's coasts reveals a rich and contested moral, epistemological, and political geography.

In Chapter Three, I focus on dramatic representations and allusions to Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Dido's Carthage. This chapter builds on my analysis of the erotic-imperial conflicts on the literary shorelines of *The Faerie Queene* to consider how the Dido and Aeneas story was deployed by early modern playwrights to reflect on dynastic and imperial politics. I begin the chapter by considering how the representation of the Dido and Aeneas story (and in particular Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage) in William Gager's Latin play *Dido* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* reflected contemporary concerns over Elizabethan succession and the dangers of marriage to a Catholic "stranger". While Gager's play was occasioned by courtly concerns over Elizabeth's potential marriage to the Duke of Anjou, Marlowe's is seen as reflecting more general anxieties over the "politics of strangeness" at a time when England (and, in particular, London) was undergoing significant social upheaval. By establishing the fixation on marriage and the confrontation of competing identities on the shoreline in these Elizabethan Dido and Aeneas episodes, the chapter progresses to a

consideration of how William Shakespeare adapted such traditions to consider imperial and dynastic politics in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, the shoreline becomes a poignant barrier between masculine, imperial Rome and feminine, colonised Egypt. The blurring of Antony's personal, national and imperial identities (in particular, his "feminisation") on the shores of Alexandria, I argue, is a reimagined iteration of the "politics of strangeness" established in one of the play's key models: Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage*. Ultimately, the prospect of a marriage between Antony and Cleopatra is destabilising and imperial order must be restored by Augustus' fleet in the coastal waters of the Mediterranean. In *The Tempest*, Shakespeare once again reimagines Mediterranean coastal arrival and the play explores two marriages that result from such landings: the *ante dramatis* marriage of Claribel to the North African King of Tunis, and the union of Ferdinand and Miranda. In my reading of this play, I focus on the contrast between, on the one hand, the "marriage of strangers" and, on the other hand, the "marriage of kin", placing each into the context of the Stuart succession. While the marriage of Claribel and Tunis is distrusted on interracial and interreligious grounds (much as the prospect of James I's daughter Elizabeth marrying a Catholic was considered dangerous), the marriage of Miranda and Ferdinand is praised for bringing together two kindred kingdoms. The latter of these marriages, I argue, reflects an optimistic assessment of James I's unification of England and Scotland, with the prospect that (like Prospero's island) a single, continuous shoreline would encircle the sovereign territory of Britain.

In the final chapter, I return the focus to coastal arrival in the New World and the emergence of a parodic theatrical tradition satirising the ambitions of merchant-adventurers – in particular, those of the Virginia Company. The chapter argues that certain seventeenth-century playwrights employed the emerging "city comedy" sub-genre in order to mock what, at this time, had become a cliché of imperial coastal arrival. The chapter begins by examining the collaboratively-authored *Eastward Ho* and the ways in which it mocks the Virginian merchant-adventures for their sexual and pecuniary ambitions for the New World. I draw on a growing body of feminist analysis of the gendered aspects of the colonial imagination. Far from reaching

Virginia, the merchant-adventurers of *Eastward Ho* are shipwrecked before they even navigate out of the Thames – the cuckold Security landing on the shores of Cuckhold's Haven, and the spendthrifts Sir Petronel Flash and Quicksilver on the banks of the Isle of Dogs (on which there was an infamous debtors' prison). Coastal arrival in this play is mocked as the result of misplaced ambitions and is the product of a developing tradition satirising the earnest intentions of those seeking sexual conquest and material riches in Virginia. In order to establish the literary basis for these two satirical tendencies (mocking the sexual and pecuniary ambitions), the chapter first explores the early modern gendering of colonial shorelines by figures such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Lawrence Kemys, as well as the earliest parodic engagement with such littoral feminisation in the poetry of John Donne. The chapter then progresses to a consideration of Ben Jonson's mockery of the Virginia Company in his entertainments and plays, focusing in particular on the dishonest claims about the Company's religious (rather than economic) ambitions for Virginia. Having established the rise of this satirical tradition in the early seventeenth century, the chapter concludes by considering New World coastal arrival in two plays by John Fletcher: *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*. Written in the 1620s just as the Virginia Company was on the verge of having its charter revoked, the plays are the culmination of a theatrical tradition that mocked coastal arrival in the New World and the ambitions of the merchant-adventurers and, I argue, draw on earlier "city comedy" models in order to present foreign lands with uncanny, familiar shores.

Chapter 1.
Forms of Coastal Empire: Imperial and Mercantile Models of New World Colonialism in the Writing of Richard Hakluyt

> For the great Romans got into their hand
> The whole worlds compasse, both by Sea and Land,
> Or any seas, or heauen, or earth extended,
> And yet that Nation could not be contented.
> – John Smith[1]

It is perhaps ironic, given the ultimate dominance of the British Empire, that the very first reference to the New World in English literature was one of regret. With the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal dividing up the Americas between them, John Rastell was concerned in 1519 that England was too late to enjoy the benefits of the colonial riches pouring back to the Old World from the New:

> O what thynge had be than
> yf that they that be englyshe men
> Myght haue ben the furst of all
> That there shulde haue take possessyon
> And made furst buyldynge & habytacion
> A memory perpetuall.[2]

Fifty years later, when Englishmen began to arrive on the coasts of America with the ambition of joining their European competitors in the project of New World empire-building, the exact nature of Rastell's colonial 'buyldyinge & habytacion' became increasingly pertinent. In what ways did Englishmen, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, imagine a future empire in the Americas? Did they think of it as a parallel with the great empires of the classical era, especially the Roman? Or did they picture it more as a trading network, in the manner, say, of the more recent Portuguese? This chapter is primarily concerned with answering these questions. The nature of such an inquiry and my ultimate conclusions are clearly more historical than the literary analysis I pursue in later chapters; however, I believe that grasping the historical pressures behind England's early modern empire-building is key to my strategy of

[1] John Smith, *The generall historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), p. 159.
[2] John Rastell, *A new iunterlude and a mery of the nature of the .iiii. element* (London, 1520), sig. Ci[r].

reading the later literary responses to such a heterogeneous project that makes up the remainder of this thesis.

Central to any consideration of early modern colonial writing is Richard Hakluyt. Far from providing a simple and linear 'prose epic of the modern English nation', as Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* was considered by his Victorian commentators to be, the editor's work was complex, multiple and constantly evolving.[3] This chapter will demonstrate how during the sixteenth century there were two dominant models for imagining an English empire on the shores of the New World: the "imperial" model and the "mercantile" model. I shall demonstrate how these two models were respectively aligned to two key figures in Elizabethan colonial politics, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Walsingham. At various moments in his career, Hakluyt received the patronage of each of these men. By revisiting Hakluyt's literary output in light of the various pressures of patronage that shaped it, this chapter will unpick the complexities of this writer and editor's contribution to several, and at times even competing, aspects of imperial and mercantile thinking. Ultimately, I hope to demonstrate how Hakluyt's strategies of writing, strategies of editing, and strategies of translation were each informed by his complicated relationships with Walsingham and Raleigh.

Hakluyt's writing was key in shaping later literary reactions to England's colonial ambitions. In the final portion of this chapter, I will consider how a key seventeenth-century literary response to English imperial ambitions in the New World was shaped by the various forms of empire imagined in Hakluyt's work. Michael Drayton's ode "To the Virginian Voyage" acknowledges the role of 'industrious Hakluyt' and represents, I shall argue, the poet's earnest support for the reinvigorated colonial ambitions of the seventeenth century. Understanding this poem is important to unlocking just how far the colonial thinking of the sixteenth century had evolved by the seventeenth century. If the sixteenth century saw two competing models for colonial settlement, then by the seventeenth century they had converged to become a hybrid model that could accommodate aspects of both. Drayton's poem, I shall

[3] J. A. Froude, "England's Forgotten Worthies", *Short Studies on Great Subjects* 3 Vols. (London, 1871), Vol. 1, p. 361.

argue, encodes this hybridisation and represents an endorsement of the idea of a merchant company (mercantile model) establishing a plantation (imperial model) on the shores of the New World.

In this chapter, I treat the literary *topos* of coastal arrival obliquely. I have decided not to focus my attention on collating the vast number of descriptions of littoral encounter that are found in Hakluyt's writing; instead, I have chosen to consider the far more significant problem facing English adventurers to the New World: what sort of settlement should they establish on the shores of America? Unlike the exploits of the Spanish and Portuguese, who penetrated deep inland into South America, English colonial ambitions in the sixteenth century were always tied to coastal regions. While this chapter will explore the specific nuances of Raleigh's "imperial" model of colonial settlement and Walsingham's "mercantile" model of colonial settlement, both factions were united in focusing their ambitions on the shorelines of the New World. Understanding the different forms of coastal empire imagined in the sixteenth century by English colonialists is central, I will argue, to a broader perspective of literary moments of coastal arrival in the period.

I. 'AND THE SEA-COASTS, BE CALLED OF ALL NATIONS LIKEWISE LITTORA BRYTANIAE': COMPETING VISIONS OF COASTAL SETTLEMENT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL THINKING

Early twentieth-century assessments of sixteenth-century imperialism tended to view it as little more than a precursor to the singular and monolithic identity of the later British Empire.[4] More recent revisionist accounts, which have considered the nature of early modern empire in its own right, have often emphasised moments of resistance when state-sponsorship of these early colonial projects seems to have broken down.[5] In this first section of this chapter, I want to

[4] See, for example, George Louis Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, 1578-1660 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908). This work is typical of the "Imperialist School" of American colonial history that foregrounded the beneficial aspects of colonisation.

[5] See, for example, Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America", *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) XXX, no. 4 (1973), pp. 575-598; T. O. Lloyd, *The British Empire, 1558-1983* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 1-29; Armitage (2000), *passim.*

consider a third approach to understanding early modern conceptions of empire by foregrounding its inherent multiplicities and the competing visions of its various proponents.[6] In particular, I want to foreground the rivalry between the "imperial" model of empire endorsed by Sir Walter Raleigh and the "mercantile" model endorsed by Sir Francis Walsingham.[7] This rivalry has been little-considered by those attempting to understand the multiple forms of empire thought to be viable in the sixteenth century; however, I hope to demonstrate that a proper appreciation of these two strands of colonial thinking offers important context when considering Hakluyt's literary output.[8] The imperial and mercantile models of New World settlement that I will describe are an approximation of the colonial thinking and actions of these two figures and their wider circles since neither man committed their exact ambitions to paper. That is not to say, however, that they are an entirely modern reconstruction of early modern forms of empire; instead, it is an acknowledgement that we can only reach an understanding of these two models indirectly. The purpose of identifying these two models and aligning them to specific Elizabethan figures is to nuance our understanding of Hakluyt's literary output through a consideration of the pressures of patronage that helped to shape his writing. What we will find is that Hakluyt's own colonial thinking was far from singular but constantly evolving – responding to the competing pressures of his patrons and their own colonial ambitions. The nature of Hakluyt's close involvement in the project of colonial theorising means that he cannot be easily separated from the two strands of colonial thinking as I attempt to describe them. This is particularly the case with regards to Raleigh's imperial model of colonisation, for which

---

[6] See Richard Helgerson's assessment of the 'eclectic' nature of Hakluyt's work in Helgerson (1992), pp. 190, 151-191; Elizabeth Mancke focuses on the 'transatlantic negotiations' that took place as 'the British government saw itself as governing an empire of commerce as much as an empire of colonization, and the modes of negotiation for each were quite difference', see Elizabeth Mancke, "Negotiating an Empire: Britain and Its Overseas Empire, c. 1550-1780", *Negotiated Empires: Centres and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820* ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 236.

[7] These two terms ("imperial" and "mercantile") are my own and will henceforth be use without quotation marks.

[8] The rivalry is entirely absent from Armitage's assessment of the ideological origins of the British empire. In fact, in a discussion of Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting* he noted only that Hakluyt was an advisor to both men without unpicking his exact relationship with each, see Armitage (2000), p. 72. The rivalry between Raleigh and Walsingham is tangentially discussed in Michael G. Moran, *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the rhetoric of colonization, 1585-1590* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007). Moran's acknowledgement of this rivalry and his deployment of various key colonial texts from the period forms the starting point of much of my own analysis.

Hakluyt's writing in the *Discourse of Western Planting* is perhaps the key theoretical text. In this first section, however, I will treat Hakluyt's writing as sources to understand the history of early colonial thinking. In the second section of this chapter, I will put further pressure on Hakluyt's involvement and, in particular, consider the role of patronage in shaping his writing and colonial thinking. Before any literary evaluation of this kind can take place, however, it is necessary to describe as clearly as possible the two dominant models of colonial thinking in England during the sixteenth century and elaborate on the rivalry between Walsingham and Raleigh that underpins them.

Sir Francis Walsingham's Mercantile Model of Colonisation

The Court rivalry between Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Walter Raleigh has only recently begun to be appreciated in historical accounts of the period and in the last two decades it has started to be refocused through the lens of early modern colonial politics.[9] The two men's antagonistic relationship was undoubtedly fuelled by intense competition for Elizabeth I's favour – a contest through which Raleigh enjoyed both the greatest rewards and also the most severe censure. Indeed, before Raleigh's arrival at Court in December 1581 his relationship with Walsingham appears congenial at the least. In letters between the two men from February 1581, while Raleigh was still engaged in suppressing the Second Desmond Rebellion in Ireland, both men seem in agreement over the pacifying of Irish rebels.[10] It was when Elizabeth became increasingly enamoured with Raleigh and Walsingham's position of authority began to be challenged that their relationship soured. After the thwarting of the Babington Plot in 1586, for example, Walsingham might have expected to be rewarded for his efforts in preventing the

[9] Earlier biographies of each man have tended only to acknowledge the other in passing rather than suggesting that there was an intense and highly competitive relationship. See, for example, the biography of Raleigh by J. H. Adamson and H. F. Folland, *The Shepheard of the Ocean: An Account of Sir Walter Ralegh and his Times* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969). Recent historians have begun to identify the antagonistic relationship between the two men particularly in relation to colonial policy, see Lee Miller, *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000); Moran (2007), pp. 8-17.

[10] These letters are noted in John Winton, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975), pp. 30-31.

assassination. And so, it must have been with some frustration that Walsingham watched as Babington's confiscated lands and properties were given instead to Elizabeth's then-favourite, Raleigh, even as Walsingham struggled with mounting debts after the death of his son-in-law, Philip Sidney.[11] Though competition for patronage from their Queen (as well as rivalry over their respective influence as her advisors) may have be an important component in forming the two men's antagonistic relationship, I believe that it was the disagreement in the 1580s over how to colonise the coastline of North America that was particularly significant in placing them in opposition to one another.

Sir Francis Walsingham is perhaps best-known to the general public as Elizabeth I's clandestine spymaster – to literary critics his brief employment of Christopher Marlowe still causes much excitement.[12] Indeed, three of the most recent biographies of Walsingham foreground this aspect of his career: Alan Haynes, *Walsingham: Elizabethan Spymaster & Statesman* (2004), Derek Wilson, *Sir Francis Walsingham: A Courtier in the Age of Terror* (2007), and J. P. D. Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (2011). Lost from the public imagination is Walsingham's central role in promoting New World exploration and mercantile activity during the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Derek Wilson has described Walsingham as 'a venture capitalist who relished risk-taking and thrilled to the exploits of bold mariners and merchants'.[13] While the language of "venture capitalism" seems somehow anachronistically modern, it is a fair assessment of Walsingham's strategy of investment in mercantile ventures during the course of his career. As early as 1568, Walsingham was involved in the operations of the Muscovy Company and by 1569 he had been appointed an 'assistant' or director of the Company.[14] His relationship with the Company was almost certainly prompted by his marriage in 1562 to Anne Carleill, widow of the London merchant Alexander Carleill. Alexander Carleill had been one of the co-founders of the

[11] Derek Wilson, *Sir Francis Walsingham: A Courtier in the Age of Terror* (London: Constable, 2007), pp. 216-217.
[12] See, Park Honan, *Christopher Marlowe: poet & spy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
[13] Wilson (2007), p. 149.
[14] Simon Adams and Alan Bryson and Mitchell Leimon, "Walsingham, Sir Francis (c.1532–1590)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Muscovy Company alongside Sebastian Cabot, Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor when it received its charter in 1555. The Muscovy Company was the first major joint-stock merchant company formed in England and it continued through the sixteenth century to operate with a large degree of independence from the state. By 1564, Anne had died and her children by her previous husband were left in Walsingham's care. These children included the thirteen-year-old Christopher Carleill, who went on to be a soldier in Ireland and naval commander in the New World. Until his death in 1590, Walsingham actively supported both the ambitions of the Muscovy Company and his stepson's career. In 1582, Carleill, assisted by Walsingham, began to raise capital on behalf of the Muscovy Company for a proposed trading-settlement in North America at a site south-west of Cape Breton Island. He received promises of £1,000 from the merchant community in Bristol but after two years the project faltered and the venture came to nothing.[15] Carleill's objective in encouraging the Muscovy Company to establish a trading-settlement in North America was to provide a harbour for ships attempting to enter the Northwest Passage (believed to be a strait of water above North America connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans) in order to trade with Cathay.

The prospect of sending an expedition in search of the entrance to the Northwest Passage had initially been prompted by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the late 1560s. Walsingham, whose interests were aligned with the Muscovy Company and its potential expansion, was an early-adopter of the scheme as a way to further increase trade through direct sea-access to Cathay. In 1576, Martin Frobisher proposed a voyage in search of the entrance to the Passage and Gilbert obligingly published *A discourse of a discouerie for a new passage to Cataia* as promotional propaganda to accompany the venture. The entrance was not found; indeed, no such passage exists; however, Frobisher doggedly pursued his search for the Northwest Passage in three separate voyages from 1576-1578 – each of which resulted in failure and compounding embarrassment upon his return to England.[16] Throughout the duration of the Frobisher voyages

[15] D. J. B. Trim, "Carleill, Christopher (1551?–1593)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
[16] James McDermott, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 153-190.

and despite the failures, Walsingham was an enthusiastic investor and vocal supporter. Even when Frobisher returned with a shipload of iron pyrite (fool's gold) in 1577, Walsingham proposed a further expedition the following year. Walsingham's interest in the Northwest Passage as a trading route to Cathay is fundamental to his notion of how England should colonise the New World. In his view, a series of small trading-settlements should be established along the coastline to allow ships to pass through the Passage safely and ensure a continual traffic of goods from the Orient. When Carleill began to raise capital to establish a trading-settlement in North America in 1582, it was almost certainly at the prompting of his stepfather, whose interest in such a project was evidently longstanding. In 1583, when Carleill published an important pamphlet entitled *A breef and sommarie discourse vpon the entended voyage to the hethermoste partes of America*, it was with the assistance of Walsingham, who that year had been the principal agent in consulting the geographer and mystic John Dee about the prospect of finding the entrance to the Passage.[17]

Carleill's pamphlet was directed towards the members of the Moscovy Company, encouraging them to invest in the enterprise and promising the 'returne of present gaine' on their capital.[18] The objective of the pamphlet was to foreground the mercantile opportunities that could be gained by investing in such a venture. Members of the Company were not being asked to invest in a long-term imperial project but a mercantile opportunity that would better secure the future of the Muscovy Company's trading position. In the pamphlet, Carleill proposed the establishment of a small trading-settlement from which it was hoped that they might 'finde a Sea passage, or other freshe water course, whiche mate seure in some reasonable and conuenient sorte, to transporte our Marchandize into the East *Indian* Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of *America*'.[19] Furthermore, Careill argued that cooperation with the native inhabitations, rather than imperial conquest, would be key to the settlement's survival. To that point, he encouraged potential settlers to 'grow into familiaritie with the Inlande people' with

[17] Walsingham's meeting with Dee on 29 January 1583 is noted in Alan Haynes, *Walsingham: Elizabeth spymaster & statesman* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p 183.
[18] Christopher Carleill, *A breef and sommarie discourse vpon the entended voyage to the hethermoste partes of America* (London, 1583), fol. B1^{r}.
[19] *ibid*., fol. A4^{r}.

the hope that they might help them to navigate the treacherous coastal waters and offer further opportunities for trade.[20] The settlement proposed in the treatise was not designed to be a self-supporting, agriculturally-focused colony and, as if to disabuse potential investors of the fear that their money would be spent on establishing a plantation, Carleill noted that 'it is not for the Marchauntes purse, to continue the charges of transportying and plantyng'.[21]

The pamphlet continues with a brief description of recent French ventures to North America, in which Carleill highlights the urgency of the project as a means to compete with European trading-rivals. After this, the text moves onto a precise description of the manner in which the territories and mineral mines found in the New World would be divided amongst the investors. Finally, Carleill reveals the specifics of his (and undoubtedly Walsingham's) colonial thinking by noting how the trading settlements would be supported by regular reinforcement from England. He expresses his hope:

> That in the Patent whiche is to be obtained, be graunted that all her Maiesties subiectes, maie transporte themselues thether that shall be contented to goe. And that the patented or his assignes maie shippe thether from tyme to tyme, so many and suche persons, men, women and children, as thei shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any law to the contrarie notwithstanding.[22]

Men and their families are invited to travel 'from tyme to tyme' to the settlement and 'inhabite or remiane there at their pleasure' until such time as they decide to return to England. The settlements would be designed, therefore, to facilitate mercantile traffic and harbour ships journeying to trade in the Orient and not necessarily become a permanent home for those who travelled there. Carleill's pamphlet, though largely ignored in recent accounts of England's sixteenth-century colonial writing because the intended voyage never materialised, is nevertheless key to identifying the specific features of colonial thinking endorsed by Walsingham at this time.

---

[20] Carleill (1583), fol. A4^{r}.
[21] *ibid*., fol. A4^{v}.
[22] *ibid*., fol. B4^{v}.

Walsingham's rivalry with Raleigh concerning the specific of New World settlement was seemingly born out of the former's interests in discovering and settling the Northwest Passage and the latter's efforts, either conscious or unconscious, to disrupt them and pursue his own colonial ambitions. After the death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 and the failure of Carleill's venture to materialise, Walsingham helped Gilbert's brother, Adrian, to secure a patent from the Queen to continue the search for the North-West Passage. The Company that was formed as a result was named 'The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage' and included Walsingham and Raleigh (half-brother to the Gilberts) as founding members.[23] The object of the Company was identical to that which Carleill had proposed, being formed to 'seek and by divers means endeavoureth and laboureth that the passage unto China and the Isles of the Mollucas by the north-westward' in order to facilitate 'traffic and trade'.[24] Before the Company was able to begin its chartered project, however, Raleigh resigned from the group and petitioned Elizabeth for his own charter to found a colony in Virginia. This incensed Walsingham not only because it undermined his own desire to find the Northwest Passage but also because he had been petitioning the Queen to give his stepson Christopher Carleill a similar charter with the objective of establishing trading-settlements along the coastline of North America to facilitate future trading missions.[25] In 1585, Walsingham, as a member of the new Northwest Passage Company, supported one final attempt, led by captain John Davis, to discover the entrance to the strait. This was to be the last venture in search of the Passage during Walsingham's lifetime and was itself dwarfed in importance by the voyage that same year by Ralph Lane and Richard Grenville to fulfil the terms of Raleigh's charter and establish what would become the Roanoke Colony in Virginia.

[23] Moran (2007), p. 10.
[24] National Archives, C 66/1244, mm. 32-4
[25] This incident and the breakdown between the relationship of Raleigh and Walsingham is noted in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* 3 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 406. and Miller (2000) p. 188.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Imperial Model of Colonisation

If Sir Francis Walsingham's contribution to sixteenth-century colonial thinking has been little-explored by historians and literary critics, then, by contrast, the impact of Sir Walter Raleigh's influence has been the subject of countless monographs and essays.[26] This is because, unlike Walsingham, Raleigh's vision of New World colonialism was, more or less, put into practice at the settlement of Roanoke (albeit unsuccessfully). It is widely acknowledged that there were broadly three distinct phases to Raleigh's New World interaction: the first, the Roanoke colony, 1584-1590; the second, the first voyage to Guiana, 1595; and the third, the second voyage to Guiana, 1617. In this chapter I am particularly interested in considering these first two phases, since they intersect with the most fruitful period of Hakluyt's literary career and constitute some of the most significant colonial ventures of the sixteenth century.[27]

The idea of establishing a plantation-colony in the New World, as distinct from a trading-settlement, was a largely European notion of colonisation before Raleigh's attempt to establish the settlement at Roanoke in 1584. In Richard Hakluyt's *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America*, he opens his dedication to Philip Sidney by suggesting that:

> I maruaile not a little (right worshipfull) that since the first discouerie of America (which is nowe full fourescore and tenne yeeres) after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniardes and Portingales there, that wee of Englande could neuer haue the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places, as are left as yet vnpossessed of them.[28]

The Spanish and Portuguese are seen as models for 'conquests and plantings' of the New World – a place that is described as a 'fertill and temperate' land. While the *Divers voyages* was in

[26] See, for example, David B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947); David B. Quinn, *The Roanoke voyages, 1584-1590: documents to illustrate the English voyages to North American under the patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* 2 Vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955); David N. Durant, *Ralegh's lost colony* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981); Karen Kupperman, *Roanoke: the abandoned colony* (Totowa: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984); Miller (2000); Phil Jones, *Ralegh's pirate colony in America: the lost settlement of Roanoke 1584-1590* (Charleston: Tempus, 2001); Moran (2007).

[27] Hakluyt died in 1616 and so would not have been aware of the second voyage to Guiana and Raleigh's subsequent execution in England for disobeying James I's prohibition against hostilities towards the Spanish colonies.

[28] Richard Hakluyt, *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (London, 1582), sig. ¶1^{r}.

many ways a precursor for the kind of mercantile writing that would be collected in Hakluyt's later, and much more compendious, work *The Principal Navigations*, the idea of establishing a plantation-colony in the New World was largely outlined in his treatise of 1584: *A particular discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are likely to grow to this realm of England by the western discoveries lately attempted*, more commonly known as the *Discourse of Western Planting*. The *Discourse* was not printed until the nineteenth century and was thus seemingly not designed for general circulation during the sixteenth century.[29] It was, however, presented to Elizabeth I in October 1584 (shortly after the return of Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, who had made a preparatory expedition to Virginia to scout out a suitable portion of shoreline for the proposed settlement). A second copy of the *Discourse*, the one that survives to us, is speculated to have been in the possession of Walsingham.[30] It is likely that Walsingham either received a copy or saw one but that he was not in attendance at the initial meeting with Elizabeth; Hakluyt wrote to him from Paris after his visit to England in October about a manuscript he had written 'in English concerning Mr. Raleigh's voyage, the copy whereof I purpose to send your Honour after Easter'.[31] Whether Walsingham received a copy or not does not bear significantly on the historical impact of the text – although it would be interesting to know Walshingham's reaction to this work given the differing forms of empire imagined by him and Raleigh. What is important is that Hakluyt wrote the *Discourse* at the instigation of Raleigh to promote the prospect of deeper involvement from the Crown in the Virginian colony. This is highly significant. It suggests that, unlike earlier ventures that were organised and operated by chartered merchant companies, Raleigh (with Hakluyt as his mouthpiece) saw a place for the English state's involvement in the New World. It is this aspect that is fundamentally different to the model of New World settlement imagined and promoted by Walsingham. Raleigh's model, by contrast, encoded "imperial" objectives in to English

[29] The text was first published in 1877 edited by Charles Deane under the title *A discourse on western planting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Press of J. Wilson and Sons, 1877)
[30] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in *The Hakluyt Handbook* ed. David B. Quinn, 2 Vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), Vol. 1, p. 286.
[31] Quoted in George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), p. 87.

arrival on the shores of America – the project was designed, in part, to aggrandise the English (or even British) nation while simultaneously challenging the presence of the Iberian powers in the Atlantic.

My objective in this first section of the chapter has been to outline the two distinct strands of colonial thinking that were respectively endorsed by Walsingham and Raleigh. I will therefore offer here only a brief summary of the details of Hakluyt's *Discourse* as they pertain to the imperial model of colonisation endorsed by Raleigh. In a later section of this chapter, I will revisit the work in order to probe some of its specific aspects more closely as they pertain to Hakluyt himself. In particular, I will explore the balance struck between viewing the colony in Virginia as a trading-settlement or as an imperial outpost, as well as Hakluyt's own concern for the religious impact that colonisation might have on the native peoples. For the time being, however, I intend to describe some of the main features of the *Discourse* and examine how they offer a subtly different vision of New World settlement to the one outlined in Carleill's pamphlet of 1583.

The *Discourse* is organised into twenty-one chapters that allow Hakluyt to present a potted history of the Americas as well as promote the ambitions of Raleigh in fulfilling his charter to settle the New World. I believe there are three key aspects to this text that differentiate its model of colonisation from that of Carleill. First, it proposed to challenge the Iberian powers directly for control over the coastlines of America; second, it advocated the augmentation of a state-maintained navy; and third, it outlined the means by which an agricultural-colony could be planted in the New World. In aggregate, these features transform the project of New World colonisation into an imperial rather than strictly mercantile venture – one in which the projection of national power is foregrounded above the traffic of goods. I will address each of these points in turn to show how Hakluyt imagined, on behalf of his patron Raleigh, the involvement of the state in the Virginian colony.

The challenge that an English colony in the New World would present to the Iberian powers occupies almost half of the chapters of the *Discourse*. Though Hakluyt explains his

reasoning from various angles, the objective is perhaps most succinctly summarised in chapter five when he notes that:

> The plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Briton, would be a matter in shorte space of greater domage as well to his [the Spanish King's] flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde note onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania.[32]

This marks a dramatic change in how England envisioned its presence in the New World. Not only does Hakluyt imagine endangering the Spanish fleet but hopes that in time England may even wrest 'some parte of Nova Hispania' from them also. One of Hakluyt's primary concerns with the Spanish presence in the New World is what he calls their 'moste outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties'.[33] Leaving aside his characterisation of the Turks, Hakluyt lays a charge of moral corruption at the door of the Spanish settlers. He describes their behaviour as 'ungodly' and, in an interesting choice of quotation from Book II of Virgil's *Aeneid*, notes:

> Quis talia fando;
> Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulussis,
> Temperet a lachrimis?[34]

The destruction of the New World by the Spanish is likened to the sacking of Troy. Accusations of Spanish cruelty in the New World – known by historians as the "Black Legend" – was an important justification for English imperial ambitions.[35] Hakluyt's imposes a moral imperative on English settlers to challenge such cruelty by establishing their own settlements on the American shoreline.

Hakluyt's proposal for a stronger, state-maintained navy was also a significant departure from the sort of colonial venture imagined by Carleill. In chapters thirteen and fourteen, Hakluyt outlines first the 'revenewes and customes' that Elizabeth might accrue from

---

[32] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting", *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* ed. E. G. R. Taylor, 2 Vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), Vol. 2, p. 240.
[33] *ibid*., p. 257.
[34] 'What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of the stern Ulysses, could refrain from tears in telling such a tale?', *Aeneid*, 2.6-8; Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting" (1935), Vol. 2, p. 257.
[35] The nature and effect of the "Black Legend" has been explored in Hadfield (1998), pp. 71-111.

such a settlement in the New World and then how such money might be spent on the 'greate increase, mayneteynaunce, and saftie of our navie'.[36] Hakluyt expresses some dismay at the recent 'decaye of the navye', before reminding the reader of both the statutes established since the reign of Richard II to maintain a state navy as well as the competition faced by England from European neighbours.[37] Hakluyt notes how, by contrast, the Spanish and Portuguese 'since the firste doscoverie of their Indies, have not onely mightily inlarged their domynions, marvellously enriched themselves and their subjects, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, masters, and maryners'.[38] The role of a state-maintained navy in projecting Britain's imperial power abroad had been foregrounded as early as 1577, when John Dee laid out a proposal for a 'PETY-NAVY-ROYALL' in his *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of nauigation*.[39] Dee believed that Elizabeth's 'Ilandish Monarchy' was the perfect centre around which to build a 'BRYTISH IMPIRE' and that this could be achieved through a robust maritime presence in the Atlantic.[40] Dee's insistence on justifying such a project by recourse to parallels with the Roman empire's naval dominance in the Mediterranean gave the prospect of a state-maintained navy a particular kind of imperial nuance. Hakluyt likewise notes the imperial model of the Roman empire, reminding the readers of the *Discourse* that colonisation of the New World is 'like as the Romaynes allured hither into Britaine'.[41] As such, the provision of a state-maintained navy was, in the 1580s when Hakluyt was composing the *Discourse*, a concept inextricably tied up with Dee's notion of a British empire in the Atlantic modelled on the Roman empire in the Mediterranean and beyond.

The final aspect of the *Discourse* that differentiates it from Walsingham's "mercantile" model of New World colonisation is the detailed catalogue of all the resources needed to establish a functioning plantation in Virginia. In chapter twenty, Hakluyt summarised the key reasons for supporting Raleigh's colony in the New World. The first point offered in support of

---

[36] Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting" (1935), Vol. 2, pp. 268, 270.
[37] *ibid*., p. 270.
[38] *ibid*., p. 273.
[39] John Dee, *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of nauigation* (London, 1577), *passim*.
[40] *ibid*., p. 3.
[41] Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting" (1935), Vol. 2, p. 247

the venture notes that 'the soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all the severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions, and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this realme'.[42] Not only will the colony be self-sufficient but, in time, it will provide England with the resources that hitherto have had to be traded for with those European powers that have already a foothold in the New World. As Hakluyt notes:

> If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c. and for makinge of yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spanishe, of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes, to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme.[43]

The agricultural-colony imagined in Virginia was not one that would necessarily augment trade but rather supplant those trading-routes upon which England relied. This, Hakluyt suggests, would provide a 'greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme'. In the final chapter of the *Discourse*, Hakluyt catalogues the items and professions that would be needed in the colony to ensure its flourishing. The items that Hakluyt advises the settlers to take include a plethora of seeds, both vegetable and grain, and the professionals that Hakluyt suggests be taken are 'suger cane planters with the plantes', 'vyne planters', 'olyve planters', 'gardiners for herbes, rootes, and for all earthe frutes' and 'graffers for frute trees'.[44] The importance of an abundance of seeds and those who can plant them is fundamental to the agricultural-colony that Hakluyt proposes (on behalf of Raleigh) in his imperial model of New World settlement. The object was to build an entirely self-supporting community and to that effect Hakluyt's list of necessary professions does not end with planters. In fact, Hakluyt suggests no fewer than seventy-one different professions that he considers vital to the survival of the colony. These included people as diverse as 'glew makers', 'waxchandlers', 'bricklayers', 'barbors' and 'arrow head makers'.[45]

It is clear that the kind of settlement described by Hakluyt, on Raleigh's behalf, in the *Discourse* was far more extensive than the kind outlined in Carleill's treatise, published a year

---

[42] Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting" (1935), Vol. 2., p. 313.
[43] *ibid*., p. 317.
[44] *ibid*., pp. 320-321.
[45] *ibid*., pp. 322-324.

earlier. Furthermore, the objectives of the two kinds of settlement were evidently different. Carliell's work promoted the mercantile model of settlement endorsed by Walsingham, whose emphasis on the trading opportunities of New World colonisation was paramount. Indeed, the role of merchant companies in financing such a venture was instrumental to the mercantile vision that Walsingham imagined. His involvement with and continued support of the Muscovy Company is evidence for this. By contrast, Hakluyt's work in the *Discourse* promoted an imperial model of settlement endorsed by Raleigh, whose objectives were to aggrandise the state and challenge the presence of the Iberian powers in the New World by establishing a self-supporting colony in Virginia. Raleigh, in contrast with Walsingham, financed the Roanoke voyages almost entirely from his own purse – disinterested or unwilling initially to bring in mercantile partners hoping to make a quick profit. By 1590, he had spent close to £40,000 funding the venture.[46] It was only in March 1589, when the colony was struggling and close to collapse, that Raleigh reached out to 'divers Gentlemen and Merchants of London'.[47] It was during this fund-raising collaboration that Richard Hakluyt is named, for the first time, as a direct participant (rather than simply theoriser) in the project of Virginian settlement.[48] The details of this financial "Agreement" were added (albeit out of chronological order and presumably last-minute) to Hakluyt's 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations*; however, by the 1600 edition it had been removed, suggesting that Raleigh's attempt to raise capital from London's wealthy investors may not have come to fruition before the collapse of the Roanoke colony in 1590.[49]

[46] Willard Mosher Wallace, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 54
[47] "Agreement between Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Smythe etc., and John White etc., for the continuance of the city of Raleigh venture", recorded in Quinn (1955), pp. 569, 569-576.
[48] *ibid*., p. 570.
[49] Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voiages and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer land* (London, 1589), pp. 815-817.

Hakluyt's Connection to Walsingham and Raleigh

I want to close this first section of the chapter by briefly remarking on the connection between Richard Hakluyt and both Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Walter Raleigh. The implications of such connections will be explored in more depth as I turn to Hakluyt's specific works in the following section and account for the pressures of patronage that shaped his colonial writing. However, before moving onto a more literary analysis of Hakluyt's output, it is necessary to summarise his respective relationships in the 1580s with these two key agents of New World colonisation.

Hakluyt's association with Walsingham began around 1580 when he prepared "A discourse of the commodity of the taking of the Straight of Magellanus". The text, arguing that England needed to ensure access to the Pacific via the Magellan Strait below South America, would probably have appealed to Walsingham's mercantile ambitions. It is considered likely that Hakluyt prepared the treatise for Walsingham directly and that it was occasioned by the death of King Henry of Portugal on 30 January 1580.[50] Sometime in late-1581 to early-1582, Hakluyt met with Walsingham, Drake and George Barne of the Muscovy Company about the possibility of endowing a lectureship in navigation in London.[51] This is referred to in Hakluyt's dedication in around March 1582 to Philip Sidney (Walsingham's son-in-law) in *Divers Voyages*. In March 1583, Walsingham wrote to the mayor of Bristol, Thomas Aldworth, commending Richard Hakluyt; Hakluyt had been sent to the city on Walsingham's behalf to discuss financial contributions to future voyages in search of the Northwest Passage.[52] In May 1583, Carleill published his treatise concerning the discovery of the Northwest Passage and the founding of a trading-settlement in Newfoundland. In the preceding months, Hakluyt had been in close correspondence with Carleill and is thought to have played a significant role in

[50] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, p. 272.
[51] *ibid*., p. 274.
[52] *ibid*., p. 277.

preparing the text for press.[53] In September 1583, Hakluyt's fellow Christ Church College scholar and neo-Latin poet William Gager wrote a commendatory verse about him. Only two lines long, Gager's poem described him as 'tu terras, Haklete, novas meditaris, et Indes, | Cataiaeque vias per freta longa doces'.[54] It seems that Hakluyt's reputation for being interested in the discovery of the Northwest Passage and the mercantile opportunities that could be achieved by navigating a sea-route to Cathay was well-known to his academic colleagues. On 28 September, at the instruction of Walsingham, Hakluyt sailed to Boulogne and travelled from there to Paris, where he was to become chaplain and secretary to the English ambassador Edward Stafford.[55] The French were considered England's main European rivals in the search for the Northwest Passage and Hakluyt's presence in Paris had been proposed by Walsingham as a kind of fact-finding mission.[56] Hakluyt continued to correspond frequently with Walsingham during his time in Paris. In January 1584, he wrote to Walsingham, declaring that he was willing to travel himself (presumably with Carleill) to Newfoundland in search of the Northwest Passage.[57] In April 1584, in another letter to Walsingham, he resurrected the idea of establishing a permanent lectureship in navigation in London.[58] In September 1589, 'the voiages and Dicoueries of the Englishe nation' was entered into the Stationers' Register under warrant from Walsingham.[59] In November, the first edition of Hakluyt's major work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, was published and dedicated to Walsingham. From 1580 to Walsingham's death in 1590, the two men evidently developed an important relationship that would shape the terms of debate regarding the colonisation of the New World.

---

[53] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, pp. 277-278; see also, Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 108-109.
[54] 'Hakluyt, you ponder on new lands and the Indies, describing the route to Cathay via the long straits', William Gager, "A List of Scholars", in ed. Dana F. Sutton, *William Gager: The Complete Works*, (London: Garland Publishing, 1994), Vol. 3, pp. 174-175.
[55] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, p. 278.
[56] Mancall (2007), pp. 128-155.
[57] "Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1584", in Hakluyt (1935), Vol 1., pp. 205-207.
[58] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, p. 283.
[59] *ibid*., p. 303

Hakluyt's association with Raleigh seems to have begun slightly later than with Walsingham, probably only shortly before he was commissioned to write the *Discourse of Western Planting* in 1584. In October of that year, Hakluyt was in London to present a copy of the *Discourse* to Elizabeth I. In January 1586, Hakluyt provided a Latin poem in honour of Raleigh to appear in René Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride*. The poem was written 'in laudem eorum qui novas orbis partes detexerunt' and Hakluyt notes that 'VIRGINIA et sceptre nuper, Elisa, tuo' before commending how 'nos primas clare Raleghe tibi'.[60] In December, Hakluyt wrote to Raleigh from Paris declaring that 'yf yo^{w} proceed, w^{ch} I longe much to knowe, in yo^{r} enterprise of Virginia, yo^{r} best planting wilbe aboute the bay of the Chesepians'.[61] In 1587, Hakluyt dedicated his editions of two foreign-language works to Raleigh: his translation of Laudonnière's *L'histoire* and his edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*.[62] Later that year, Hakluyt acquired the Aztec "Codex Mandoza" manuscript from Andre Thevet after his death. Samuel Purchas indicates that Hakluyt 'procured Master Michael Locke in Sir Walter Raleighs name to translate it'.[63] In March 1589, Hakluyt was named amongst those grantees committing to support the City of Raleigh in Virginia. While, Hakluyt evidently remained interested in Raleigh's activity during the 1590s, reprinted the entirety of *The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana* in the 1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*, by around 1590 the two men's relationship seems to have been largely discontinued. This may have been, in part, down to the failure of the Roanoke Colony and Hakluyt's desire to distance himself from it; in part, down to Raleigh's ambiguous role in court in the early years of the 1590s; and, in part, down to the end of the Walsingham-Raleigh antagonism (that had seen Hakluyt employed so frequently by each) with the death of Walsingham in 1590.

---

[60] 'In praise of those who have discovered new parts of the world', 'Virginia is now to your sceptre, Elizabeth', 'you, noble Raleigh, are our [England's] preeminent [coloniser]'; quoted in Hakluyt (1935), Vol 2, p. 249.
[61] "Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir W. Raleigh, 1586", in Quinn (1935), Vol 2., p. 355.
[62] Richard Hakluyt, *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes vnto Florida* (London, 1587)
[63] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrims* (London, 1625), pp. 1065-1066.

Such precise detail about Hakluyt's association with these two men is necessary in order to demonstrate the complicated pressures of patronage under which he was operating. There is not, as this brief chronology indicates, a distinct moment of transition in which Hakluyt's allegiance transfers from Walsingham to Raleigh. Instead, he seems to juggle the interests of both men at different moments and, at times, simultaneously. In the next section of this thesis I want to examine how Hakluyt's literary output reflects this constant mediation between these individuals and their two strands of colonial thinking. The section is divided into four sub-sections: the first, a short introduction to the academic, ecclesiastical and mercantile networks of patronage within which Hakluyt operated (outside of those of Walsingham and Raleigh); the second, an analysis of Hakluyt's strategies of writing when producing original works; the third, an examination of Hakluyt's strategies of editing when compiling the works of others; and finally, a study of Hakluyt's strategies of translation when bringing foreign works to an English readership. In each of these sub-sections I will be focusing on Hakluyt's role in presenting his and his patrons' colonial thinking regarding the settlement of America. That is not to say that Hakluyt is simply the mouthpiece for whoever was patronising him at the time, rather he will be shown to be undertaking a process of mediation in order to incorporate his patron's ambitions with his own literary, political and ecclesiastical objectives. Of course, Hakluyt's work, particularly in *The Principal Navigations*, extends its interests into all regions of the globe; however, in this second section of the chapter, I want to consider the impact the pressures of patronage placed on Hakluyt during the period of the 1580s and 1590s and how they are manifest in the literary strategies employed in his writing, editing, and translating texts related to the colonisation of the New World.

II. 'I CONFESSE TO HAUE TAKEN MORE THEN ORDINARIE PAINES, MEANING TO HAUE INSERTED IT IN THIS THIS WORKE': HAKLUYT'S STRATEGIES OF WRITING, EDITING AND TRANSLATING

In this second section of the chapter, I want to provide some account of the ways in which the pressures of patronage helped to shape Hakluyt's literary output. This will focus exclusively on

Hakluyt's work between 1582 (and the publication of the *Divers Voyages*) and 1600 (and the publication of the final volume of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*) – a period that constitutes the flourishing of his colonial writing. I hope to be particularly attuned to the ways in which, at various points in his career, Hakluyt seems to be mediating the colonial thinking of his patrons (either in regards to Walsingham's mercantile model or Raleigh's imperial model) as well as incorporating some of his own interests. To this effect, I believe it is necessary to offer a brief biography of Hakluyt's other academic, ecclesiastical and mercantile networks of patronage in order to ensure that my reading of his texts is able to account for the full plurality of his interests. I will then progress to an analysis of Hakluyt's strategies of writing, editing and translating in turn. These studies cannot, of course, be exhaustive; the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* runs to over one million words. However, by focusing on key examples of Hakluyt's rhetorical strategies in works dealing with the colonisation of the New World, I hope to be able to illustrate the manner in which Hakluyt mediated the competing pressures of patronage placed upon him by Walsingham and Raleigh as well as his other interests.

Critical assessments of Hakluyt's writing have tended to attempt an approximation of his colonial thinking and decide whether his writing is primarily imperial or mercantile in its focus.[64] In this section I want to challenge this critical impulse for three distinct reasons. First, it is clear that Hakluyt's writing was the product of diverse streams of colonial thinking – incorporating, certainly in his largest works, the writing of a great many different individuals. As such, it is not possible to talk about what Hakluyt "believed" in the strictest sense but rather to identify certain strategies by which he foregrounded specific aspects of the writing. Second, it is clear that Hakluyt was not an entirely free-agent when producing these texts. This means that we must be more attuned, as I hope this chapter proves, to the pressures of patronage that shaped the writing. Identifying these pressures means that we can be less certain of exactly

[64] With regard, in particular, to *The Principal Navigations*, L. E. Pennington has identified this tendency to pigeon-hole Hakluyt's writing into one half of this apparently binary set of categories. See, L. E. Pennington, "Secondary Works on Hakluyt and his Circle", in Quinn (1974), Vol. I, pp. 147-148.

which parts of the text constitute "Hakluyt's colonial thinking" rather than the rhetorical strategies that he employs to mediate the ambitions of others. Third, the notion that we must categorise Hakluyt's writing as *either* imperial *or* mercantile seems to be a misplaced impulse. What I hope to identify is the plurality of Hakluyt's writing and the ways in which both imperial and mercantile aspects often sit uneasily with one another. What is more interesting, as I hope to demonstrate in my analysis of the two editions of *The Principal Navigations*, is how Hakluyt was able to shift the focal centre of a work from mercantile to imperial by employing complex strategies of editing.

Hakluyt's Academic, Ecclesiastical and Mercantile Networks of Patronage

Born in around 1553, Hakluyt was orphaned and in the care of his cousin Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, by 1578. His father, also named Richard Hakluyt, had been a member of the Worshipful Company of Skinners. The younger Hakluyt attended Westminster School as a Queen's Scholar from 1564 and during this time had a number of defining interactions with his cousin – one of which is described by Hakluyt in the dedicatory epistle to the first edition of *The Principal Navigations*. This visit to 'the chamber of M. *Richard Hakluyt* my cousin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple' is thought to have taken place in 1568.[65] During the meeting Hakluyt describes how 'I found lying open vpon his boord certeine books of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall Mappe : he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, he began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts'.[66] We learn that it was because of this meeting that Hakluyt 'resolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity […] I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature'.[67]

[65] Hakluyt (1589), fol. *2r.; the dating of this meeting and further details are provided in Mancall (2007), pp. 8-24.
[66] *ibid*., fol. *2r.
[67] *ibid.*, fol. *2r.

Hakluyt went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1570, receiving his B.A. in 1574 and his M.A. in 1577.[68] He was ordained in 1578 and from 1583-86 served as chaplain and secretary to Sir Edward Stafford, English Ambassador in Paris, at the instigation of Walsingham. Hakluyt remained an active member of the church throughout his life: he received a prebendary at Bristol in 1586, a living at the rectory of Wetheringsett, Suffolk in 1590, a prebendary at Westminster in 1602, the archdeaconship of Westminster from 1603-1605, the chaplaincy of the Hospital of the Savoy in 1604, and a benefice in Gedney, Lincolnshire in 1612.[69] He was also an active member of London's Livery Companies, receiving financial support from the Skinners' Company while an undergraduate and a pension from the Clothworkers' Company in 1578, which was supposed to last until 1583 but was extended at the intervention of Lord Burghley until 1593 so that Hakluyt could continue his geographical work. In 1589, he was named in Raleigh's association articles for the continuation of the City of Raleigh in Virginia. In 1606, he became a patentee of the newly chartered London Company, formed in 1606 to establish a new colony in Virginia.[70] Finally, in 1612 he became a charter member of the second North-West Passage Company, which was incorporated under the patronage of Prince Henry.

Two aspects of Hakluyt's biography require comment at this stage since I believe that they contribute to the tenor of his colonial writing. The first is his ecclesiastical connections and financial dependency on the Church. While Hakluyt did not write religious pamphlets in and of themselves, there is a strong ecclesiastical motive underpinning much of his work. The second is his involvement with and financial support from two of London's Livery Companies: the Worshipful Company of Skinners and the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers. These associations, I will demonstrate, can be felt in some of the mercantile nuances he introduces in his works and, in particular, some of his recommendations to potential colonists.

---

[68] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. : An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford. To which are added the fasti, or annals of the said university* 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), Vol. 2, pp. 186-89.

[69] D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology", in Quinn (1974), pp. 263-331.

[70] The London Company (also called the Virginia Company of London) was distinct from the Plymouth Company (also called the Virginia Company of London). Both Companies operated with the same charter but with different territories. The Plymouth Company never fulfilled its charter.

Hakluyt's Strategies of Writing

In this sub-section, I want to consider Hakluyt strategies of writing and how he mediated the diverse pressures of patronage upon him. I hope to identify the ways in which Hakluyt strategically foregrounded specific features of colonial thinking when writing new material (rather than editing or translating other people's work) in order to respond to the pressure of patronage placed on him by his patrons, as well as accommodate his own interests in that response. To illustrate his strategies of writing, I will examine two texts in turn: first, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, and second, "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake". Both of these works were evidently controversial in the sixteenth century. The *Discourse* was not printed during Hakluyt's lifetime and was clearly not intended for the general public. This was almost certainly owing to its unabashed suggestion that colonial settlement be used as a direct challenge to the Spanish presence in the Americas. Meanwhile, "The Famous Voyage", describing the circumnavigation of Francis Drake, was not included in the original printing of the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* and was only later appended to existing copies in the early 1590s. The notoriety surrounding Drake's circumnavigation and his acts of piracy against Spanish ships may have accounted for the initial reluctance to include Hakluyt's narrative or any other report of Drake's voyage in the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations*.

The potential to read both texts as consciously anti-Spanish probably accounts for much of the political pressure that delayed their general publication. An English challenge to Spain's presence in the New World would certainly have had imperial implications; however, these texts exhibit the pressures of other aspects of colonial thinking beyond the imperial. In fact, as I shall demonstrate in my reading of "The Famous Voyage", the quasi-imperial aspects of the circumnavigation have been almost entirely elided in favour of the mercantile opportunities that such a voyage seemed to present. What we can identify in both texts are the complex strategies of writing employed by Hakluyt to mediate the multiple pressures of patronage that were being exerted on him at that time.

a) Discourse of Western Planting (1584)

I have already examined the imperial aspects of the *Discourse* and its connection to Raleigh in my analysis of the imperial model of colonialism and so will not rearticulate the full details of that investigation here. In brief summary, I identified three important components of the *Discourse* that differentiated it from the mercantile model endorsed by Walsingham and codified by Carleill in his 1583 treatise: the direct challenge to the Iberian presence in the Americas, the proposal for an augmented state-maintained navy, and the detailed plan for an agricultural plantation. The fact that Raleigh initially chose to fund the voyages himself, rather than through a more common joint-stock collaboration with others, also highlighted his desire to look beyond established mercantile models of New World encounter. There are two other aspects of the *Discourse* that I want to identify, however, which demonstrate the multiple and, at times, even partisan interests that Hakluyt mediated and encoded into the *Discourse*. The first is his religious justification for instigating an imperial challenge to the Iberian powers in the Americas. The second is his preoccupation with the benefit to clothworkers that he suggests such a challenge would provide.

I have noted the connection between the *Discourse* and the writings of John Dee, whose interest in establishing a British maritime empire was an important, if at times incoherent, ideological basis for early modern imperial ambitions. In particular, I noted that Hakluyt's desire to see a larger state-maintained navy was a re-articulation of Dee's similar advice in the 1570s. Where Hakluyt and Dee differ importantly, however, is in their justification for English colonisation. Dee employed quasi-historical, quasi-mythical accounts of Tudor sovereignty over coastlines as varied as Scotland, Ireland, Greenland, and Florida in order to justify an imperial project in the Atlantic.[71] For Dee, British imperialism was entirely motivated by political considerations – fulfilling a pre-existing claim to sovereignty over the coastal territories of the North Atlantic. By contrast, Hakluyt's justification for empire was, I would argue, predicated on

[71] See the introduction to this thesis for more details.

his belief that Protestants had a moral and religious duty to bring the correct form of Christianity to the New World and thereby oppose the Catholic influences of Portugal and Spain.[72] That is not to say that Hakluyt's primary motive for colonisation was religious but that it was the ideological basis for his justification of English imperialism.

In the opening chapter of the *Discourse*, Hakluyt declares that 'this westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargment of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the refourmed religion are chefely bounde amongst whome her ma[tie] ys principall'.[73] There are two important aspects to this initial argument for pursuing a 'westerne discoverie'. The first is that it will enlarge the 'gospell of Christe […] of the refourmed religion' through conversion – this is a purely religious motivation. The second is that it will increase the number of people practising their faith under a church doctrine where 'her ma[tie] ys principall' – this is a less straightforwardly religious sentiment and actually reveals an imperial motivation for aggrandising the Tudor monarchy. It is precisely this yoking together of religion and politics that we see throughout the *Discourse*. In this way, Hakluyt negotiates a position that incorporates both the imperial ambitions of his patron as well as his own ecclesiastical interests. In the introduction, Hakluyt attempts to convince the reader (Elizabeth I) of the benefits of supporting English colonisation in Virginia with the argument that more Protestants equals more subjects. By providing a religious motivation for such an imperial ambition, Hakluyt gives Elizabeth the opportunity to absolve her potential involvement with the project from accusations of politically motivated bellicosity towards European Catholics and their interests in the New World. By encoding, in such a benign manner, the imperial aspirations of the text with a religious justification at the beginning of the *Discourse*, Hakluyt is then free to offer a challenge to the imperial projects of Spain and Portugal later in the text on the same grounds.

In chapter seven, Hakluyt suggests of the Spanish colonies that 'the Ilandes there abounde wth people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy governemente of the

[72] The Protestantism inherent in Hakluyt's conception of colonisation is discussed in Armitage (2000), pp. 61-99; the Protestant impetus in the *Discourse* has been examined in Mancall (2007), pp. 139-155.
[73] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting", in Hakluyt (1935), Vol. 2, p. 211.

Spaniarde, and that doo mortally hate the Spaniarde'.[74] This hatred is born from the alleged cruelty meted out by the Spanish towards the native people – a cruelty that Hakluyt ties inextricably to Spain's Catholicism as a 'supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome'.[75] Not only does the Spanish presence in the New World harm the native people, but the wealth extracted from the Americas is, Hakluyt argues, used 'to the afflictinge and oppressing of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome'.[76] Ultimately, Hakluyt concludes that the Spanish are 'men most odious not onely to the people of the west Indies, but also to all Christendome and all the worlde beside'.[77] The religious aspect of the *Discourse*, and the way in which it is used to justify the broader imperial ambitions of the text, reveals the strategies of writing employed by Hakluyt to mediate the pressures of patronage from his patron with his own interests.

While the text of the *Discourse* has been used in this thesis as the primary example of Raleigh's imperial model of colonialism, I want to throw some light on a competing mercantile pressure that Hakluyt subtly encodes into the manuscript. Although it is only a minor component of the text, Hakluyt's insistence on the benefit of New World settlement for clothworkers reveals his willingness to incorporate seemingly disconnected ambitions into a single piece of colonial writing. His focus on the advantage to this particular industry above all others is evidently the product of his own personal connection to the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, who paid him a pension from 1578-1593. In a passage towards the end of the *Discourse* that could almost be considered an early modern version of "product placement", Hakluyt describes how:

> Where England nowe for certen hundredth yeres last passed by the peculiar commoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moch higher honor, mighte and power then before, to the equalling of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde: It cometh nowe so to passe that by the greate endevor of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the west Indies nowe daily more and more multiplienge, That the wolles of England and

[74] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting", in Hakluyt (1935), Vol. 2, p. 247.
[75] *ibid*., p. 315.
[76] *ibid*., p. 244.
[77] *ibid*., p. 264.

> the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other.[78]

It was undoubtedly the case that in the 1580s England was experiencing a period of economic stagnation but Hakluyt's presentation of the declining fortunes of the wool and cloth trades as a result of Spanish activities in the New World does not quite match the history.[79] The falling European demand for English wool and the resultant drop in prices had started three decades earlier with the number of English cloths passing through Antwerp down a third by 1551 on the previous decades.[80] While this decline had been a consequence of competition from other European nations, it cannot be linked directly, as Hakluyt attempts to do in the *Discourse*, to Spain's imperial policy. The idea that Raleigh's colony in the New World would help to reverse the fortunes of England's wool and cloth trade was, in fact, economically unsound. England needed to expand its markets not produce more products. What we see at this moment in the *Discourse* is Hakluyt promoting the interests of a group with which he was closely associated rather than a genuine attempt to formulate a national economic agenda. There is little attempt to make the mercantile interests of the Clothworkers' Company cohere with the imperial ambitions that Raleigh imagined for his colony. These competing pressures of patronage create a moment of frisson in the text, which remains unresolved and is instead evidence of the plurality of colonial thinking that is manifest in Hakluyt's writing.

b) "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake"

Drake's circumnavigation of the globe, undertaken between 1577 and 1580, was symbolically important in three main respects: it established England's claim to the East coast of North America; it challenged the Iberian powers and their pretentions to unbridled possession of the New World; and it telegraphed England's maritime presence in both the Atlantic and Pacific

[78] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting", in Hakluyt (1935), Vol. 2, pp. 313-314.
[79] An analysis of the economics in the *Discourse* can be found in G. V. Scammell, "Hakluyt and the economic thought of his time", in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, p. 15-22.
[80] D. M. Loades, *England's maritime empire: seapower, commerce and policy, 1490-1690* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 53-54.

Oceans. It was, therefore, a highly imperialist act. Considering the significance of Drake's achievement, the paucity of publicly printed records of his voyage during the sixteenth century seems remarkable.[81] During Drake's own lifetime, only a slim, twelve-page addendum to Hakluyt's 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* offered any published record of the voyage, and even after Drake's death in 1596 there was nothing like the outpouring of literary commemoration that accompanied the passing of Sir Philip Sidney a decade earlier.[82] Drake's own apparent silence on the issue of his circumnavigation has engendered varying interpretations, with the mariner and hydrographer Robert Norman praising, in a 1581 dedication to the captain, how Drake 'hoist not vp the loftie saile of selfe-loue, to swell with the winde of vainglory, as vaunting of any exploit which you haue atchieued'.[83] This interpretation is fanciful, however, and a letter to Elizabeth I, dated 1 January 1592 and signed by Drake, indicates that the captain wished to stamp his own authorial control over the narrative of his voyage after what he deemed to be the malicious and inaccurate 'inklings and coniectures' of London gossipers. [84] It seems more likely, therefore, that the lack of publicly printed accounts of the circumnavigation was a consequence of state control over the records and a desire to censor the details of the voyage. In October 1584, Hakluyt's employer in France, the ambassador Sir Edward Stafford, wrote to Walsingham on this very point, revealing that 'I find from Mr. Hakluyt that Drake's journey is kept very secret in England, but here it is in everyone's

---

[81] W. T. Jewkes has noted with some surprise that 'Drake's voyages and exploits have made such a small impact on major English literature, particularly in his own age' in "Sir Francis Drake Revived: From Letters to Legend", in Norman J. W. Thrower ed. *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580: 1577-1580: essays commemorating the quadricentennial of Drake's circumnavigation of the earth* (London: University of California Press, 1984), p. 112.

[82] The text of "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake" was printed sometime after the main text of the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations*. It comprises a six-leaf gathering that was inserted between pages 643 and 644. D. B. Quinn suggests that the text was compiled at short-notice from the journal of Francis Fletcher (see D. B. Quinn, "Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage", in Thrower (1984), pp. 35-36.). K. R. Andrews has suggested that Fletcher's journal was not completed until the late 1580s at the earliest given its references to Francis Cavendish's circumnavigation of 1588 (see K. R. Andrews, "The Aims of Drake's Expedition of 1577-1580", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (Feb., 1968), p. 729.). An analysis of surviving copies of the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* has led Harry Kelsey to conclude that the text of "The Famous Voyage" was not printed until around 1595-1596 (see Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: the Queen's Pirate* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 85-89.)

[83] Robert Norman, "To the right worshipfull Sir Frauncis Drake", in Jean de Cartigny, *The voyage of the wandering knight* (London, 1581), sig. Aii^{v}

[84] Francis Drake, "The Dedicatory Epistle, intended to Q. Elizabeth", in Philip Nichols, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London, 1626), sigs. A3^{r}-A3^{v}.

mouth'.[85] The fact that Drake's journey was being kept a secret in England would, I argue, have come as no surprise to Walsingham. It is my contention that he was responsible for the suppression of accounts relating to the voyage during the 1580s and for the ultimately mercantile shape that Hakluyt's "The Famous Voyage" took.

As outlined in my introduction to this sub-section, Drake's circumnavigation was highly controversial and his patent acts of piracy were a potential source of diplomatic embarrassment that officially Elizabeth would have wanted to keep at arm's length (even if she secretly endorsed them). The true purpose of the voyage has never been fully ascertained; however, most historians agree that the primary aim was to present a challenge to the Iberian powers' maritime presence in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.[86] In fact, the few records that exist concerning the objectives of the voyage indicate that it was never intended to be a circumnavigation nor were the mercantile encounters in the Spice Islands premeditated.[87] As far as it is possible to say, the voyage seems to have been most likely designed to present a direct imperial challenge to Spanish and Portuguese interests in the New World – an act that might have appealed to Raleigh but was surely too unsubtle for someone like Walsingham. As such, the highly mercantile narrative written by Hakluyt and then appended into existing editions of the 1589 *The Principal Navigations* represents a conscious set of strategic decisions to write the account in a way that downplayed such imperial intentions.

In the next sub-section on Hakluyt's strategies of editing, I will examine at greater length the process of inclusion and exclusion that shaped the two editions of *The Principal Navigations*. The initial exclusion of "The Famous Voyage" for the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* represents one such editorial strategy (even if imposed upon Hakluyt by

---

[85] Edward Stafford, "Letter to Walsingham, October 1584", in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign* PRO, Vol. 19, p. 108; Harry Kelsey suggests that this letter is in reference to the circumnavigation in Kelsey (1998), p. 178.

[86] See, Andrews (1968), pp. 724-741; Mary C. Fuller, "Writing the Long-Distance Voyage: Hakluyt's Circumnavigators", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (March 2007), pp. 37-60.

[87] The details of the original plan are found in the British Museum, Cottonian Manuscripts, Otho E. VIII, fols. 8-9. This has been transcribed and analyses in E. G. T. Taylor, "More Light on Drake: 1577-1580", *The Mariner's Mirror* Vol. 16, Issue. 3 (1930), pp. 134-151.

Walsingham). In the introduction to the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt apologises that his work does not include an account of the circumnavigation:

> I confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withal, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yielded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to those intended discourses.[88]

Hakluyt excuses the absence of an account by suggesting that he does not want to 'anticipate or preuent' another writer's more compendious report through his own shorter publication. The fact that no accounts had appeared in the decade since Drake had returned and that, apart from Hakluyt's, none would be published until the seventeenth century clearly indicated that this justification was fanciful. There is simply no evidence that any other reports were pending publication at this time that could possibly give Hakluyt reason to excise his own from *The Principal Navigations*. Nevertheless, the excuse does provide us with two important and interrelated revelations regarding Hakluyt's narrative. The first is that he had already written it (to a greater or lesser degree); the second is that he had anticipated publishing it in the first edition. This seems evident from Hakluyt's suggestion that he has 'taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke' and that it was only 'of late' that he discovered that such a prospect would be denied to him. This is important since critics who believe that "The Famous Voyage" was written in the 1590s must therefore conclude that it was composed after the death of Walsingham in 1590. Instead, I would argue that the text was probably written in the 1580s, while Hakluyt was still courting Walsingham's patronage for the first edition of *The Principal Navigations*.

If we conclude that the text of "The Famous Voyage" was written in the late 1580s, it may help to explain the distinctly mercantile perspective given to the narrative as Hakluyt attempted to mediate the interests of his then-patron, Walsingham. Hakluyt's account dwells little on the piratical aspects of the voyage and instead lingers for over half the narrative on the

[88] Hakluyt (1589), fol. *4^{v}.

moments of exchange with Native Americans after arriving on the coastline of Nova Albion and the quasi-trade mission conduced in the Moluccas Islands (Spice Islands). Claire Jowitt has noted precisely this 'selectivity' in "The Famous Voyage" as Hakluyt attempts to reframe the open piracy in a way that mitigated its criminality while simultaneously inserting a mercantile theme to underpin the venture.[89] The latter half of "The Famous Voyage" fixates on potential trading opportunities, particularly those in the Moluccas. This would have undoubtedly appealed to Walsingham since his desire to discover the entrance to the Northwest Passage was in order to gain easy access to, amongst other places, the Spice Islands.

The description of Drake's arrival in the Moluccas foregrounds the trading opportunities to be found there. Hakluyt lists a catalogue of commodities that could be imported, including minerals such as 'golde, siluer, copper and sulphur' and spices such as 'nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, coquos, figu, sagu'.[90] At the same time, Hakluyt's narrative identifies an opportunity to expand England's cloth market, noting of the Moluccans that 'with this people linnen cloth is good marchandize, and of good request' and that 'they are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene'.[91] It is hard to imagine that this assessment was a true reflection of the Drake voyage as it happened – did a privateering venture to challenge the Spanish and Portuguese presence in South American really take reams of cloth on-board on the off-chance that they might be forced to redirect to the Spice Islands? As with the *Discourse*, it seems more likely that at this late point in the text Hakluyt introduces a highly particular mercantile concern into the narrative in order to support his own partisan interest in London's Clothworkers' Company.

Despite Hakluyt's evident reframing of the narrative to emphasise the mercantile aspects of the voyage, it was not until after Walsingham's death in 1590 that he was able to include it in *The Principal Navigations*. This was perhaps because, even in its present state, the text was unable to entirely erase the controversial acts of piracy that Drake committed against

---

[89] Claire Jowitt, "The Uses of 'Piracy': Discourses of Mercantilism and Empire in Hakluyt's *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*", in Chloe Houston ed., *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham: Routledge, 2010), p. 120.
[90] Hakluyt (1589), fol. Mmm8^{v}.
[91] *ibid*., fol. Mmmm8^{v}.

the Spanish. What I have hoped to demonstrate in this sub-section is the manner in which Hakluyt employed specific strategies of writing in order to mediate the pressures of patronage placed on him by his patrons as well as including his own partisan interests (particularly those of the London Clothworkers' Company). The deliberate emphasis of particular narrative elements – either imperial, mercantile, or ecclesiastical – was possible in newly written works composed by Hakluyt himself. Such strategies were evidently more problematic when editing and compiling the works of others. In the next sub-section, I want to explore Hakluyt's strategies of editing. This will focus on the two editions of *The Principal Navigations* and demonstrate the ways in which, through a process of inclusion and exclusion of material as well as narrative framing, Hakluyt succeeded in presenting the first edition in more mercantile terms and the second edition in more imperial terms.

Hakluyt's Strategies of Editing

The size of *The Principal Navigations* and the plurality of authorial hands that contributed to it make any simple categorisation of the text as either imperial or mercantile both impossible and undesirable. My analysis here will not be an attempt to categorise the two editions as falling on either side of an imperial-mercantile divide and there is an implicit acknowledgement that such a capacious work on early modern colonialism necessarily contains aspects of both. However, it is certainly possible to examine the ways in which Hakluyt framed the work (particularly through the introductions) and to identify the strategies of editing that he undertook to direct the way in which his reader approached the texts that make up the work. In this sub-section, I will divide my attention between the two editions of *The Principal Navigations*, focusing on the dedication to Walsingham in the first edition as well as specific moments of editorial inclusion and exclusion across the two editions.

It is my contention that the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* was framed to foreground Walsingham's mercantile model of New World colonisation. This process of framing begins with the dedication to Walsingham. Turning my attention to the material relating

to the Roanoke colony, I will identify the way in which Hakluyt deliberately foregrounds a text that was critical of the ambitions of the settlement – Ralph Lane's "Account of the particularities of the imployment of the English men left in Virginia". This text sits uncomfortably amongst the other accounts of the settlement and offers, I argue, a kind of intertextual critique of the imperial model of colonisation in favour of more mercantile aspirations. After the death of Walsingham in 1590, Hakluyt seems less fixated on pursuing this mercantile agenda and in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* we can identify editorial choices that shift the focus of the text subtly from the mercantile towards the imperial. This is achieved (with regards to the material relating to Virginia) through the imposition of a new editorial framework governing the intertextuality of the reports of the Roanoke voyages. Under this framework, Lane's "Account" no longer occupies its central position in the narrative of the settlement but is relegated to a collection of miscellaneous texts that function as an addendum to the more important 'catalogue' of five voyages undertaken between 1584-1590. The apparent coherence of these five texts, as grouped under a single header in the contents page of the volume, gives the sixteenth-century Virginian voyages a sense of teleological progression. This editorial decision helps to reconfigure these discrete moments of New World encounter into a seemingly sustained project of imperial expansion. In addition to the reframing of existing material, we can see Hakluyt including new kinds of material into the 1598-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations* that had been consciously excluded from the 1589 edition. Hakluyt deviates from his original commitment to including only the navigations of the English nation by adding accounts of New World encounter by foreign nations. In addition, he includes an account of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 – a text that is not, strictly speaking, about English navigations. The inclusion of these new kinds of writing contributes to a different overall impression of the work. I argue that the aggregate effect of these editorial decision in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* helps to foreground a sense of imperial competition between European nations as they attempted to stake their claim to various portions of the American coastline.

a) The Principal Navigations (1589)

Most critics dealing with the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* identify the dedication to Walsingham as a key entry point into the text. The fact that it does much of the work in framing the compendium of texts that follow means that this critical attention is not misplaced. Few critics, if any, however, seem to have appreciated the full significance of Walsingham as the dedicatee. I hope that this chapter will go some way some way to address this omission from Hakluyt scholarship.

Hakluyt's dedication to Walsingham in the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* has the effect of framing the texts that comprise the work as the product of mercantile and ecclesiastical ambitions. This is achieved through a process of historical reference to a meeting with his cousin, Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, during the time when the younger Hakluyt was 'one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster'.[92] It was during this meeting that Hakluyt claims to have been shown a 'vniuersall Mappe' by his cousin, who pointed out:

> all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied.[93]

The focus here on the 'speciall commodities' of each region and the 'benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants' is particularly instructive. It mythologises Hakluyt's motivation for producing *The Principal Navigations* by suggesting that his initial interest in geography and navigation was inspired by the maritime navigations of merchants. As in the *Discourse*, Hakluyt strategically aligns this mercantile focus with his own ecclesiastical interests. He notes that:

> From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe.[94]

---

[92] Hakluyt (1589), fol. *2^{v}.
[93] *ibid*., fol. *2^{v}.
[94] *ibid.,* fol. *2^{v}.

Here Hakluyt explicitly yokes these mercantile and religious ambitions together; those who 'occupy' themselves through sea travel (i.e. merchants) are also those who see the 'works of the Lord'. Once again, Hakluyt uses the Christian faith to justify his interest in the topic of New World colonialism. While I do not want to question the sincerity of Hakluyt's religious convictions, they seem (as in the *Discourse*) to be a secondary motivation. The primary motivation, as the full title to the work suggests, was to document 'the principall nauigations, voiages and discoueries of the English nation'.

Hakluyt's strategy of editing this compendium relies on the dedication to help frame the narrative and, thereby, to direct the way in which the texts of *The Principal Navigations* were to be read. Hakluyt imposes a mercantile perspective on the work entirely in keeping with the kinds of pressures of patronage that we might expect from his association with Walsingham. At the same time, he uses the aggrandising justification of the Christian faith to demonstrate the seriousness of such an endeavour and, as such, to diffuse any potential criticism of his chosen topic. As I will demonstrate in my sub-section dealing with Hakluyt's strategies of translation, the use of dedications and introductions to frame a text and provide a particular perspective from which to read the narrative was a key means by which Hakluyt was able to mediate the various pressures of patronage under which he was working. If the dedication to Walsingham in the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* established a set of mercantile expectations for the text, then Hakluyt's choice of materials helped to support this perspective. I want to focus here on one such example – a highly significant report by Ralph Lane about the settlement at Roanoke – as an example of how the processes of inclusion and intertextuality functioned as editorial strategies to mediate the pressures of patronage imposed upon Hakluyt by his association with Walsingham.

Ralph Lane's "Account of the particularities of the imployment of the English men left in Virginia" is highly circumspect about the prospect of founding a successful imperial settlement at Roanoke. Lane had been governor and military leader of the Roanoke colony between 1585-1586 and presided over what is generally considered to be a failed attempt to establish a functioning settlement in Virginia. The "Account" was written on his return to

England on 27 June 1586, circulated in manuscript amongst important court figures, and first printed for a general readership in Hakluyt's 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Michael G. Moran has argued that the "Account" functions as a kind of early modern *apologia*.[95] It is easy to see why he reaches this conclusion given the report's negative description of the Virginian settlement and the author's excusatory tone when accounting for its failures. What emerges from reading the "Account" is a sense that Raleigh's model of imperial colonisation at Roanoke is inherently flawed, since the ambitions of such a venture leave the settlement without an obvious purpose. Most significant is his conclusion that:

> I haue set downe this Uoyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine: for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing else can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth the fetching.[96]

Lane is uncompromising in his belief that the current imperial ambitions of the project – to establish an agricultural-colony in Virginia – is insufficient reason to 'bring this Countrey [America] in request to be inhabited by our nation'. Lane provides three reasons for this: the first, that the 'discouerie of [a] Mine' from which to extract precious metal ores makes more financial sense; the second, that a coastal location from which to access a 'passage to the South-sea' would benefit the potential for trade; the third, that, while the land may possess 'fertile soyle', it is only useful if the lumber and agricultural produce growing there can easily be shipped to England as 'marchandise'. The centrality of the "Account" amongst the texts collected by Hakluyt, in the section of *The Principal Navigations* dealing with the Roanoke colony, imposes a kind of intertextual critique of the other reports. In particular, Thomas Harriot's "A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found and to be raised, as well merchantable as others", which immediately follows Lane's

[95] Moran (2007), pp. 61-94.
[96] Hakluyt (1589), p. 742.

account, feels somewhat moot after the governor's damning conclusion that the present state of the colony practically denied any opportunity to engage in the extraction or trade of commodities.

Lane's "Account" becomes, in essence, an articulation of the kind of colonial thinking supported by Walsingham: that any settlement in America should act as a point of mercantile contact between the Old World and the New rather than as an imperial outpost without any other obvious purpose. Lane even acknowledges that the site at Roanoke was inferior to one further North at Chesapeake – the ultimate site of the Jamestown settlement in the seventeenth century. Lane notes that:

> the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.[97]

The attempt to found a settlement at Roanoke under Raleigh's imperial model had suffered, according to Lane, not from the governor's mismanagement but from the venture's misplaced objectives and the poor choice of location to found a settlement.

If Lane's "Account" seems particularly hostile towards Raleigh's imperial model of New World colonisation, then perhaps it was because Lane was closely allied to Walsingham.[98] During his governorship he complained bitterly in a series of letters to Walsingham about Captain Grenville's leadership of the fleet – believing Grenville to be actively undermining his own work.[99] I do not believe there is sufficient evidence to suggest, as other have done, that Lane was actively working on Walsingham's behalf to ensure the failure of the venture; however, the nature of the "Account" clearly demonstrates that Lane was unafraid to voice his reservations.[100] Hakluyt's position as the editor of *The Principal Navigations* was thus difficult. In the late 1580s he was being patronised by both Walsingham and Raleigh and the inclusion of

---

[97] Hakluyt (1589), p. 378.
[98] Lane's connection to Walsingham is described in Durant (1981), p. 61.
[99] Quinn, (1955), Vol. 2, pp. 197-214.
[100] Miller (2000), *passim*.

his name on the list of supporters of the 'City of Raleigh' in 1589 clearly demonstrates his desire to see a successful settlement in Virginia. However, given the pressures of patronage imposed upon him by Walsingham's support for the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*, it is evident that Hakluyt was forced to employ specific editorial strategies in order to mediate his own interest in the Roanoke with the hostility of Walsingham. Hakluyt could not, of course, entirely omit any mention of the settlement at Roanoke – after the decision to remove the narrative of Drake's circumnavigation, to excise the accounts of the Virginian colony as well would leave him with a seriously bowdlerised list of England's principal navigations. Instead, Hakluyt appears to use his position as editor to offer some sort of compromise between his own and his patron's colonial ambitions. The placement of Lane's "Account" amongst the other texts relating to the settlement at Roanoke acts as a moment of intertextual critique – foregrounding some of the problematic aspects of the colony without entirely dismissing it. While this sort of editorial strategy is undoubtedly subtle, it was perhaps one of the few ways that Hakluyt was able to include the material that he wanted in the work while simultaneously responding to the pressures of patronage upon him.

b) The Principal Navigations (1598-1600)

If the 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* was edited in such a way as to respond to the pressure of patronage incumbent with dedicating the work to Walsingham, then the 1598-1600 edition appears, at least in respects to its treatment of the Roanoke voyages, to be less focused on critiquing the settlement for its failure to promote a mercantile agenda. With Walsingham's death in 1590, the pressures of patronage that, I argue, had led Hakluyt to foreground the mercantile aspects of the voyages in the first edition were no longer pressing. In the second edition, Hakluyt reveals a set of editorial strategies that allowed him to introduce a greater sense of imperial perspective to the prospect of New World colonialism. These strategies included reframing existing material as well as introducing new texts into the collection.

In the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt restructured the reports of the Roanoke settlement – marginalising Lane's "Account" while simultaneously foregrounding a set of five other reports that documented the activities of the colony from 1584 to 1590.[101] This restructuring can be most clearly seen on the contents page of the volume, where we find the different texts collected in the *Principal Navigations* grouped into specific categories. The five optimistic reports of the Roanoke voyages are grouped together as a single unit under the heading 'A catalogue of the voyages and nauigations of the English nation to Virginia, and of the seuerall discoueries thereof, chiefly at the charges of the honourable sir Walter Ralegh knight'.[102] This heading explicitly foregrounds the role of Raleigh as the principal agent in promoting these ventures and frames the narratives as a coherent unit. Lane's "Account" is relegated in the contents page to a group of texts collected as miscellaneous additional material relating to these voyages. By restructuring the existing material in this way, Hakluyt successfully refocuses the reader's attention onto the positive accounts of the voyages, each of which promote the prospect of a successful agricultural-colony in Virginia. Of course, by 1600, when the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* was published, the colony at Roanoke had been abandoned for a full decade; indeed, it could not be described as anything less than a disaster.[103] However, Hakluyt strategically excludes such details of the colony's demise from *The Principal Navigations* and the reader is left, instead, with the impression that the voyages were not only governed by a coherent set of ambitions but also that there was a place for future ventures to continue such a project. The success of Hakluyt's strategy can be measured, in some respects, by the fact that the merchant-adventurers who travelled to Virginia in the seventeenth

[101] These five reports are "The first voyage made to the coast of Virginia by M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlow, 1584"; "The second voyage made to Virginia by sir Richard Grinuile for sir Walter Ralegh. Anno 1585"; "The third voyage to Virginia made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586. for the reliefe of the colonie planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of sir Walter Ralegh"; "The fourth voyage made to Virginia with 3. ships, Anno 1587. wherein was tra▪sported the second colonie"; and "The fifth voyage to Virginia made by master Iohn White in the yeere 1590".

[102] Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer-land* (London: 1598-1600), Vol. 3, sig. A5^{v}.

[103] For a sense of the historical failures of Elizabethan colonialism, see Michael Foss, *Undreamed Shores: England's Wasted Empire in America* (London: Harrap, 1974) and Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1992)

century were so enthusiastic about their prospect of success despite the disastrous reality of the Roanoke colony's history.

Hakluyt's strategies of editing were necessarily subtle with regards to the reframing of the Roanoke voyages and the exclusion of the history of the colony's failure. The material was, broadly speaking, the same as he had used in the first edition and so there was a limited scope for radically altering the tone of the account. However, one can detect a definite refocusing of his material as he is no longer required to respond to the specific pressures of patronage that had guided his editorial decisions in the first edition. Less subtle, perhaps, was the inclusion of new materials that deviated from his original commitment to providing only texts relating to the navigations of the English. These additions include a significant number of text relating to the navigations of other European nations as well as an account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The inclusion of these materials placed new emphasis on the competitive nature of early modern colonialism as European nations sought to claim portions of the New World for themselves.

The materials collected in the third volume (dealing with the western discoveries) of the 1598-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations* are structured in such a way that as the reader moves sequentially through the volume there is a corresponding move geographically from North to South down the eastern coastline of the Americas. As such, immediately following the material relating to the Roanoke colony, Hakluyt introduces a series of texts documenting French voyages to Florida by René Goulaine de Laudonnière (translated and published first by Hakluyt in a separate volume in 1587). The juxtaposition of the Virginian and Floridian texts reflects the geographical proximity of these regions, serving textually to highlight the potential competition between two nations that had laid claim to adjacent territories. This is an important change from the way Hakluyt organised his "American" texts in the 1589 edition, where instead the reader worked their way chronologically through the history of New World exploration. In the 1598-1600 edition, the work takes on a quasi-cartographic dimension in its chorographical journey down the eastern coastline of the Americas. As the reader progresses through the volume, Hakluyt introduces texts from Spanish, English and Portuguese explorers in New

Spain, Guiana and Brazil. The inclusion, in particular, of the entire text of Raleigh's *THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH, and Beautifull Empire of Guiana* and its position between various materials concerning Spanish and Portuguese exploration in South America, offers further evidence for the more imperial tone of the second edition. Raleigh's language in the text is unabashed in its imperial objectives. He notes without apology his 'hope that these prouinces, and that Empire now by me discouered shal suffice to inable her Maiestie & the whole kingdome' and that 'it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserued for her Maiesty and the English nation'.[104] The cumulative effect of texts relating to Raleigh's imperial ambitions in the New World shifts the tone of *The Principal Navigations*, such that the second edition appears far more engaged with the imperial potential of such settlements than the first.

In addition to Hakluyt's decision to include new materials relating to western discoveries made in the Americas, he also chose to add an account of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588. Hakluyt would have had time to include such a narrative in his 1589 edition of *The Principal Navigations* but doing so would violate his intention to document the navigations of the English – the naval battle against the Armada could not really be considered a navigation, voyage or traffic in the strictest sense. Furthermore, the inclusion of a passage celebrating the defeat of the Spanish would seem out of keeping with the sort of editorial decision-making that had forced Hakluyt to abandon his far less provocative account of Drake's circumnavigation. By the time of the publication of the second edition, these considerations seem less pressing in Hakluyt's editorial process. His inclusion of a translated version of the Dutch historian Emanuel van Meteren's *The miraculous victory atchieued by the English Fleete* is a product, I would argue, of the increasing attention on the imperial competition between England and, in particular, Spain that marks the tone of the 1598-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*. The fact that Meteren's account singles out Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, for his 'discreet and happy conduct' as the Admiral of the English fleet demonstrates one final, as yet unexplored, pressure of patronage. The first volume of the second edition, the volume in

[104] Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 3, pp. 630, 636.

which the record of the Armada is contained, was dedicated by Hakluyt to Charles Howard and praised:

> that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie *Spanish Armada* (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chief and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble go|uernment and worthy behauior, your high wisedom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almightie, are shewed most eui|dently to haue bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations.[105]

By including Meteren's account of the defeat of the Armada in 1588, Hakluyt is able to celebrate Howard's achievement as well as foreground the sense of imperial competition between the Spanish and English.

In sketching out Hakluyt's strategies of editing the two editions of *The Principal Navigations*, I have suggested ways in which the editor responded to specific pressures of patronage that might have caused him to make decisions that foregrounded either the mercantile or imperial features of his material. I do not wish to claim, however, that the first edition of the work *is* mercantile and that the second *is* imperial. Instead, I have hoped to introduce nuance into our thinking about such a monumental work by not only appreciating the plurality of texts that it encompasses but considering the ways in which Hakluyt was able to exercise a degree of control over how those texts were read. Through a process of inclusion and exclusion and by conscious attempts to frame the material in a particular way in the introductions and dedications, Hakluyt's strategies of editing provide the reader with strategies of reading that help to direct our perspective of the texts in light of the kinds of pressures of patronage under which he was working.

[105] Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 1, fol., *2^{r}.

Hakluyt's Strategies of Translation

In this final sub-section, I want to consider briefly Hakluyt's strategies of translation. I will use the term translation in the broadest possible sense as the "carrying across" of a text from one linguistic context to another. Under this more capacious category of translation, we have already seen Hakluyt introducing materials from French, Spanish and Portuguese writers into the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Some of these are translated out of the original language into English; however, some are reprinted as they were originally written – leaving it to the reader to respond to their inclusion in their own way. In this sub-section, I want to consider two text that were "translated" by Hakluyt in the 1580s – bringing them to new readers in England. The first is René Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (English title: *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages made by Certaine French Captaynes unto Florida*) and the second Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*.[106] Laudonnière's *L'histoire* was translated from French into English by Hakluyt himself, while Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* was printed in its original Latin but directed at an English readership. Both of these texts were published in 1587 (before the publication of the *Principal Navigations*) and both were dedicated to Raleigh. My objective in identifying Hakluyt's strategies of translation is not to unpick the specific linguistic choices made by the translator in transforming, a French text, for example into an English one; instead, I want to explore the way in which Hakluyt frames the narratives of these texts in his dedications as well as consider the reasons why Hakluyt should choose to "translate" these specific texts at this precise historical moment. Their publication at the very moment that Raleigh was organising a new group of 115 colonists to establish a new settlement in Virginia (originally planned to be at Chesapeake but ultimately founded at Roanoke), suggests that the timing was not accidental but occasioned by this specific historical context. Given the dedication to Raleigh and the timing of their publication, I want to identify

[106] For the sake of identification, I will refer to Laudonnière's original text as *L'historie* and Hakluyt's translation as *A Notable History*.

the ways in which Hakluyt frames the "translations" to encourage a particular, imperial response from the reader.

a) A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages made by Certaine French Captaynes unto Florida (1587)

René Goulaine de Laudonnière was a French Huguenot merchant and colonist responsible for founding Fort Caroline on the North-East coast of Florida in 1564. In 1586, twenty-two years after the foundation of the settlement, Laudonnière published *L'histoire* in Paris to record the details of that venture. Intriguingly, and at Hakluyt's recommendation, the French edition was dedicated to Raleigh. It is highly likely that the Anglican Hakluyt saw greater affinity with the Huguenot Laudonnière than he did with any other foreign colonialists in the New World and, as such, his national prejudices were probably tempered by religious sympathies. The settlers at Fort Caroline in the 1560s faced many of the same problems that would trouble the colonists at Roanoke in the 1580s and Jamestown through the early seventeenth century: notably a lack of food and means to grow it, as well as ignorance of the terrain and native peoples. In 1565, the English sailor John Hawkins arrived at the colony and, by trading his smallest ship for four cannons, powder and shot, enabled the French settlers to prepare a return voyage to France. Laudonnière writes fondly of this interaction in his account of the settlement, noting that:

> wee receaued as manye courtesies of the Generall, as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse hee hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing to be esteémed asmuch of vs all as if hee had saued all our liues.[107]

During the years following the foundation of Fort Caroline, the Spanish governor of Florida undertook to destroy the settlement and in 1565 massacred the majority of the inhabitants. The Spanish, in turn, planted their own fort on the site; however, this was attacked by French forces in April 1568, who killed their Spanish prisoners in revenge for the killings three years earlier.

[107] Hakluyt (1587), pp. 51-52.

The bloody history of Fort Caroline might not seem an obvious choice of publication to coincide with Raleigh's renewed efforts in 1587 to establish a colony in Virginia. However, Hakluyt's dedication to Raleigh reframes Laudonnière's narrative as a colonial *exemplum* that offers both a celebration of 'the manifold commodities & great fertilitie of the place' as well as an admonition 'to beware of the grosse negligence in providing sufficiencie of victuals, the security, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by other mishaps [English settlers] might learne to prevent and avoyde the like'.[108] Hakluyt explicitly frames the translated narrative of *A Notable Historie* in order to draw comparison between Raleigh's settlement at Roanoke and the 'nere neighbours unto our colonies', observing of his translation that 'no historie hetherto set foorth hath more affinite, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginea, then this of Florida'.[109]

It seems that the translated *A Notable Historie* was published at this moment in order to offer an example of the opportunities and pitfalls of colonial settlement in the New World to a general English readership. Rather than risk the opprobrium of his then-patron Raleigh by publishing a single volume account of the early settlement at Roanoke, he presents the highs and lows of the imperial model of settlement as attempted two decades earlier by the French. However, the dedication is not devoid of reference to Raleigh's then-current efforts in Virginia. The dedication strategically encodes an excuse for the early failures of the Roanoke colony to establish a plantation. Hakluyt is, of course, indirect in his assessment of the colony; however, his insistence that each of the colonial powers struggled initially to plant crops successfully in the Americas seems designed to deflect criticism away from the failure to create a self-supporting plantation in Virginia from 1584-1587. Hakluyt suggests that:

> the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-cane nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel […] The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in the first Decade, found nothing but mightie woodes for timber […] Howbeit the climate being favourable, they inriched it by their own industrie with the best wines and sugers of the world. […] And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise

[108] Hakluyt (1587), fol., *2[r].
[109] *ibid*., fol. *2[r].

> direction I doubte not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit.[110]

It is clear that Hakluyt is supportive here of the kind of imperial, agricultural-colony that he had first outlined for Raleigh in the *Discourse*; however, he recognises, albeit implicitly, the difficulties that had already been encountered by the first settlers at Roanoke. Hakluyt encourages his reader to approach the translation as both an *exemplum* of the imperial model of settlement while simultaneously highlighting the competitive nature of colonialism in the New World.

As the dedication progresses, Hakluyt presents the settlement in Roanoke as a fundamentally national project and one through which England has the opportunity to extend its imperial power across the Atlantic by undertaking the conquest not only of unfamiliar lands but of uncivilised peoples. He notes that:

> we are so farre from want of people, that retyring dayly home out of the Lowe Countries they go idle up & downe in swarmes for lacke of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to emply some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, then in the inward parts of the firme of Virginea against such stubborne Savages as shall refuse obedience to her Maiestie.[111]

Such rhetoric is an anathema to the mercantile ambitions expressed elsewhere in Hakluyt's writing under the direction of Walsingham; however, the project of settlement is here presented not as an opportunity to promote the mercantile interests of specific joint-stock companies but as an imperial project to command from the native people 'obedience to her Maiestie'. That Hakluyt recommends here the use of 'retyring' English soldiers returning from the Low Countries to achieve this only further foregrounds the potential role of the state in such a project. One cannot help but feel that the dedication to Raleigh in *A Notable Historie* is not so much directed at his patron (whose views he is largely parroting rather than influencing) but at a general readership still ambivalent about the settlement at Roanoke and whether the state should have a role in supporting it.

---

[110] Hakluyt (1587), fol. *3^{r}.
[111] *ibid*., fol. *4^{v}.

b) De Orbe Novo (1587)

Unlike *A Notable Historie*, Hakluyt did not translate the text of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* into English; instead, he reproduced the Latin original almost identically, printing it in the spring of 1587 before he left Paris to return to London. The text of *De Orbe Novo* had already been translated into a number of European vernaculars by the time Hakluyt produced his edition and so the decision to reprint it in the original Latin was self-consciously marketed towards an elite readership that he hoped to reach both on the Continent and, more importantly, in England. Nevertheless, the fact that Hakluyt appeared not to have altered the text of the original left some readers bemused as to the purpose of the project. The Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius, for example, asked of his son in 1589, upon seeing an advertisement for the edition at the Frankfurt Book Fair: 'vel aliquid de suo addidit? Aut quae causa huius per Haccletum editionis?'.[112] The purpose, I would argue, behind Hakluyt's decision to reproduce *De Orbe Novo* at this specific moment was one of timing: to highlight the competitive nature of New World colonialism in the late 1580s and to foreground the current supremacy that the Spanish enjoyed in those territories. This was not for the purpose of disheartening the English voyagers but rather to impress upon them the seriousness of such a venture at a moment when Raleigh was organising a new voyage to establish a permanent settlement in Virginia.

The texts that make up Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* had first begun to be printed in 1511 and continued to be collected until a complete volume was produced in 1530. The first three parts of Martyr's work were translated into English in 1577 by Richard Eden and the final parts were translated by Michael Lok, on behalf of Richard Hakluyt, in 1612. The work deals with the colonisation of the Americas by the Spanish from the late fifteenth century to the early part of the sixteenth century. It was, by 1587, a largely historical document dealing with the exploits of explorers several generations older than those currently venturing to the New World. The

[112] 'He has added nothing of his own? What then is the reason for this edition by Hakluyt', Abraham Ortelius to Jacobus Colius Ortelianus, 15 May 1589, Johannes H. Hessels, ed., *Abrahami Ortelii et viroruum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum espistulae* (Cambridge, 1887), p. 394.

work was not, therefore, relevant, in the sense that it recorded the recent activities of the Spanish in the Americas, but rather historical. As such, the nature and timing of Hakluyt's 1587 edition should be explained by considering it in the context of Raleigh's renewed attempt to found a settlement in Roanoke. By dedicating the edition to Raleigh, Hakluyt reframes the exploits of the Spanish in the context of England's own project in Virginia, encouraging the English explorers to see their activities as a belated attempt to regain the upper hand over the Spanish.

As so often in his dedications, Hakluyt uses the opportunity to frame the way in which he believes the text should be read. He ensures, for example, that the reader acknowledges how Martyr:

> ille eorundem avaritiam, ambitionem, caedes, rapinas, stupra, crudelitatem in nudas & innocuas gentes, interdum etiam armatorum clades & exercituum interneciones a Barbaris eisq; inermibus perpessas passim commemorate, & sine omni adulation perpetrata flagitia acerrime persequitur.[113]

By praising Martyr for his unflinching depiction of Spanish cruelties in the New World, Hakluyt simultaneously admonishes those same explorers for their moral failings and encourages his reader to be attuned to such behaviour in the text. While Hakluyt uses the dedication as an opportunity to condemn the Spanish for their actions in the New World, he also praises Raleigh for the continuation of his efforts to colonise Virginia. In a passage that exemplifies the kind of gendering of the New World (a source of later parody that will occupy my attention in Chapter Four of this thesis), Hakluyt asks rhetorically:

> Quorsum ego te, ut in incoepto perstes, hortor aut admoneo, qui, literis nuperrime ab aula ad me datis sponte & ultro contestatus es, a tue Virginiae suavissimis amplexibant, qua nympha pulcherrima, licet nondum statis plerisq; bene cognita, munificentissima Regina in sponsam tibi dedit, nullis terroribus, iacturis, infortuniis, posse aut unquam velle amoveri. Hac si constantia paulisper modo usus fueris, novos eosque foecundissimos partus brevi emittet

[113] 'Records their avarice, ambition, butchery, rapine, debauchery, their cruelty towards defenceless and harmless peoples, and occasionally the disasters suffered by their warriors and the slaughter of their armies at the hands of uncivilised races, and those too unarmed, and, so far is he from the suspicion of adulation, that he hunts out with the utmost perseverance crimes committed by them also'; Richard Hakluyt, "Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587", in Hakluyt (1935), Vol. 2, pp. 357-358,

> sponsa tua, quibis te tuosq: omnes mirifice beabit, illosque ignominia & pudore afficiet, qui illi temere & impudenter sterilitatem ausi sunt toties obiicere.[114]

Virginia is presented as a bride that at that time appears barren but will, if Raleigh's colonial "marriage" with the land perseveres, will bear offspring. Hakluyt condemns those who challenge the fertility of Virginia and encourages Raleigh to continue his project to fruition.

The nature of this project is presented, in the final portion of Hakluyt's dedication, in heroic terms. After encouraging Raleigh to persevere in the Virginian venture, Hakluyt declares: 'Id modo praestiteris, si non Homeru, at Martyrem aliquem, id est, foelicissimum aliquod ingenium tandem aliquando consequeris, quod tuos conatus plane heroicos a vast oblivionis hiatus vindicabit'.[115] If he succeeds in his settlement, then Raleigh's voyages, argues Hakluyt, may yet become the stuff of Homeric legend. Recourse to Classical models of epic to reconfigure the process of colonisation as an act of a nation's manifest destiny would become increasingly significant, as I will argue in Chapter Two, in the hands of another of Raleigh's close supporters: Edmund Spenser.

In detailing two acts of "translation" by Hakluyt in the 1580s, I have hoped to identify the ways in which the editor was able to respond to specific pressures of patronage in order to present these foreign texts in a way that commented directly and indirectly on the imperial project being undertaken by Raleigh and his agents in Virginia. Hakluyt's strategies of translation include the use of the dedication to frame the reading of the text from a specific, and in these cases imperial, perspective. Furthermore, the very act of "translating" these texts in 1587 – and thereby drawing explicit comparison between English, French and Spanish exploits in the New World – foregrounded a competitive vision of colonisation in which England needed to react to the earlier discoveries of its European neighbours.

---

[114] 'To what end do I exhort you or admonish you to persist in your project, when only recently you sent me letters from Court in which you freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia, that fairest of nymphs – though to many insufficiently well known, – whom our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you persevere only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness', *ibid*., pp. 360-361, 367.

[115] 'Do this, and you will find at length, if not a Homer, yet some Martyr – by whom I mean some happy genius – to rescue your heroic enterprises from the vasty maw of oblivion', *ibid*., pp. 361-362, 369.

III. 'IN KENNING OF THE SHORE': SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COASTAL ARRIVAL IN VIRGINIA AND HAKLUYT'S INFLUENCE ON DRAYTON'S ODE "TO THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE"

In the previous section I have tried to identify the complex strategies of writing, editing and translation employed by Hakluyt in his colonial prose as he responded to the pressures of patronage placed upon him by his relationships with Walsingham and Raleigh. Alongside the mercantile and imperial models of colonialism associated with these two individuals, Hakluyt also interspersed some of his own interests: his association with the Clothworkers' Company and his ecclesiastical connections. The strategies employed by Hakluyt included: privileging specific aspects of a voyage over others in his narratives, including or excluding certain texts from his compendia, restructuring the grouping of texts in order to foreground or marginalise their importance, framing the way in which the texts should be read through the use of a dedication, and timing the publication of texts to coincide with specific moments of historical importance. In this final section, I want to turn my attention briefly to the seventeenth century and explore the way in which the two forms of empire imagined respectively by Walsingham and Raleigh were combined to create a hybrid model that incorporated aspects of each. The hybridisation of these two models must be, in part, thanks to the efforts of Hakluyt in promoting both strands of colonial and allowing elements of each to coexist in his writing.

On 10 April 1606, James I signed the first Charter of Virginia, giving the London Company the right to establish a settlement in America. This saw a combination of the mercantile and the imperial models of thinking by placing the responsibility for establishing an agricultural-colony in Virginia in the hands of a merchant company with concurrent trading ambitions. While the subsequent history of English colonialism in America can give one a fatalistic impression of such a venture, the decision to resurrect plans to colonise Virginia was far from inevitable. The failure of the Roanoke colony in 1590 had left few in England with the appetite to fund further ventures. Despite a sixteen-year break when only one further voyage was made by Englishmen to Virginia and no attempt to colonise it was made, there was

seemingly much enthusiasm when the Virginia Company received its charter to complete the colonial ambitions of the Elizabethan period.

Nine days after James signed the charter, the poet Michael Drayton entered a collection of poems in the Stationers' Register under the title *Poems Lyrick and Pastorall*. Amongst the collection, the ode "To the Virginian Voyage" has attracted particular critical scrutiny from those interested in gauging Drayton's attitudes towards English colonial ventures to the New World.[116] The poem opens with a call-to-arms for potential colonialists and imagines their voyage to the Virginian coast as the culmination of 'Heroyque' ambitions.[117] Stanza nine pictures this coastal arrival in terms of a moment of imperial conquest. Drayton writes how:

> In kenning of the shore
> (thanks to god first giuen,)
> O you the happy'st men
> be frolike then,
> let Cannons roare,
> Frighting the wide heauen.[118]

There is an odd juxtaposition here between the innocence of the 'happy'st men' as they 'frolike' in this almost-Arcadian landscape and the violence of the 'Cannons' that are used to subdue it. However, what seems most intriguing is the notion that these merchant adventurers will be somehow 'in kenning of the shore'. The word 'kenning', in this context, means more than simply to be "in sight" of the shore; in fact, it means to be "in recognition" of the shore. But how could this new generation of adventurers possibly recognise the shoreline of Virginia? If a degree of continuity can be identified between the ambitions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean explorers then Hakluyt must surely be counted as the principal point of contact between the

---

[116] The ode has been traditionally read as an enthusiastic endorsement of the renewed attempt to colonise America under the first charter of Virginia; see, Joseph Quincy Adams, "Michael Drayton's to the Virginia Voyage", *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 33, No. 7 (Nov., 1918), pp. 405-408; and Gerhard Friedrich, 'The Genesis of Michael Drayton's Ode "To the Virginian Voyage"', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 72, No. 6 (June., 1957), p. 405. Some more recent critics have sought to identify a satirical tone to the poem and read it instead a mock-heroic parody of colonial enthusiasm; see, Jean R. Brink, *Michael Drayton Revisited* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), pp. 73-75, and Michael D. West, "Drayton's 'To the Virginian Voyage': From Heroic Pastoral to Mock-Heroic", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Winter, 1971), pp. 501-506.

[117] Michael Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage", *Poems Lyrick and Pastorall* (London, 1606), l. 1.

[118] Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), ll. 49-54.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries conceptions of New World colonialism. This is explicitly acknowledged by Drayton in the conclusion to his ode, where he notes that

> thy voyages attend
> Industrious *Hackluit*
> whose Reading shall inflame
> men to seeke fame;
> and much commend
> to after times thy wit.[119]

The extent to which Hakluyt's writing also inflamed the literary responses to colonialism – rather that than purely the actions of seventeenth-century merchant adventurers – has been the subject of numerous critical studies, many of which emerged from the renewed interest in Hakluyt's work that started in the nineteenth and continued into the early twentieth century.[120]

Drayton's poem is marked by continual reference to moments of colonial contact with the New World found in Hakluyt's writing. It is particularly instructive that Drayton's allusions are drawn almost exclusively from texts relating to the Roanoke colony of the 1580s. In particular, Drayton seems to be responding to the account of Arthur Barlowe, whose description of the first voyage to Roanoke in 1584 was included in both the 1589 and the 1598-1600 editions of *The Principal Navigations*.[121] In Drayton's poetic imagination, the new, Jacobean voyage to Virginia is construed as a continuation of the project started by Raleigh some two decades earlier. However, this goes beyond the kind of Elizabethan nostalgia typically associated with Drayton's early seventeenth-century poetry. It is an extension of the project but as reconfigured through the prisms of both imperial and mercantile aspirations as they combined in the writing of Hakluyt. Drayton's poem lists the commodities that he believes will

---

[119] Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), ll. 67-72.

[120] The critic most interested in Hakluyt's influence on literary writing was R. R. Crawley. I list here some of his books and articles on this subject: R. R. Crawley, *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1938); R. R. Crawley, *Unpathed waters studies in the influence of the voyagers on Elizabethan literature* (Princeton, 1940); R. R. Crawley, "Warner and the voyagers", *Modern Philology*, xx (1922), pp. 113-47.; R. R. Crawley, "Drayton and the voyagers", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVIII (1923), pp. 530-56; R. R. Crawley, "Shakespeare's use of the voyagers in *The Tempest*", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLI (1926). See also Lois Whitney, "Did Shakespeare know *Leo Africanus*?", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVII (1922), pp. 47-83.; Lois Whitney, "Spenser's use of the literature of travel in the *Faerie Queene*", *Modern Philology*, XIX (1921), pp. 145, 157-9.; Elbert N. S. Thompson, "Milton's knowledge of geography", *Studies in Philology*, XVI (1919), pp. 151-155.

[121] See Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 3, pp. 246-251.

be found in Virginia – an essential component of the mercantile view of colonisation as creating trading opportunities. The merchant adventurers, he suggests, will find 'pearle and gould', 'fowle, venison and fish', 'cedar reaching hie | to kisse the sky', and 'Cypresse, Pine | and vse full Sassafras'.[122] This is lifted from Barlowe's account of Roanoke from 1584, where he describes finding 'pearles', 'Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle' and the 'highest and reddest Cedars of the world […] Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras'.[123] Alongside these mercantile aspirations, Drayton's poem also acknowledges an imperial vision of an agricultural-colony. He praises the 'lushious smell | of that delitious land' and suggests that it will provide:

> the fruitefull'st soyle
> without your toyle
> three haruests more,
> all greater then your wish.[124]

This too is from Barlowe's account, where he describes how in Virginia 'the soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde' and that it contained 'seuerall sweete smelling timber trees'.[125] Ultimately, Drayton argues that Virginia will prove to be 'earths onely paradise' but this is a paradise regained, since in 1586 a description of the third voyage to Roanoke noted that 'our English Colony' was settled in 'this paradise of the world'.[126] If the seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers could arrive 'in kenning of the shore', then these coastlines were familiar on account of Hakluyt's obsessive interest in promoting New World colonialism in the closing decades of the previous century.

CONCLUSIONS

A traditional view of Hakluyt is that he served as a conduit through which the real-world travel experiences of other writers were channelled. In considering Hakluyt's view of British history and imperial ambitions, for example, the maritime historian J. H. Parry noted that '[Hakluyt]

[122] Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), ll. 21, 26, 33-34, 35-36.
[123] Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 3, pp. 249, 246.
[124] Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), ll. 43-44, 27-30.
[125] Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 3, p. 248.
[126] Drayton, "To the Virginian Voyage" (1606), l. 24; Hakluyt (1598-1600), Vol. 3, p. 265.

handled his material with the care and judgement of a good historian, but made no attempt to compact its continuous narrative, preferring to let his sources speak for themselves'.[127] The sheer volume of material compiled by Hakluyt in the *Principal Navigations* (let alone all of the ancillary material that he wrote and translated over three decades) means that the vast bulk will necessarily be required to "speak for itself" – no editor could intervene so comprehensively to transform each of over a million written words to project their own idiosyncratic vision of the world. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, Hakluyt was far from a passive copyist but a more complex orchestrator of both his own, as well as his patrons', imperial and mercantile ambitions.

Speaking in particular about the make-up of the *Principal Navigations*, the literary critic Colm MacCrossan has argued that 'the presence in the text of specific framing devices [has] tended to obscure the collection's richness and diversity'.[128] MacCrossan is certainly right to be wary of what he calls the 'homogenizing tendency' that may result from focusing too much on the work's 'paratextual frame'; however, in this chapter I have sought to demonstrate that it is only when taking into consideration this paratextual frame that we are able to interrogate and identify the true richness and diversity of Hakluyt's texts.[129] Indeed, it was Parry who argued that, in the face of such a vast collection of diverse sources, Hakluyt's views must be 'pieced together from his dedications and prefaces, and inferred from his choice of documents'.[130] This chapter has attempted to use the 'paratextual frame' of literary dedication to uncover (rather than obscure) the 'richness and diversity' of Hakluyt's writing, in particular, the ways in which Hakluyt responded to the pressures of patronage (identified historically and through literary dedication) when promoting both the imperial and mercantile models of New World coastal arrival and settlement.

---

[127] J. H. Parry, 'Hakluyt's View of British History', in Quinn (1974), Vol. 1, p. 4.
[128] Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing 'The English Nation': Reading between Text and Paratext in *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600)', *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), p. 139.
[129] *ibid*., p. 151.
[130] Parry (1973), p. 4.

Rather than a single, monolithic concept of early modern colonial settlement, this chapter has identified greater plurality in colonial-thinking during the 1580s and 1590s than has often been appreciated in critical assessments of the period. I have argued that in the closing decades of the sixteenth century there were two distinct forms of colonial settlement imagined for the shores of the New World – Sir Francis Walsingham's "mercantile" model and Sir Walter Raleigh's "imperial" model. Furthermore, I have demonstrated how, as the chief colonial promoter of the time, Richard Hakluyt was forced to mediate both of these colonial models in his writing. While my analysis, by virtue of the sheer volume of material, is not exhaustive, this chapter has presented readings of key moments in the texts that highlight Hakluyt's strategies of writing, strategies of editing, and strategies of translation. Ultimately, this chapter has uncovered the heterogeneous ways in which supporters of colonialism imagined settling the coastline of America in the closing decades of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, I have shown that Richard Hakluyt, by promoting both the "imperial" and "mercantile" models of colonialism in his literary output, shaped English notions of the New World to such a degree that seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers could arrive in Virginia truly in kenning of the shore.

Chapter 2.
Spenser's "Intemperate" Coasts: Charting Erotic and Imperial Conflict on the Shorelines of *The Faerie Queene*

> One day I wrote her name vpon the strand,
> but came the waues and washed it away
> – Edmund Spenser[1]

In the Proem to Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser explicitly frames the Legend of Temperance in the context of New World exploration. He notes how 'through hardy enterprize, | Many great Regions are discouered,' asking his readers:

> Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
> Or who in venturous vessel measured
> The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew? (II.Proem.2.3,6-9)

Spenser's reference to 'fruitfullest *Virginia*' in 1590 was highly topical and his language recalls that of Arthur Barlowe, whose report of the first voyage to Roanoke in 1584 praised America for the fertility of its soil. Spenser's allusion to the Roanoke colony, however, does not simply reflect his desire to transform contemporary moments of exploration into poetry but also signals his connectedness to the principal agent behind such ventures: Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's central role in promoting a specifically imperial vision to England's colonial aspirations, not only in Virginia but also Ireland, must have appealed to Spenser, whose own notions of the role for English settlers in Ireland would be outlined forcefully in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

Given the colonial context established in the Proem, it is intriguing that Spenser should make the landscape of Book II so decidedly coastal. Indeed, coastal encounters frame the narrative quest, beginning with the Castle of Medina in canto ii and concluding with Sir Guyon's voyage to the Bower of Bliss and its subsequent destruction in canto xii. In both episodes, Guyon's temperance is tested on the shoreline as he is forced to confront erotic

[1] Edmund Spenser, "Sonnet LXXV", *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe, (London: Penguin, 1999), ll. 1-2.

distractions to his imperial mission. But why should the coastline become such a key site upon which to test the virtue of temperance? And how does the erosion of temperance from Book II to Book V of *The Faerie Queene* reflect Spenser's complex and evolving notions of England's imperial ambitions? This chapter is primarily concerned with answering these questions and considering the ways in which Spenser's poetics relied on earlier literary models of imperial encounter with the coast in order to respond to the ethical considerations underpinning the colonial ventures of his own day.

Throughout his career, Spenser set erotic-imperial conflicts on shorelines, obsessively so, we might say. From the Bower of Bliss to the Castle of Medina, from *Amoretti* to *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, and from Proteus' Hall to Artegall's encounter with Radigund, we see figures attempting to mark the coast in a way that seems at once erotic and colonial. This chapter will examine these poetic meeting points between land and sea, and the way the erotic and colonial potential of the shoreline reverberates through Spenser's writing. Unlike forests or gardens (which abound in Ariosto and Tasso) coastlines are a particularly English, or British, *topos* in early modern literary writing and Spenser's fixation on them contributes to his own sense of national and imperial identity. This chapter will demonstrate how Spenser's shorelines are imbued with literary, ethical and imperial significance and form an integral part of the highly suggestive landscape of *The Faerie Queene*. In particular, I will focus on the way in which Spenser's littoral geography becomes a key site upon which the virtue of temperance is tested. In doing so, I will uncover the extent to which Spenser's poetic shorelines are connected to complex Classical and vernacular traditions of poetry, as well as the specifics of his political, especially Irish, experience. An exploration of Spenser's coasts reveals a rich and contested moral, epistemological, and political geography.

In this chapter, I will examine three key models of literary coastline that influenced Spenser's writing. The first, a Virgilian model, in which coastlines constitute both erotic distractions and imperial destinations; the second, an Ariostan model, in which coastlines become the site of digressive epic-romance; and the third, an Ovidian model, in which the coastlines represent both a geographical and political separation from the centre of power. As

we progress through *The Faerie Queene*, we see how the virtue of temperance becomes a key measure of a character's ability to negotiate the erotic potential of the shoreline in order to fulfil imperial ambitions on the territory that it encompasses. As temperance begins to erode across the two editions of *The Faerie Queene*, the poem's initial imperial enthusiasm appears to give way and the actions of Spenser's characters veer more dramatically towards intemperate expressions of colonial dissatisfaction, melancholy and violence. If Book II presents a clear vision of the coastline's political, literary and ethical character then Book V ends with such notions in disarray. Far from satisfying the expectations established by the destruction of the Bower of Bliss in Book II, the execution of Grantorto and the rescue of Irena on the shorelines of Book V results only in unleashing the ethical quagmire of Envy, Detraction and the Blatant Beast. In this way, the chapter will challenge our conception of shorelines as a stable entity and uncover Spenser's complex and evolving relationship with his own sense of national and imperial identity as viewed through the prism of his ethical and literary concerns.

I. 'AT LAST THEY TO A CASTLE CAME | BUILT ON A ROCKE ADJOYNING TO THE SEAS': ARISTOTELIAN TEMPERANCE AND VIRGILIAN CONQUEST IN BOOK II OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

In this first section of the chapter, I want to uncover the complex lines of literary transmission that brought together Aristotle's ethical conception of temperance with Virgil's imperial ambitions, as versified in the *Aeneid*. I will argue that it was through the writings of Philip Sidney, in particular *The Defence of Poesy*, that this conception of a "temperate Aeneas" was most clearly articulated. I will then proceed to demonstrate how the ethical and narrative structure of Book II of *The Faerie Queene* is influenced by the progress of the first six books of the *Aeneid*, which, after the potential erotic distraction of an arrival on the shorelines of Carthage, culminates in an act of imperial arrival on the coast of Italy. This analysis will focus on two key moments that frame the narrative of Book II of *The Faerie Queene*: Sir Guyon's arrival at the Castle of Medina in canto ii and his voyage to and destruction of the Bower of

Bliss in canto xii. In both episodes, Sir Guyon is forced to confront potential erotic distractions, which he must successfully negotiate in order to fulfil his imperial ambitions.

The first section of this chapter will, therefore, unpick exactly how Spenser configured the political, literary and ethical models that make up Book II of *The Faerie Queene* and their relationship with the poem's littoral geography. It will demonstrate how Spenser transformed the coastline into a key site upon which to test Sir Guyon's ability to negotiate the erotic-imperial conflicts, which were, I shall argue, an important component of the poet's conception of coastal arrival. We will see how the virtue of temperance (a kind of ethical middle way) becomes importantly connected to the coastline in Spenser's writing – not least because of the metaphorical implications of its geographical position as a point of mediation between land and sea. In later sections of this chapter, I will trace a development in this early ethical conception of the shoreline. Indeed, as the chapter progresses to consider Books III-V, it will explore the extent to which Book II's seemingly stable notion of the shoreline's political, literary, and ethical nature becomes increasingly insecure. I hope to demonstrate how this process of destabilisation concerning the core notions of the poem's littoral geography is connected to a simultaneous erosion of temperance as a governing virtue. As the characters become increasingly intemperate, the poem becomes increasingly fraught by unresolved erotic-imperial conflicts on the shoreline. This, if we are to consider them in the context of the poet's biography, is suggestive of Spenser's own experience of colonialism in Ireland. What may have seemed a promising venture for Spenser in the early 1580s had, by the 1590s, become increasingly problematic as his own interaction with the native Irish became ever more intemperate until he was forced to abandon his castle at Kilcolman in 1598.[2]

[2] Biographical details of the poet I take from Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Placed at the conclusion of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*, the "Letter to Raleigh" provided Spenser with the opportunity to outline three important (and often intermeshed) strategies for reading his poem: the political, the literary, and the ethical. The first of these – the political – he announces with the description of his work as a 'continued Allegory, or darke conceit'.[3] This suggestion has either explicitly or implicitly prompted a vast body of critical analysis dedicated to uncovering the direction and extent of the poem's allegorical structure. The second – the literary – Spenser introduces by acknowledging that his writing has consciously 'followed all the antique Poets historicall', naming Homer and Virgil explicitly, as well as the sixteenth-century European poets Ariosto and Tasso.[4] This statement too has given critics justification for a meticulous analysis of Spenser's classical and contemporary literary allusions. It is interesting to note the conspicuous absence of Ovid from Spenser's assessment of the sources behind the first three books of his poem. I will argue later in this chapter that there is a dramatic shift between Spenser's use of classical sources between the first and second editions, with Ovid playing a more explicitly prominent role in the latter with regards to Spenser's depiction of imperial shorelines. The third – the ethical – Spenser reveals in his suggestion that the 'purpose of these first twelue bookes' was to present 'the twelue priuate morall vertues, as Aristotle hath deuised'.[5] Of these three strategies for reading the poem, it is the ethical that (especially since the growth of political, in particular Irish, readings of the poem from the 1980s onwards) has been most overlooked by modern literary criticism. This is perhaps because Spenser's self-professed alignment with Aristotle's moral virtues appears to present, at face value, an uncomplicated and coherent framework for the poem.[6] However, the

[3] Edmund Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh", *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), p. 714.
[4] *ibid*., p. 715.
[5] *ibid*., p. 715.
[6] The move away from considering the moral aspects of literary works has led, I would argue, to the under-appreciation in more recent critical assessments of Spenser for the complications inherent in the ethical framework of *The Faerie Queene.*

reader should be troubled by Spenser's assertion. What are the 'twelue priuate morall vertues' of Aristotle and does Spenser really follow them in the meta-construction of his poem?

Spenser's specific reference to the '*priuate* morall vertues' is certainly an attempt to draw the reader's attention to the *Nicomachean Ethics*.[7] This source is rightly distinct from Aristotle's *Politics*, which Spenser describes in the "Letter to Raleigh" as containing the twelve '*polliticke* vertues'.[8] If the first twelve books of *The Faerie Queene* were to be modelled on the *Ethics*, then in offering up the legends of Holiness, Temperance, and Chastity as the first instalment, Spenser seems at first instance a poor reader of Aristotle.[9] In her analysis of the development of Spenser's epic project, Josephine Waters Bennett suggested that the "Letter to Raleigh" represents an attempt retrospectively to impose order onto a project that had been growing organically over the ten years prior to its publication, and that, as such, it should not be read as indicative of Spenser's thinking during the early 1580s when he initiated work on the poem.[10] In regard to Spenser's use of Aristotle as an ethical source, I am inclined to agree that the organisation suggested in the "Letter to Raleigh" was most likely retrospectively imposed. Nevertheless, I do not wish to argue that Spenser was a poor reader of Aristotle in choosing Holiness, Temperance and Chastity (two of which can hardly be associated with Aristotle) but that his understanding of the *Ethics* was informed by the complex web of early modern analysis

---

[7] The specific number of virtues that Aristotle discusses in his *Ethics* is unclear since they are never formally categorised. Depending on different criteria they appear to range from nine to thirteen; however, within that range no accounting method can be used to produce a figure of twelve. For more details, see J. J. Jusserand, "Spenser's "Twelve Private Morall Vertues as Aristotle Hath Devised"", *Modern Philology*, Vol. 3 No. 3 (Jan., 1906), pp. 373-83. Arguments against Jusserand and in support of a direct Aristotelian ethical model for *The Faerie Queene* can be found in W. F. DeMoss, "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues "According to Aristotle"", *Modern Philology* Vol. 16, No. 1 (May, 1918), pp. 23-38, and as it relates more specifically to Book II, Frederick Morgan Padelford, "The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene", *Studies in Philology* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jul., 1921), pp. 334-346. Both of these papers seem to contort both Spenser and Aristotle to fit one another and are ultimately dissatisfying. Nevertheless, there is a third way between these two opinions: that Spenser's view of Aristotle may have been mediated, not always precisely, through his contemporaries.

[8] Edmund Spenser, "Letter to Raleigh", in Spenser (2007) p. 715.

[9] Of the three of these virtues, Holiness and Chastity are nowhere found in the *Ethics*, and Temperance (an important element of the treatise) is not necessarily to be considered a virtue – though it is certainly the most plausibly lifted from Aristotle of the three.

[10] Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942), *passim*. The fact that the "Letter to Raleigh" was published at the end of the first edition rather than at the beginning suggests that it may not even have been conceived, let alone written, before the poem went to print. If we read the original edition chronologically, then the "Letter to Raeligh" does indeed act as a retrospective imposition upon our reading. It does not so much direct our initial reading but help to make sense of the mass of material that has been presented.

of classical texts that was a hallmark of humanistic culture. The prominence of temperance in the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* (the only legitimately Aristotelian virtue present in the first edition) helps to reveal the line of transmission that brought Aristotle to Spenser. The early modern author that emphasised this virtue above all others was certainly known to Spenser, who believed in the late 1570s that they enjoyed 'familiarity' with one another.[11] That author was Philip Sidney. Understanding Sidney's role in shaping Spenser's attitude to temperance is certainly complex; however, it is surprisingly necessary if we are to understand why Book II of *The Faerie Queene* is so self-consciously Virgilian in its presentation of shorelines. This may seem an odd conclusion but it is, in fact, in Sidney's writing that the figure of Aeneas begins to be most consciously aligned with the Aristotelian virtues, and foremost amongst them the virtue of Temperance. It is, thus, understandable that when Spenser began to formulate his Knight of Temperance, Sir Guyon, he should emulate this Virgilian-Aristotelian hybrid model of Aeneas introduced by Sidney.

One cannot overestimate the importance of Aristotle in shaping Sidney's writing. In a 1574 letter to Hubert Languet, Sidney suggested that it was worth learning Greek purely to ensure a 'perfect understanding' of Aristotle, and regarded the *Politics* as the work 'most worth reading'.[12] As the 1570s progressed so did Sidney's preference, and Blair Worden has noted that by the time Sidney was writing the *Arcadia* he favoured the *Ethics* instead.[13] Indeed, in a 1580 letter to Edward Denny, at around the same time that Spenser was independently working on the early parts of *The Faerie Queene*, Sidney advised his friend that in the *Ethics* he would discover how to be 'truly iuste, truly vallyant, rightly temperate, & rightly friendly'.[14] Sidney's interest in the virtue of Temperance can be found in the two most important pieces he produced in this later period: *The Defence of Poesy* and *The New Arcadia*. In the former he is explicit, noting the

[11] Spenser's 1580 *Letters* to Gabriel Harvey reveals his interest in the Sidney circle and his belief that he is a participant in it, Edmund Spenser, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: a variorum edition*, ed. by Edwin Greenlaw 11 vols. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1932-57), Vol. 10, p. 6.
[12] Philip Sidney, *The correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet : now first collected and translated from the Latin with notes and a memoir of Sidney*, ed. by Steuart Adolphus Pears (London: W. Pickering, 1971), p. 28
[13] Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 301.
[14] Philip Sidney letter to Edward Denny quoted in James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572-77* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 538.

'wisdom and temperance' to be found in several figures from classical literature; in the latter he is allegorical, describing, amongst other episodes, the temperate house of Kalander. But what is interesting in both of these texts is Sidney's specific association of the virtue with Aeneas. In a passage from the *Defence*, Sidney notes the 'wisdom and temperance' to be found in Ulysses and Diomedes, the 'valour' of Achilles, and the 'friendship' between Nisus and Euryalus, before concluding that the 'virtuous man in all fortunes' was 'Aeneas in Virgil'.[15] Aeneas, Sidney suggests, is the embodiment of the totality of human virtues; however, it is his temperance that above all is praised. In an extended passage on Aeneas' temperate personality, Sidney argues:

> Let Æneas be worn in the tablet of your memory, how he *governeth* himself in the ruin of his country; in the preserving his old father, and carrying away his religious ceremonies; in obeying the god's commandment to leave Dido, though not only all passionate kindness, but even the human consideration of virtuous gratefulness, would have craved other of him; how in storms, how in sports, how in war, how in peace, how a fugitive, how victorious, how besieged, how besieging, how to strangers, how to allies, how to enemies, how to his own; lastly, how in his inward self, and how in his outward *government*; and I think, in a mind most prejudiced with a prejudicating humor, he will be found in excellency fruitful.[16]

Sidney's emphasis on self-governance – Aeneas's ability to remain unmoved 'in storms […] in sports […] in war […] in peace' etc. – foregrounds temperance as the cardinal Aristotelian virtue that Virgil's hero embodies. In particular, Sidney praises Aeneas for demonstrating a temperate mind when 'obeying the god's commandment to leave Dido'. His abnegation of the erotic distraction that Dido represents is a key measure of his ability to govern himself for the betterment of his people after arriving on the shores of Carthage. Indeed, Sidney's language of "self-governance" is precisely the manner in which early modern authors conveyed Aristotle's virtue. If he had read Castiglione's *The Courtyer* in its 1561 translation, Sidney would no doubt have approved of the author's assessment that for a man to be held in high regard 'the surest

[15] Philip Sidney, *An apologie for poetrie* (London, 1595), sigs. D3^{r}-D4^{v}.
[16] [My italics]; *ibid*., sigs. G1^{v}-G1^{r}.

way in the worlde, is, for a manne in hys lyuing and conuersation to *gouerne* himself alwaies with a certeine honest *meane'*.[17]

In *The New Arcadia*, Sidney significantly revised the opening of his '*Old' Arcadia* by initiating the work with a moral-coastal encounter. The coastline is explicitly the site of moral inquiry, with Pyrocles asking of himself 'shall virtue become a slave to those that be slaves to viciousness?'.[18] The answer is quite clearly "no" and Pyrocles resolves, in an act of ethical and emotional self-governance, to 'mitigate somewhat of his woe'.[19] Shortly after this, Sidney foregrounds this ethical middle ground by transporting the reader from the shoreline to the House of Kalander. The House itself is described notably as 'place handsome without curiositie, and homely without lothsomnes: not so daintie as not to be trode on, nor yet slubberd vp with good felowshippe' and is traditionally associated with a temperate mean.[20] Here, in a reaffirmation of Aeneas' association with temperance, we find a statue of 'a naked Venus' with 'her babe *Aeneas*' at her breast.[21] The marble of the statue is veined with blue streaks that give the stone the appearance of vitality; Venus and Aeneas become a temperate mean between life and art, and Aeneas himself is located in the liminal space between the eroticised image of a 'naked Venus' and the de-eroticising innocence of a youthful 'babe'.[22]

While Syrithe Pugh has noted that Guyon's 'stoical repression of the passions' in Book II appears to find its model in the *Aeneid*, I propose here a more indirect line of literary transmission.[23] It is from Sidney's association of Aristotle's virtue of Temperance with Virgil's epic hero Aeneas that, I argue, Spenser found a model that suited his ethical, literary and political needs at this point in the poem. It is, ultimately, because of this complex overlap

---

[17] [My italics] Baldassarre Castiglione, *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby* (London, 1561), fol. Ri^{v}; Castiglione's significance in European courtly adoption and adaption of Aristotle's virtue of temperance is noted in, Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern Literature* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 53.
[18] Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. by Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 9.
[19] *ibid*., p. 9.
[20] *ibid*., p. 12.
[21] *ibid*., p. 14.
[22] For analysis of the real-fictive dichotomy in this scene, see Wolfgang Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 58.
[23] Syrinth Pugh, *Spenser and Ovid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 81.

between the *Ethics* and the *Aeneid*, as we shall see, that shorelines become such a significant geographical feature in Book II – informing not only the ethical direction of the book but also its imperial impetus and the literary models that underpinned them. The coastal encounters that frame the narrative quest of Book II depict shorelines in way that is informed by this Virgilian-Aristotelian hybrid model – becoming sites of erotic distraction (as found in classical epic models) that only the dispassionate, temperate hero can overcome in order to fulfil his imperial destiny.

Erotic Abnegation at the Castle of Medina

At the beginning of Book II, Sir Guyon takes the bloody babe Ruddymane from his dying mother Amavia at the 'bubling fountaine' (II.i.40.2). This is the initial point of departure on his quest for the '*Bowre of blis*' and vengeance against '*Acrasia* a false enchantress' (II.i.51.9,3). Having left the dead bodies of Amavia and Mortdant, Sir Guyon arrives first at the castle of Medina 'built on a rocke adjoyning to the seas' (II.ii.12.7). This location is perhaps the most explicit geographical manifestation of the Aristotelian virtue of Temperance that we find in Book II; it is a 'middle space' (II.ii.20.3) between the relative excess and deficiency of sea and land.[24] This tripartite topography (the land and sea divided by a coastline) is mirrored by the Castle's inhabitants: Perissa, Elissa, and their temperate sister Medina. Much like the geography, the antagonistic Perissa and Elissa 'striue, and daily disagree […] And both against the middest [Medina] meant to worken woe' (II.ii.13.7-9). In language that seems almost lifted from Castiglione's and Sidney's descriptions of courtly temperance, Spenser describes the two intemperate sisters as being 'vnworthy of faire Ladies comely gouernance' (II.ii.35.9). That Spenser was thinking in these courtly terms is almost certain, and in *Colin Clouts Come Home*

[24] I note that it is the most explicit *geographical* manifestation of temperance in the Book; however, the House of Alma is perhaps the most explicitly temperate man-made structure (II.ix.22-29). A list of significant scholarship relating to the House of Alma is provided in Walter R. Davis, "Alma, castle of", *Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 24-25.

Againe he would later revive this image in the three sisters Phyllis, Charillis and Amaryllis – describing the middle as possessing the virtue of 'myld temperance'.[25]

The location of Medina's castle on the coastline has been the subject of attention from critics reading theological importance into this episode. Noting the allusion to Matthew 7:24 ('a wise man, which hathe buylded his house on a rocke'), Daniel W. Doerksen has argued that Guyon's arrival on a sea-worn coastline, with its Northern European resonances, marks a key transition from Book I to Book II, where the choice between Duessa and Una has been largely settled by the triumph of the English Church. For Doerksen, Elissa and Perissa (and their respective husbands Sir Huddibras and Sansloy) represent the extremes of the Roman and Anabaptist churches, while Medina offers a middle way in what would become an Anglican tradition.[26] In reading this episode, I tend to agree that the location has theological significance to Spenser, and that by describing the castle as 'an auncient work of antique fame' (II.ii.12.8) the poet implicitly endorses the views of John Foxe, whose response to the claim that Protestantism was a new faith was to declare that 'the antiquitie of our church is not from Pope Nicolas or Pope Ioane, but our church is from the beginning'.[27] Nevertheless, reading this episode only in the context of sixteenth-century church history runs the risk of eliding its literary, imperial and ethical significance in the wider Virgilian context of Book II.

In the only chorographically specific reference in this canto, Spenser describes the warring Sansloy and Sir Huddibras turning on Sir Guyon as being like:

> when a Beare and Tygre being met
> In cruell fight on lybicke Ocean wide,
> Espye a traueiler with feet sorbet,
> Whom they in equall pray hope to diuide (II.ii.22.5-8)

[25] Edmund Spenser, "Colin Clouts Come Home Againe", in Spenser (1999), l. 551.
[26] Daniel W. Doerksen, "Recharting the *Via Media* of Spenser and Herbert", in *Renaissance and Reformation*. Vol. 20 (New Series Vol. 8), No 3 (1984), pp. 215, 217.; A. G. Dickens has noted that Medina's 'treatie' (II.ii.32.6) may allude to the Thirty-Nine Articles, a document that took a position somewhere between those of the Roman and Anabaptist Churches, in *The English reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964), p. 252; the biblical quotation is take from *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament*, (Geneva, 1560), Matt. 7:24.
[27] John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments* (London, 1583), p. 2064.

The result of this simile is to transport the episode to the 'lybicke Ocean wide' (the sands of Libya) – recasting the apparently Northern European shoreline to the Mediterranean coast of North Africa. In doing so, Spenser draws our attention to the highly Virgilian nature of this encounter. As a 'traueiler' arriving in Libya, Guyon is likened to Aeneas arriving on the shores of Dido's Carthaginian kingdom. This connection is made explicit in Book III during a discussion between Britomart and Paridell on the fall of Troy and its rebirth as Rome and Troynovant (London), where a similar description of 'Lybick sandes' reminds us of the Virgilian significance of the image presented in Book II. During this exchange, Paridell describes how '*Anchyses* sonne' [Aeneas]:

> out of the flames for safegard fled,
> And with a remnant did to sea repayre,
> Where he through fatall errour long was led
> Full many yeares, and weetlesse wandered
> From shore to shore, emongst the Lybick sandes,
> Ere rest he fownd. (III.ix.41.1-7)

Aeneas travels 'from shore to shore', each coastal encounter only another distraction from the epic teleology that drives him to Italy and his 'rest'. But this 'rest' is not the culmination of the *nostoi topos* of Homer's *Odyssey*, in which the epic hero returns to a once-friendly home, but a 'rest' that can only be achieved after the aggressive annexation of foreign territory. Paridell continues, by describing how:

> At last in *Latinum* he did arryue,
> Where he with cruell warre was entertaind
> Of th'inland folke, which sought him backe to driue. (III.ix.42.1-3)

Paridell's description of the first half of the *Aeneid* bears striking resemblance to the trajectory of Book II of *The Faerie Queene*. At the outset of Book II's Legend of Temperance, the episode in Medina's castle functions as a kind of reimagined Dido-encounter, and at its conclusion, the destruction of Acrasia's Bower marks the arrival *at* and conquest *of* Italy.[28] If the Dido-encounter in the *Aeneid* is important in establishing the moral topography of Virgil's poem, so

[28] Medina's role as a temperate Dido is examined elsewhere in John Watkins, *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 127-135.

too the Medina-encounter is vital in informing Spenser's own ethical understanding of space in Book II. How Guyon both emulates and diverges from Aeneas in this episode is key to understanding the imperial vision that Spenser proposes for England – and the poet's treatment of the shoreline becomes a vital component of this framework.

As already noted, the coastline of Book II, canto ii functions as a site upon which to test Sir Guyon's adherence to the Aristotelian virtue of temperance. In the context of Spenser's allusions to Virgil, the encounter with Medina takes on a highly specific application of this virtue. Both Elissa and Perissa are paired with their husbands Sir Huddibras and Sansloy, leaving Medina unwedded and alone. The arrival of Guyon, read in the context of a Dido-encounter, suggests the promise of a marriage of temperate minds (and perhaps bodies).[29] Medina's suggestive similarity to Dido is brought out in the closing stanzas of the canto when she asks Guyon to describe his journey thus far. She asks him first 'to tell from whence he came through ieopardy, | And whether now on new aduenture bownd' (II.ii.39.5-6), before finally requesting, in the penultimate stanza of that canto, that he:

> Tell on, fayre Sir, said she, that dolefull tale,
> From which sad ruth does seeme you to restraine,
> That we may pitty such vnhappie bale,
> And learne from pleasures poison to abstaine: (II.ii.45.1-4)

In doing so, Medina recalls the closing lines from the first book of the *Aeneid*, which Richard Stanyhurst translated in 1582 as:

> Nay guest, quod the lady, decipher from the beginning
> Thee Greekish falshood, with thy owne sharp venterus hazards.
> For now seun summers ar spent, sence thy trauayl hardy
> On land and sayling, lyk pilgrim, causd the to wander.[30]

[29] The name Elissa, Medina's eldest sister, serves only to further re-enforce the canto's allusive references to Dido. Spenser's playful use of such references began in *The Shepheardes Calender* where both the April and November eclogues introduce complex literary and political allusions to Elysa, Dido, and Queen Elizabeth.

[30] Richard Stanyhurst, *Thee first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother poëtical diuises theretoo annexed* (London, 1582), p. 21.

By announcing this connection to Dido at the conclusion of the canto, Spenser leaves the reader to wonder how far his temperate knight Sir Guyon will continue down the same path as Aeneas, and, in so doing, neglect his quest to conquer Acrasia's Bower by instead pursuing erotic attachment to Medina. The answer, as we discover, is not at all. Sir Guyon's encounter with Medina serves, instead, to reinforce the knight's complete abnegation of such eroticism – though this will be later tested during his sea-voyage to Acrasia's Bower. Where Aeneas' recounting of his story provokes both love and admiration in Dido, Guyon's tale (nascent as it is in canto ii) serves only as an impetus to praise that 'great and most glorious virgin Queene aliue' (II.ii.40.3): his sovereign Faery Queen (Elizabeth I).

The Medina episode is vital in understanding Spenser's hybrid Aristotelian-Virgilian ethical model for Book II, and its location on the shoreline is part of a self-conscious use of morally suggestive geography. In this canto, Spenser explores the coastline's allusive qualities, revealing it to be both a temperate 'middle space' and a site of Virgilian epic distraction that must be successfully negotiated if the hero's imperial aims are to be realised. The fact that Sir Guyon does not linger on the coast represents not only his unerring dedication to Virgilian models of imperialism but also his temperate abnegation of the erotic distractions that potentially arise in such a space.[31] This episode establishes significant metaphoric potential that Spenser re-examines towards what Philip Hardie has described as the 'Virgilian conclusion' of Book II, when Sir Guyon makes his more decidedly imperial sea-voyage to Acrasia's Bower.[32]

Imperial Conquest and Voyaging to the Bower of Bliss

Spenser's imperial vision for Book II is announced as early as the Proem, where, as previously noted, he describes the 'hardy enterprize' (II.Proem.2.3) of England's great explorers. In paraphrase of Richard Eden's translation of the *Arte of Navigation*, Spenser lauds the

[31] It is Barabara J. Bono who describes the *Aeneid* as 'Vergil's great fiction of erotic abnegation', see *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 187.
[32] Philip Hardie, "Spenser and Ovid", in *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, eds. by John F. Miller and Carole E. Newlands (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), p. 300.

discoveries of the Spanish, asking 'who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*' (II.Proem.2.6) before the adventures of Cortez brought its riches to light.[33] But Spenser does not linger too long on this Iberian accomplishment before turning his attention to the more distinctly English achievement of settling 'fruitfullest *Virginia*' (II.Proem.2.9). By describing Virginia as the 'fruitfullest' land of the New World, Spenser simultaneously confirms his allegiance in the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* to Sir Walter Raleigh and reinforces Richard Hakluyt's highly competitive vision of New World colonialism, in which England's exploration efforts were cast as superior to those of its European Catholic adversary, Spain.[34] The highly Virgilian nature of Book II only further compounds the imperialist outlook established in the Proem. Nevertheless, Spenser was not the first early modern writer to suggest a connection between the European conquest of the New World and that of Aeneas over Italy. The imperialist teleology of the *Aeneid* also underpinned Alonso de Ercilla's Spanish epic *La Araucana*, where the conquest of Chile was cast as a sixteenth-century re-imagining of Aeneas' conquest of Italy.[35] That Spenser knew this poem directly is not known, but his companion in Ireland, George Carew, was translating the early parts of this poem by the end of the sixteenth century.[36] If Book II of *The Faerie Queene* draws an implicit connection between England's colonial agenda and the narrative structure and thematic content of the *Aeneid*, then Sir Guyon's voyage to the Bower of Bliss in canto xii becomes the culmination of both contemporary political and classical literary moments of exploration and imperial becoming.

During this voyage, Sir Guyon is forced to negotiate a vicious coastal geography anthropomorphically bent on destabilising his temperate mind and derailing his quest to conquer the Bower of Bliss. Several times on this journey, Guyon encounters dangerous excesses of land

---

[33] Richard Eden, *Arte of Navigation* (London, 1561); noted in Lorna Hutson, "Chivalry for Merchants; or, Knights of Temperance in the Realms of Gold", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* Vol. 26 (1996), p. 30.

[34] For reflections of Raleigh in Spenser's writing, see Shannon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 36-37.

[35] For the connection between Ercilla and Virgil, see Craig Kallendorf, "Representing the Other: Ercilla's "La Araucana", Virgil's "Aeneid", and the New World Encounter", *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 40 No. 4 (2003), pp. 394-414.

[36] Thomas Herron, "Early Modern Irealnd and the New English Epic: Connecting Edmund Spenser and Sir George Carew", *The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, Vol. 1 (2006), pp. 27-52.

and sea that have both ethical as well as literary precedent, most obviously in the Homeric/Virgilian Scylla and Charybdis: 'the *Gulfe of Greedinesse*' (II.xii.3), '*The Rock of* vile *Reproach*' (II.xii. 8), 'the *Whirlepoole of decay*' (II.xii.20), and 'the quicksand of *Vnthriftyhed*' (II.xii.18). After passing the '*Whirlepoole of decay*', it appears that the boatman has found a moderate coastal path along a 'sandy breach' (II.xii.21.3). Here the land and sea are held in balance and the ship can safely "coast" the islands.[37] However, this tranquillity is disrupted when 'suddeine they see from midst of all the Maine, | The surging waters like a mountaine rise' (II.xii.21.5-6). This great tidal wave of water is likened to a mountain, with land and sea becoming analogous in such extremes. This moment recalls an important passage from Book I of the *Aeneid*, where Aeolus' storm is described as causing:

> Franguntur remi; tum prora avertit, et undis
> dat latus; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
> Hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens
> terram inter fluctus aperit; furit aestus harenis.[38]

The description of the 'aquae mons' ('mountain of water') highlights Virgil's own poetic collapsing of the two elements into a mirrored inversion of one another, while the depiction of the waves 'furit aestus harenis' ('raging with sand') illustrates the dangerous unity of excess land and sea. In the 1595 *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, Spenser would return to this image of a mountain of water when discussing Colin's sea-crossing from Ireland to England.[39]

On top of these geographic obstacles, Guyon must additionally negotiate his way past the Virgilian erotic distractions that the coastline presents: the 'seemely Maiden, sitting by the shore' (II.xii.27) and the 'Mermayds' waiting in a 'calmy bay' (II.xii.30). These figures present a heightened challenge to Guyon who, not uncommonly in the book, must rely on the Palmer to ensure his temperance is maintained. When Guyon hears the 'great sorrow and sad agony' (II.xii.27.7) of the maiden, he 'streight the Plamer bad, | To stere the bote towards that dolefull

[37] The verb 'to coast' was used frequently during the early modern period to describe a ship travelling along the coastline – a path defined as being neither land nor the open sea. In Richard Eden's translation of *The decades of the newe worlde* (London, 1555), for example, he somewhat tautologically states how certain sailors 'coasted euer alonge by the shore' (53).
[38] *Aeneid*, 1.104-7
[39] Edmund Spenser, "Colin Clouts Come Home Againe", in Spenser (1999), ll. 196-211.

Mayde' (II.xii.28.2-3). But her Duessa-like 'fine forgery' (II.xii.28.8) of womanhood convinces neither the Palmer nor the boatman, who 'held on his course with stayed stedfastnesse' (II.xii.29.6).[40] Similarly the Siren-esque mermaids allure Guyon with their 'pleasaunt tunes' (II.xii.32.2) until the Palmer 'with temperate aduice discounselled' (II.xii.34.2) him from steering the boat towards them. In successfully negotiating these temptations, Guyon (with the help of his companions) is able to maintain the epic, imperial *telos* of his quest – arriving ultimately at the shores of what is described in canto i as Acrasia's 'wandring Island' (II.i.51.5).

The arrival at the Bower of Bliss has been one of the most studied passages in all of *The Faerie Queene*. Sir Guyon's confrontation with the erotic was noted as early as John Milton's *Areopagitica*, in which he praises the knight's 'true temperance'.[41] In the early twentieth century, C. S. Lewis placed the episode at the centre of his assessment of *The Faerie Queene* as part of the complex struggle in the poem between art and nature, nuancing much of the Romantic thought that had preceded him which had generously located the Bower of Bliss as the home of the imagination.[42] Giving the Bower geographical specificity, Stephen Greenblatt has suggested that its description conforms to the kinds of early modern feminisation and eroticisation of the territories of the New World and that Sir Guyon's conquest of it represents the projection of Elizabethan colonial power into the Americas.[43] The entrapped men, in such a reading, are the consequence of a colonial settlement that has become lethargic and averse to the labour needed to properly cultivate the land – something that was problematic at Roanoke in the 1580s and later in Jamestown in the 1610s. In a similar line of thinking, Richard McCabe has identified connections between Spenser's treatment of the Bower of Bliss and early modern assessments of Ireland's colonial potential. Particularly threatening was the prospect of intermarriage between Native Irish and English settlers.[44] Sir Guyon's destruction of the

[40] Duessa is described as possessing a 'forged beauty' (I.ii.36.1.)
[41] John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644), p. 13.
[42] C. S. Lewis, *Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 324-333
[43] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 170-184.; see also, David Read, *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2000), *passim*
[44] Richard McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 134-141.

licentious Bower of Bliss, in this sense, rescues the "coloniser" from the wonton lusts of the "colonised" and thus preserves him from the dangers of becoming what he has set out to conquer. This notion will be particularly important as the poem continues, in particular when considering Artegall's metamorphic feminisation at the hands of the Amazonian Radigund in Book V. While I do not wish to argue that the Bower of Bliss is definitively "Irish" or "American", it seems that at the very least Book II culminates in the same kind of imperial conquest that underpinned the first six books of the *Aeneid* and expresses Spenser's evident endorsement of such ventures. While Greenblatt and McCabe seem interested in the notion that Sir Guyon's arrival marks a confrontation between the moral or, more often, imperial concerns of the "coloniser" and "colonised", I believe, instead, that we must focus on the way in which Spenser fixates on the ethical features of the land itself. In this way, we move beyond the frequent critical concern that Sir Guyon's destruction of the Bower is an act of intemperance by realising that it is necessary in order to "rescue" the land from those who have acted intemperately towards it. That Guyon is forced to destroy the Bower becomes, in this case, not an act of destruction but of returning it to a state of pre-inhabitation.

The seeming 'Paradise' (II.xii.70.4) of the Bower recalls the frequent sixteenth-century styling of the Americas, in particular, as a 'Paradise vpon earth'.[45] Similarly, the 'bared bosome' (II.xii.74.8) of Acrasia gives the Bower's main inhabitant an almost primitive quality that John White notably foregrounded in his 1580s watercolours of the American people. White's paintings were published to a wider readership in 1590, when they featured as etchings in Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, and so would have appeared in print for readers at the same time as the publication of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*. The Bower, as Spenser describes it, appears to have an almost Edenic quality to it, with the same appealing features that enticed early modern explorers to the New World. Its colonial potential is even suggested in the allusion to 'stragling plots' (II.xii.11.5) that Guyon encounters

[45] Henry Hawks described the New World as a 'Paradise vpon earth' in 1572, see Hakluyt (1599-1600), Vol. 3, p. 462.

on his journey to it.[46] In Harriot's *Briefe and true report*, for example, the adventurer describes the process of plantation as being one that follows this partitioning of land into plots:

> First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines with that care they touch not one another, (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the moulde againe: and so through out the whole plot, making such holes and vsing them after such maner.[47]

This language of colonisation, albeit subtle, introduces the notion that Sir Guyon's conquest of the Bower may have a colonial dimension – even if he does not himself ultimately establish a settlement in place of Acrasia's. Far from being an incidental detail, the condition of these '*stragling* plots' indicate the intemperance of the Bower's current inhabitants, who enjoy 'wastfull luxuree' (II.xii.80.7) rather than engage in meaningful labour to maintain them. As a result, the land has become 'fowle disordered' (II.xii.55.8) with plants 'ouerburdened' (II.xii.55.6) by excessive growth. The land, which in its natural condition would be temperate, has become intemperate through the ill-use of its inhabitants.

The *locus amoenus* of the Bower comes to Spenser via a number of sources, with the garden of Alcinous in Homer's *Odyssey* being, perhaps, the primary source. However, this allusion arrives at Spenser after significant literary mediation through the poetry of Torquato Tasso, with Acrasia's Bower likened both to Armida's enchanted garden and also to the description of the Americas described by Fortune during the Atlantic portion of Carlo and Ubaldo's journey.[48] In the context of this latter allusion, Fortune describes, while pointing west to the Americas in Edward Fairfax's 1600 translation of the text, how some day Europeans will find:

---

46 Julia Reinhard Lupton has noted the particularly Irish resonances to the word 'plott' in Spenser's writing, appearing notably in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*; see, Julia Reinhard Lupton, "Mapping Mutability: or, Spenser's Irish Plot", in *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660*, eds. by Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 93-115. Here she identifies a distinctly colonial partitioning of Ireland into plots of land that can be both farmed and plotted on a map. The importance of cartography in imposing an imperial vision onto a territory during this period is explored in Helgerson (1992), pp. 108-124.

47 Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1590), p. 15.

48 Tasso and Spenser also owe a debt of influence to Gian Giorgio Trissino, whose Acratia informs both the name, character and setting of this scene; see Trissino, *L'Italia Liberata* 5.

> Where thousand Isles and kingdomes lie vnknowne,
> Not voide of men as some haue vainely thought
> But peopled well, and wonned like your owne,
> The land is fertill ground, but scant well wrought,
> Aire, wholesome; temp'rate sunne; grass proudly growne.[49]

This bears a notable resemblance to Acrasia's bower, described by Spenser as being:

> A large and spacious plaine, on euery side
> Strowed with pleasauns, whose fayre grassy grownd
> Matled with greene, and goodly beautifiede
>
> […]
>
> Ne suffered storme nor frost on them to fall,
> Their tender buds or leaues to violate,
> Nor scorching heat, nor cold intemperate
> T'afflict the creatures, which therein did dwell,
> But the milde ayre with season moderate
> Gently attempred, and disposed so well (II.xi.50-51)

The Americas are, in Tasso's description, a 'temp'rate' space. Likewise, Spenser suggests that the Bower is not 'intemperate' in its climate but possesses 'milde ayre with seasons moderate'. It is not the land, therefore, that makes the Bower intemperate but the wanton excesses of Acrasia and her lethargic lovers who eschew the work necessary to maintain it. While many critics have been troubled by what they consider to be Sir Guyon's intemperate destruction of the Bower, it is, in fact, an act of restoring the space to its original, temperate condition. It is often overlooked in critical accounts of this episode that Sir Guyon does not actually execute Acrasia but rather captures her – exercising a notably degree of temperate restraint. As I will later demonstrate in my reading of Book V, this is a fundamentally different approach to the one taken by Artegall, whose recourse to intemperate violence is one marker of his different ethical approach to the Knight of Temperance. The notion, introduced here in Book II, of rescuing the land from its people would become an important and ultimately notorious component of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Only a heavy-handed treatment of the native Irish peoples would, in Spenser's assessment, help to rescue, what he described in the *View* as,

[49] Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Boulogne: or The recouerie of Ierusalem. Done into English heroicall verse, by Edward Fairefax Gent* (London, 1600), XV.27.

the 'mild and temperate' land of Ireland from its "savage" people.[50] Troublingly, as I will examine later, we see echoes of this policy in the imperial and moral character of Book V of *The Faerie Queene*.

Whether critics read an "Irish" or "American" context into Acrasia's Bower or see it as a more abstract, non-specific colonial space, it appears that the narrative direction of the book moves towards a kind of imperial conclusion. Given the epic teleology of the book, Spenser's recourse to Virgilian models when depicting his shorelines feels highly appropriate. In both the *Aeneid* and Book II of *The Faerie* Queene, the coastlines exist as both destinations and distractions – causing the voyager to reflect politically and morally on the shore's manifestation as a liminal boundary between what is conquerable (the land/the body) and unconquerable (the sea/the mind). As I have hoped to demonstrate, the final voyage to Acrasia's Bower in canto xii is the culmination of this coastal dichotomy and the confluence of several streams of classical and early modern literary thinking.

The Moral Shorelines of Book II

In Book II, the coastline has a clearly defined moral identity – it is a site introduced to test Sir Guyon, who, through his successful negotiation of its potential erotic distractions, is able to demonstrate his temperate qualities. Like Aeneas, he must adhere to the shoreline's middle location between the passionate excesses of land and sea, whilst simultaneously avoiding the erotic distractions that might cause him to linger upon it. In doing so, Sir Guyon is able to restore temperance to the Bower of Bliss and rescue the land from its wanton inhabitants. However, the coast does not only introduce an important ethical aspect to Spenser's poetic geography but also highlights its connectedness to specific literary and political models. Of all the books of *The Faerie Queene*, Book II appears the most closely modelled on classical epic – presenting both the most linear narrative of any book in the poem and also the closest attention

[50] Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, eds. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), p. 27.

to the titular character, Sir Guyon, who appears in every canto. Additionally, unlike the more spiritually focussed book that precedes it, the quest of Book II has specific territorial ambitions in the desire to capture Acrasia and conquer her Bower. By modelling Guyon's legend on the first half of the *Aeneid*, in which the shoreline features prominently, Spenser introduces this imperial dimension to the quest – one that culminates in, if not directly the colonisation, then certainly the conquest of a foreign territory. In the context of Spenser's support for Raleigh's voyages to Virginia and his own increasingly embedded position in Ireland by 1590, Book II of *The Faerie Queene* functions to display Spenser's own imperial enthusiasm and a poetic rendering of his later proposals for how to "rescue" a territory from its native (or, at the very least, present) inhabitants.

This particular vision of a fixed coastal identity appears as though it will continue to inform Spenser's writing of the coast in Book III, most notably in the arrival of Britomart on the 'Rich Strond' (III.iv.20.8) and her duel with Marinell. Britomart's defeat of Marinell suggests a similar poetic vision of imperial conquest – especially at the hands of a female knight so clearly intended to be suggestive of the martial power of Britain. However, the coherent moral and political character of the shore established in Book II begins to become destabilised in Book III as alternative literary influences begin to press more heavily on the text. While Book III seemingly opens with a renewed promise of imperial ambition, the generic qualities of the coastline are quickly transformed from that of Virgilian epic into those of Ariostan epic-romance. In this way, the narratively linear shorelines of Book II are replaced by the winding, digressive coasts of Book III and IV. The erotic distractions that the poem was so keen to avoid in the former become the narrative substance of the latter, driven by what Colin Burrow describes as an 'arbitrary passionateness' that governs these middle Books of *The Faerie Queene*.[51] In the next section, I will explore these Ariostan influences and how they help to generate an alternative coastal vision. Rather than the linear coastlines of classical epic in Book II, the shores of Books III and IV become serpentine and the narratives correspondingly digressive. This transformation of the shoreline corresponds, I will argue, with the erosion of

[51] Burrow (1993), p. 110.

temperance across the poem as a governing virtue. In a few key passages from Books III and IV, I will demonstrate how the ethical, literary and political nature of the coast has changed. I will begin with an examination of Britomart's arrival on the shorelines of Faery Land before following the digressive narrative of Florimell, Marinell and Proteus that ties together the two editions of *The Faerie Queene* across Books III and IV.

II. 'SO FELL PROUD MARINELL VPON THE PRETIOUS SHORE': MORAL DISTRACTION AND EROTIC TRANSGRESSION ON THE ARIOSTAN COASTLINES OF BOOKS III AND IV OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

In Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser creates both an imperial and ethical context for his coastlines that appears to have been influenced heavily by Virgilian models of epic poetry and Aristotelian ethical models of temperance. This combination, mediated through writers such as Sidney, gives Sir Guyon an Aeneas-like quality as he progresses towards the imperialist venture that concludes the book. Having established this model, the reader is led to suspect a continuation of this littoral context in Book III during the book's first encounter with the coastline. Britomart's arrival on the shores of Faery Land is immediately punctuated by her violent confrontation with Marinell, during which the sea-knight is thrown 'vpon the pretious shore' (III.iv.17.9). It appears as if the erotic-imperial conflict established as a component of Spenser's coastal geography in Book II has resolved in the way we would expect: with the violent overthrow of a native enemy. Britomart does not linger with her defeated enemy and we are told that:

> The martiall Mayd stayd not him to lament,
> But forward rode, and kept her ready way
> Along the strond (III.iv.18.1-3)

The use of the word 'strond' here identifies this space as similar to that of the 'sandy breach' of Book II – it is the area between the high and low tide marks and thus neither fully land nor fully sea. While Britomart may refuse to linger on the shore with her defeated enemy (conforming to the model established in Book II) the narrative focus of the poem does not depart with her.

Instead, Spenser's attention remains not with the conqueror this time but with the conquered – a feature often associated with epic-romance, where alternative, "outsider" voices populate the narrative.

In the second section of this chapter, I want to focus on the ways in which the Ariostan narrative digression of Books III and IV introduces moral uncertainty to the shoreline. In particular, I want to consider the ways in which the erotic abnegation displayed by Sir Guyon on the shores of Book II has been replaced by repeated moments of moral distraction and sexual transgression. This is an important precursor to the erosion of temperance that I identify in Book V when Spenser returns to re-imagine many of the coastal encounters that had taken place in Book II. In this section, I will demonstrate the increasing difficulty faced by characters as they seek temperate resolutions to the erotic-imperial conflicts encountered on the shore. Indeed, the heightened eroticism of the book means that Spenser's characters struggle to perform the kinds of self-governance needed to maintain a middle way. In place of this internal self-governance, we find external forms of government creeping into the text – in particular that of the law. While this may have obvious imperial implications, in particular the difficulty in upholding the law in a colonial context, we cannot disconnect this from the wider moral framework of the poem. This section will conclude with a consideration of how an application of the law on the shore (concerning sixteenth-century conceptions of *wreccum maris*) introduces an attempt to find moral and legal certainty on a littoral space that has been so fraught in these books with ethical, in particular sexual, transgression. If Book IV concludes with a fragile compromise in this respect, then Book V (in which the law becomes a central concern in the Legend of Justice) is more uncertain about the external moral governance that can be imposed in a savage land.

Britomart's Lament and the Moral Distractions of Epic Romance

After Britomart's victory on the shore, the poem launches into the extended history of Marinell and ultimately the adventures of his paramour Florimell through Books III and IV – a digressive

side-narrative that Andrew Zurcher describes as a 'masterpiece of Ariostan *entrelacement*'.[52] If this departure from the littoral context established in Book II appears surprising, particularly in the digressive narrative structure that it introduces, then it is because we have failed to appreciate the tonal shift established by Britomart's initial arrival on the coastline.[53] While Sir Guyon remains temperate in both thoughts and actions during his encounters with the shoreline in Book II, Britomart indulges in a moment of poignant and passionate introspection upon first arriving on the coast of Faery Land. In what Susanne Wofford describes as Britomart's three-stanza "Petrarchan Lament" (III.iv.8-10) for her intended love, Artegall, the knight of chastity voices her troubles directly to the sea and, in so doing, shifts the moral tone of the poem away from the strictly temperate to the more overtly passionate.[54] The turbulent waves, visible from the 'strond', are described, in a stark reaffirmation of Spenser's earlier language, as 'moyst mountaines' (III.iv.8.5) – both land and sea becoming unnavigable and inhospitable terrains. These watery mountains represent the hostile environment that she must traverse (both literally and morally) and she compares her life and its uncertain path to a 'feeble vessel crazd, and crackt | Through thy strong buffets and outrageous blowes' (III.iv.9.1-2). The metaphor here is significant, and Spenser invites the reader to draw comparison with the earlier episode at Medina's littoral castle where a similar metaphor of a storm-tossed ship had been used to describe Sir Guyon. But the images in Books II and III are not the same, and a comparison between the metaphoric ship-of-life in each reveals the tonal shift that has been enacted across the poem.

In the earlier book, during Guyon's encounter with Sansloy and Sir Huddibras, the knight is described as being:

> As a tall ship tossed in troublous seas,
> Whom raging windes threatning to make the pray

[52] Andrew Zurcher, *Edmund Spenser's* The Faerie Queene*: A Reader's Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 167.
[53] The digressive narrative structure of romance and its use in Spenser's writing is detailed in Patricia Parker, *Inescapable romance: studies in the poetics of a mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 54-133.
[54] Susanne Wofford, "Britomart's Petrarchan Lament: Allegory and Narrative in the Faerie Queene III, iv", *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Winter, 1987), pp. 28-57.

> Of the rough rockes, doe diuersly disease,
> Meetes two contrarie billowes by the way,
> That her on either side doe sore assay,
> And boast to swallow her in greedy graue;
> Shee scorning both their spights, does make wide way,
> And with her brest breaking the fomy waue,
> Does ride on both their backs, and faire her self doth saue. (II.ii.24)

Here, Guyon's metaphoric ship undergoes an assault from both nature and the passions in the form of the dangerous 'rough rockes' of the land and the swallowing 'greedy graue' of the sea. By canto xii, these geographic obstacles become more than merely metaphoric for Guyon, having been transformed into actual threats that he must encounter on his voyage to Acrasia's Bower. Just as the metaphoric ship in canto ii makes a 'wide way' between the two extremes, Guyon's ship in canto xii is able to survive by passing 'twixt them both' (II.xii.18.4). This is achieved through a temperate moral approach that prevents him from erring too close to either extreme of passion. He succeeds in navigating a straight course and is ultimately undistracted by the potential littoral distractions he encounters. To do so would be to risk destruction on the Rock of Vile Reproach, since those who follow 'wanton ioyes, and lustes *intemperate*, | Did afterwardes make shipwrack violent' ([my italics] II.xii.7.7-8). Throughout his journey, Guyon's literal and metaphoric ships take a middle course (in keeping with his temperate moral stance), thereby allowing him to reach his destination safely.

By contrast, Britomart's metaphoric ship-of-life reveals a new direction to the poem's moral and literary outlook. Like Guyon, her ship is poised between the extremes of the sea and the land; however, instead of achieving a temperate coastal path she finds herself 'far from the hoped hauen of reliefe' (III.iv.8.3). On the one side, there is a threat that the sea will 'swallow vp [her] fearefull lyfe' (III.iv.8.6), while on the other, a danger that she will 'be wrackt | On the rough rocks' (III.iv.9.3-4). Even the 'sandy shallowes' (III.iv.9.4) are a danger to her (unlike the 'sandy breach' that allowed Guyon to pass unharmed). For Britomart, her metaphoric ship is simultaneously in danger of shipwreck and sinking, and her oscillation between these two extremes is explained by the guiding motive behind her quest: love. Without the temperate influence of her own Palmer (Sir Guyon's guide), she describes how:

> Loue my lewd Pilott hath a restless minde
> And fortune Boteswaine no assurance knows,
> But saile withouten stares, gainst tyde and winde:
> How can they other doe, sith both are bold and blinde? (III.iv.9.6-9)

In marked contrast to the abnegation of erotic attachment that defined Sir Guyon's narrative *telos*, "love" is Britomart's guide. She becomes, in this metaphor, the embodiment of the Petrarchan motif of a love-wracked ship tossed by her own passions.[55] Her inability to remain emotionally temperate should, perhaps, be expected given the peculiarity of her own situation – she must negotiate the wavering extremes that accompany a Knight of Chastity embarking on a quest for love. Chastity is itself an intemperate position, and though Spenser may have praised it in Elizabeth in 1579 (when he and the Leicester circle feared a marriage to the Catholic Duke of Anjou), the failure to secure England's Protestant destiny through procreation weighed heavily on the nation by the 1590s. Given the religious allegory of the land and sea identified by Doerksen in the Medina episode, it is appropriate that the female Knight of Chastity (with her Elizabethan suggestiveness) should appear concerned by the extreme possibilities that potentially await her and the British nation she represents should she fail to navigate a middle path and succeed in securing a Protestant destiny through marriage.[56] The shoreline for Britomart is not so much a temperate middle space but one in which violence, enacted internally within her mind and externally against Marinell, becomes inevitable. Where Sir Guyon was able to broker a 'treague' (II.ii.33.3) between the violent forces of Sansloy and Sir Huddibras in Book II, Britomart is driven on to enact 'vengeance power' (III.iv.13.9) by the 'wrathfull stowre [storm]' (III.iv.13.8) raging within her mind. As we shall see in the coastal encounters of Book V, Spenser's characters often react with greater violence and unpredictability when they find themselves lacking control over their environment – an approach to justice that underpins the actions of Artegall and reveals the fragility of English settlements in colonial territories.

---

[55] For the specific Petrachanism of this passage, see Wofford (1987), pp. 28-57.
[56] The religious implications of Britomart's lament and the land/sea division can be found in Margaret Christian, "'Waves of weary wretchednesse': Florimell and the Sea", *Spenser Studies* Vol. XIV (2000), pp. 133-161.

Britomart's lament does not only introduce a new political and moral framework that will come to prominence in the latter Books of *The Faerie Queene*, but also signals a stylistic shift that underpins Books III and IV. By introducing this erotic/amorous element into the poem, Spenser re-calibrates the generic qualities of the verse from epic to epic-romance. In doing so, Spenser signposts the digressive narrative structure that will be a hallmark of Books III and IV. Britomart's metaphoric ship-of-life, we are told, is governed by a 'lewd Pilott' – a digressive and transgressive force that will be actualised both structurally and thematically later in the book when the poem reaches the height of its epic-romance potential in the story of Marinell, Florimell and Proteus.

Moral Transgression on the Shore - Florimell, Proteus and the Influence of Ariosto

In his important study of the structural mechanics of *The Faerie* Queene, James Nohrnberg identified Britomart's littoral lament as a poetic precursor to the events of Florimell's sea-voyage in Book III, cantos vii and viii.[57] In attempting to escape the lustful advances of the witch's 'wicked sonne' (III.vii.12.1) in canto vii, Florimell finds herself on the shoreline. The reader discovers that like '*Daphne* on th'*Aegean* strond' (III.vii.26.4), Florimell 'arriued on the roring shore, | In minde to leape into the mighty maine' (III.vii.27.1-2). Fortunately, however, before she is able to kill herself she discovers:

> A little bote lay houing her before,
> In which there slept a fisher old and pore,
> The whiles his nets were drying on the sand
> Into the same shee lept, and with the ore
> Did thrust the shallop from the floating strand:
> So, safely fownd at sea, which she fownd not at land. (III.vii.27.3-9)

While the sea here initially appears to offer Florimell safety from the land, she soon discovers that it will in turn 'heape on her new waues of wretchednesse' (III.vii.20.9). If Britomart was concerned by the metaphorical 'Pilot' and 'Boteswaine' that were guiding the ship of her life,

[57] James Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 595-96.

then by canto viii Florimell is placed in far greater jeopardy by the two corrupted figures that guide her while at sea: the fisherman, described as an 'old leachour' (III.viii.36.1) and 'villaine vilde' (III.viii.26.4), who tries to rape her, and the sea-god Proteus, who, in keeping with his reputation for changeability, is transformed by lust from Florimell's saviour to captor (III.viii.29-42). In an unfortunate circularity, Florimell is returned to the shore having been captured by an even more powerful figure than the witch's son, who had driven her out to sea in the first place.

For the remainder of Book III and most of Book IV, Florimell is imprisoned in Proteus' coastal cave. In perhaps a deliberate inversion of the temperate castle of Medina in Book II, which was 'built *on* a rocke adjoyning to the seas' ([my italics] II.ii.12.7), Proteus' 'bowre' is situated:

> in the bottom of the maine,
> *Vnder* a mightie rock, gainst which doe raue
> The roring billowes in the proud disdaine,
> That with the angry working of the waue,
> Therein is eaten out an hollow caue ([my italics] III.viii.37.1-5)

The littoral setting of Proteus' cave is in keeping with the one that Virgil gives the character in the *Georgics*, where were are told that:

> est specus ingens
> exesi latae in montis, quo plutima vento
> cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos,
> deprensis olim statio tutissima nautis;
> intus se uasti Proteus tegis obice saxi.[58] (4.418-422)

Despite this geographic similarity, however, Spenser's Proteus is decidedly un-Virgilian. In the *Georgics*, for example, Virgil describes a scene in which it is Proteus who is taken hostage. Instead, Spenser's character is more in keeping with the rapacious figure of the poem's most important early modern European model of epic-romance: Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furisoso*.

[58] 'There is a vast cave carved in a cliff side, from which many a wave is driven by the wind, and separates into secluded bays, safest of harbours at times for unwary sailors; Proteus hides himself in there behind a large barrier of rock.'

The 'antique istorie' of Ariosto's Proteus is found in canto viii of *Orlando Furioso* as a narrative digression from Angelica's flight from a rapacious hermit on the shoreline and her later imprisonment on the rocky coast by the pirates of Ebuda.[59] While the geography of *Orlando Furioso* is, for the most part, decidedly un-coastal, Angelica's story in this canto is itself part of a momentary fixation from the Italian poet on coastal encounters. Elsewhere, for example, we see Ruggerio escape from the palace of Alcina and find himself on 'la spiaggia' (viii.22.3) of the witch's magic island, while later we see Rinaldo travel through the British Isles before approaching the coastal site where 'giunge ove nei salsi flutti | il bel Tamigi' (viii.26.4-5).[60] It is interesting that this canto of the Italian poem should be so marked by coastal encounters and that a series of poetic associations between Britain and the shoreline should be drawn. When the narrative returns to Angelica's encounter with a rapacious hermit on the French 'il lito' (viii.37.3), Ariosto indulges in a further moment of epic-romance digression by presenting the story of Proteus on the island of Ebuda.[61] Here the earlier association between Britain and shorelines helps to inform the setting and transport the narrative back to the British Isles – the island of Ebuda is given an Irish context having been located by Ariosto 'nel mar di tramontana inver l'occaso, | oltre l'Irlanda' (viii.51.3-4).[62] The story of Ariosto's Proteus is one of violence and sexual transgression located on the shoreline – a place, if considered "Irish", that is seemingly outside the European norms of civility and legal redress. It seems highly significant that Spenser should select *Orlando Furioso* as the primary model for his own story of Proteus given the Italian poet had located the action of *his* Proteus within an archipelagic Irish setting and one that is so decidedly "savage". The Proteus of *The Faerie Queene* may likewise may be operating in this quasi-Hibernian context – something that becomes increasingly apparent in Book IV when we come to Proteus' Hall for the Marriage of Thames and Medway.

[59] 'Old tale': Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* Canto viii, Stanza 52, Line 1.
[60] 'The shoreline'; 'the salt waves meet the beautiful Thames'
[61] 'The shore'
[62] 'In the great northern sea, towards the West, past Ireland'

By Book IV, canto xi the "Irishness" of Proteus' shoreline becomes increasingly pronounced. The Marriage of Thames and Medway – an event that takes place in '*Proteus* hall' (IV.xi.39.9) – sees the many real and mythical rivers of Britain and beyond gather to witness the union. If we accept that the Marriage of Thames and Medway was a reworking of the *Epithalamion Thamensis* that Spenser proposed to 'shortely […] sette forth' in a 1579 letter to Gabriel Harvey, then the basis of this scene predates his work on even the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*.[63] That his intention was always to base this episode on real geography and true history is indicated by his explicit acknowledgement of 'Master Holinshed' as providing source material for the original project.[64] Nevertheless, it is clear that Spenser had updated the material to incorporate his own experience in Ireland: his home from 1580 onwards.[65] Amongst those invited to the marriage are the eighteen major rivers of Ireland that 'ioyne in neighbourhood of kingdome nere' (IV.xi.40.3) to the location of the wedding. Their apparent neighbourly proximity to Proteus' Hall suggests that the shoreline of Faery Land is perhaps less abstract or imaginary and more "Irish" than we might initially imagine. Indeed, Bart van Es has noted how the specificity that Spenser gives to his Irish rivers locates them in both historical time and space, and we realise that those in attendance at the Marriage of Thames and Medway have been touched by the recent colonial history of Ireland.[66] Spenser described, for example, how the 'balefull Oure' was 'late staind with English blood' (IV.xi.44.5), alluding to the defeat of Lord Grey's forces at a battle on the Avonbeg of Glenmalure in 1580.[67] Spenser is, in fact, at his most overtly political during the marriage episode when detailing those attending from Ireland, which he damningly suggests flow through 'saluage cuntries' (IV.xi.40.9). The savageness of the Irish country was a topic that preoccupied Spenser poetically, politically and legally throughout his time in Ireland and informs the foundational axioms behind his proposals for

[63] Spenser (1932-57), Vol. 10, p. 17; the idea that this episode is a reworking of the earlier poem is discussed in Joan Fitzpatrick, "Marrying waterways: Politicising and gendering the landscape in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* river-marriage canto", in *Archipelagic identities: literature and identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550-1800*, eds. Philip Schwyzer and Simon Mealor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[64] Spenser (1932-57), Vol. 10, p. 17.
[65] Spenser's first voyage to Ireland in 1580 with Lord Grey de Wilton is detailed in Hadfield (2012), pp. 153-195.
[66] Van Es (2002), pp. 63-64.
[67] Joan Fitzpatrick, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the contours of Britain: reshaping the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hatfield: University of Hereford Press, 2004), p. 67.

English colonialism expressed in Books V and VI of *The Faerie Queene* as well as the prose work *A View of the Present State of Ireland*.[68]

Striving for Moral Certainty on the Shoreline

The Romantic "entrelacement" of Books III and IV is brought to a conclusion through a poetic demonstration of how the application of English law can transform unbridled foreign shores into tamed colonial ones. Andrew Zurcher has noted how the use of 'legal language' in *The Faerie Queene* is fundamental to Spenser's method of organising both his political philosophy and his experience in Ireland.[69] Two key episodes from Book III (Britomart's "lament" and Marinell's "grant") are revisited in Book IV (Florimell's "lament" and Cymonent's "plaint") in order to bring the narrative full-circle. In concluding my analysis of Books III and IV, I want to exmamine how Spenser imagined the application of English law on colonial (potentially Irish) shores as a demonstration of England's imperial control over the island.

The first episode that Spenser revisits is Britomart's "lament". In Book III, Britomart is noted to have 'complaynd' (III.iv.7.9) to the sea – a word that had very definitely legal connotations in the sixteenth century. By Book IV, it is Florimell who adopts the same legal language to describe a similar emotional distress (that of being away from her true love). Florimell is heard to 'complaine' (IV.viii.5.6) at her mistreatment at the hands of Proteus. Confirming the legal aspect of Florimell's own lament, Spenser describes how Marinell (passing by her cell) hears her 'wretched case' (IV.xii.8.9). The case that is ultimately heard (in a judicial sense) is presided over by Neptune, who is described as 'the seas sole Soueraine' (IV.xii.30.5). The case is brought by Cymoent, Marinell's mother, who, as the legal "plaintiff", demands the return of Florimell to Marinell on the grounds that she constitutes a *wreccum maris* (wreck-of-the-sea good) legally entitled to her son. In this moment, Spenser returns the reader's attention to the second key episode concerning Britomart's arrival on the shores of Faery Land

[68] For Spenser and "savageness", see McCabe (2002), pp. 232-245.
[69] Andrew Zurcher, *Spenser's Legal Language: Law and Poetry in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), p. 16.

in Book III: the discussion of the *wreccum maris* grant made to Marinell by Neptune. In Book III, Cymoent had asked Neptune 'T'endow her sonne with threasure and rich store' (III.iv.21.8), which he did so by granting the sea-knight the right to claim any goods that arrive on the shoreline. Spenser notes how:

> The God did graunt his daughters deare demaund,
> To doen his Nephew in all riches flow;
> Eftsoone his heaped waues he did command,
> Out of their hollow bosome forth to throw
> All the huge threasure, which the sea below
> Had in his greedy gulfe deuoured deepe,
> And him enriched through the ouerthrow
> And wrecks of many wretches, which did weepe,
> And often wayle their wealth, which he from them did kepe. (III.iv.22)

This single stanza represents the conditions by which, twenty cantos later, Florimell must be legally returned to Marinell. Cymoent informs Neptune of Proteus' improper claim by noting that Florimell is:

> a waift, the which by fortune came
> Vpon your seas, he claym'd as propertie:
> And yet nor his, nor in equitie,
> But yours the waift by high prerogatiue. (IV.xii.31.3-6)

Having been brought to Proteus' coastal hideaway, Florimell has been returned to the shore and, as a quasi-*wreccum maris*, becomes again the property of Marinell rather than that of Proteus.

Leaving aside the misogynistic notion that a woman can be claimed as if a piece of flotsam or jetsam floating to shore, this "case" suggests something important about Spenser's notion of a colonial coast. It becomes the first marker at which the law can be applied and thus the first opportunity to demonstrate legal and political control over a territory. In portraying Neptune as the emperor of the 'seas imperiall' (IV.xii.32.4) and 'the seas sole Soueraine' (IV.xii.30.5), Spenser offers a vision of monarchical prerogative in keeping with the kind of legal subjugation of colonial territories (in particular that of Ireland) that appealed to him. Maintaining this kind of legal dominance was not merely an academic point, however, and Zurcher has suggested that Spenser's intimate legal knowledge of *wreccum maris* law was 'part

of the bread and butter of landed English gentlemen in the Munster plantation during the 1580s and 1590s'.[70] Indeed, it is even suggested that he participated in the seizure of certain goods that came to the Irish shore in the *Thomas Bonaventure* in 1587. The potential riches that could be gained from the sea would have been well-known to Spenser, whose companion in Ireland Sir Walter Raleigh had in 1591 brought back prizes valued at £31,500 after a successful privateering voyage.[71] Raleigh himself acknowledged the sustaining power of the sea in Book IV of his *History of the World*, published in 1614, where in a passage detailing the conquests of Alexander the Great, he describes King Hammon 'who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith hee) vpon the spoiles of shipwracke'.[72]

While Spenser pursues a digressive, Ariostan narrative along the serpentine shorelines of Book III and IV, he simultaneously introduces this important connection between imperial conquest and legal authority. Indeed, Marinell's conquest at the hands of Britomart in Book III is noted as being a '*triall*, on that wealthy Strond' ([my italics] III.iv.29.2). The strength of this connection between law and empire will be put under increasing pressure in Book V, however, as the intemperate actions of Artegall test the limits of the law and highlight the violence that is necessary to uphold it. Nevertheless, Books III and IV conclude with a fragile, though still intact, sense that the erotic-imperial conflict on the shoreline can still be resolved in favour of an imperial settlement – this, despite the erosion of temperance evident in the amorous and, at times, sexually transgressive behaviour of Britomart, Florimell, Marinell and Proteus.

Spenser's concern as to how to implement the law in foreign territories is carried into Book V and the Legend of Justice, where the monarch's absence becomes increasingly problematic and Artegall is forced to impose justice backed by both the threat and actual use of violence. If Artegall represents the possibility of imposing English law in Ireland then his behaviour highlights what Spenser must have felt was the dangers inherent in any colonial venture: the erosion of imperial identity and the adoption of local custom. Sent to quell a savage nation, Artegall is always in danger of succumbing to that savageness himself. By Book V, the

[70] Zurcher (2007), pp. 110, 111-114.
[71] Mark Nicholls, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 66.
[72] Walter Raleigh, *History of the World* (London, 1614), Book IV., p. 183.

shoreline becomes a site that is almost overwhelmingly intemperate and Artegall struggles to negotiate the erotic-imperial conflicts that he encounters. This intemperate behaviour from Artgeall manifests, as I will examine, in both his excessive use of judicial violence on the one hand and his subjugation and metamorphic feminisation at the hands of the Amazonian Radigund on the other. By Book V of *The Faerie Queene*, the temperate imperialism of Sir Guyon has been almost entirely replaced by the intemperate violence and erotic metamorphosis of Artegall. This, as I will demonstrate, has serious ethical ramifications for Spenser's littoral geography.

III. 'SO DOWNE THE CLIFFE THE WRETCHED GYANT TUMBLED; | HIS BATTRED BALLANCES IN PEECES LAY': MORAL UNCERTAINTY AND INTEMPERATE JUSTICE ON THE "IRISH" SHORES OF BOOK V

Book V of *The Faerie Queene* is marked by repeated moments of coastal arrival. Furthermore, these moments become increasingly Ovidian in their tone of intemperate justice, imperial lament, and metamorphic transformation. From the execution of Pollente and the Giant in canto ii, to the destruction of the Souldan's chariot in canto viii, from the sexual enslavement of Artegall by Radigund in canto iv, to the rescue of Irena from the rapacious Grantorto in canto xii, Spenser gives the coastline particular geographical prominence in Book V's Legend of Justice. Much as in the previous books of the poem, the shoreline becomes a site upon which erotic-imperial conflicts play out; however, with the introduction of Artegall as the book's protagonist, the resolution of these conflicts becomes increasingly intemperate as he veers wildly between excessive uses of violence and (in the case of his encounter with Radigund) sexual submission. Much has been made of Book V's "Irish" politics and the transition between the first and second instalments of *The Faerie Queene* signals a clear re-refocusing of Spenser's sense of England's imperial prospects. This critical tradition was initiated by C. S. Lewis, whose assessment that Spenser was 'the instrument of a detestable policy in Ireland, and in his fifth book the wickedness he had shared begins to corrupt his imagination' has indelibly marked

Book V in such political, colonial terms.[73] In this section, I do not propose to map out the kinds of direct parallels between the actions of Book V and Spenser's time on the Munster plantation that have featured heavily in recent critical assessments of the Legend of Justice. It is evident that Elizabeth I's attitudes towards the English settlers in Ireland during the 1590s informs aspects of his colonial vision in the poem; however, viewing the work solely through the lens of its politics risks eliding the important ethical shift that has also occurred between Book II and Book V. Instead, I want to explore the way in which the intersecting matrix of political, ethical and literary identities that Spenser established as a component of the shoreline in Book II have become destabilised by Book V.

If Spenser had started his literary career with the intention of modelling its trajectory on Virgil, then it was increasingly apparent by the early 1590s that, despite receiving a £50 pension from the Queen in 1590, he was to enjoy a rather less central role in his monarch's circle of patronage than his classical predecessor.[74] Instead, his position was becoming increasingly more like that of Virgil's contemporary, Ovid, whose later career was spent exiled on the shores of Pontus. That Spenser's literary outlook became more Ovidian and pessimistic by the second instalment of *The Faerie Queene* has become something of a critical orthodoxy. Richard McCabe has identified, for example, the ways in which Spenser's return to his pastoral character Colin Clout in the 1595 *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* foregrounds the poet's sense of abandonment in Ireland.[75] Indeed, rather than his voyage to England being seen in the context of the Homeric *nostoi topos*, the alienation felt by Colin when he finally returns to Cynthia's Court forces him to confront exactly where "home" really is for him. Ultimately,

[73] Lewis (1936), p. 349.
[74] David Scott Wilson-Okamura notes that Spenser was styling himself as the 'English Virgil' as early as *The Shepheardes Calender*, in David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Spenser's International Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 22-23; Wilson-Okamura also notes that Spenser's contemporaries were keen to portray him as such, noting William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London, 1586) and Thomas Nashe, *Strange Newes, of the intercepting certaine Letters* (London, 1592), where Spenser is described as 'the Virgil of England'.
[75] Richard A. McCabe, "Edmund Spenser, Poet of Exile", *Proceedings of the British Academy* Vol. 80 (1992), p. 89.

Colin must conclude that it is, in the words of Joseph Hall, 'the wolvish westerne isle' of Ireland and that it is his fate to live 'among the savage Kernes in sad exile'.[76]

In Book II, Spenser introduced a complex matrix of Arisotelian, Virgilian, and Sidneian influences in order to establish the political, literary and ethical nature of his poetic shorelines. The confluence of these various streams of thinking transformed Sir Guyon into a temperate, Aeneas-like figure, whose actions culminated in the abnegation of erotic attachment and the fulfilment of a kind of imperial *telos* in the destruction of the Bower of Bliss. After the digressive narratives of Books III and IV, many of Spenser's earlier political, literary and ethical concerns reappear in the figure of Artegall and his actions of Book V. Like Sir Guyon's quest to capture Acrasia, Artegall's quest to rescue Irena's kingdom is framed by coastal encounters – beginning with execution of Pollente and the Giant in canto ii and concluding with his defeat of Grantorto in canto xii. That Spenser should mirror the structure of Book V on Book II seems hardly coincidental; indeed, Artegall's encounter with Pollente and the Giant in Book V, canto ii (two figures who represent excess and deficiency in their perversions of sovereignty) almost recreates Sir Guyon's conflict with Sir Huddibras and Sansloy in Book II, canto ii. In this final section of the chapter I want to consider why Spenser returns to the shoreline at these crucial moments of his poem in order to reflect, in particular, upon the political and ethical implications of Artegall's presence. Is Artegall able, like Sir Guyon in Book II, to successfully negotiate the moral pitfalls that await him on the coast? Or does Book V reveal a more complicated and ultimately unresolvable identity to the shoreline in keeping with the kind of imperial uncertainty surrounding Spenser's own role in Ireland?

In answering these questions, I want first to consider how the moral framework of Book V has dramatically shifted from that of Book II with the introduction of Ovidian models of justice. In doing so, I build on the analysis of James Nohrnberg, who has argued that Books II and V are analogous in their focus on "government" – in the former it is an ethical self-

[76] Joseph Hall, *Collected Poems*, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), p. 66.

governance (temperance) whereas in the latter it is an external governance (justice).[77] By exploring analogous moments of coastal arrival that Spenser creates in Book V, we discover that the shoreline has been fundamentally transformed by a recognition that self-governance is no longer a viable means to negotiate the erotic-imperial conflicts associated with the shoreline. The savageness of the land can only be controlled by a corresponding savageness from Gloriana's representative, Artegall. The problematic treatment of justice in Book V has often been viewed as pessimism on the part of Spenser, especially in respects to his imperial position in Ireland; while this may be true, I want to demonstrate how it is also connected to a deeper ethical transformation. In order to draw out Spenser's comparison between the actions of his first and second instalment of *The Faerie Queene*, I will focus my analysis on the equivalent moments of coastal arrival in Book V that I explored earlier in Book II. As such, I will examine in turn the Pollente and the Giant episodes in canto ii (corresponding with Medina's Castle) and the rescue of Irena from Grantorto in canto xii (corresponding with the Bower of Bliss). In order to demonstrate the fundamentally different approach to erotic distraction, I will also briefly explore the episode in which Artgeall (much like Hercules and Omphale) submits to the Amazonian Radigund. Ultimately, this section will demonstrate how the character of the shoreline, as established in Book II, becomes unsustainable by Book V. Where the former book concluded with the moral certainty of the Bower's destruction, the latter is shrouded in moral uncertainty and the unleashing of the Blatant Beast.

Ovidian Justice and the Erosion of Temperance

If the moral framework of Book II relied heavily on bringing Aristotelian temperance together with notions of Virgilian epic, then Book V immediately deviates from this model by framing the work in terms of Ovidian justice. The proem to Book V announces Spenser's Ovidian intentions in no uncertain terms, noting (by reference to the myth of Pyrrha and Deucalione) that 'from the golden age, that first was named | It's now at earst become a stonie one'

[77] Nohrnberg (1976), pp. 354-360.

(V.Proem.2.1-2).[78] Book V represents, according to Spenser, the actions of a 'stonie' age – a base conclusion to the gold, silver, bronze and iron ages of his Ovidian source. In the context of Spenser's colonial politics, this suggests something deeply troubling. Gone is the high imperial ambition that marked the narrative of Book II and in its place, is the aspiration simply to control a territory that seems increasingly savage and unmanageable. Beyond the imperial readings of this passage, however, we must be attuned to ways in which this pessimism transforms the ethical framework of the book. There is the threat (ultimately realised in Artegall's encounter with Radigund) that the events of Book V will see Spenser's characters 'degendered' (V.Proem.2.9) and he informs us:

> Let none then blame me, if in discipline
> Of vertue and of ciuill vses lore,
> I doe not forme them to the common line
> Of present dayes, which are *corrupted sore* ([my italics] V.Proem.3.1-4)

Furthermore, in a stark affirmation of the moral uncertainty introduced at this point in the poem, Spenser suggests that:

> For that which all men then [in the past] did vertue call,
> Is now cald vice; and that which vice was hight,
> Is now hight virtue, and so vs'd of all:
> Right is now wrong, and wrong that was right (V.Proem.4.1-4)

If we as readers are troubled by the moral ambiguities in Book V, then this is not a twenty-first-century concern; Spenser pre-empts his contemporaries' own unsettled view of Artegall's ethical outlook in this passage in the Proem. The resolution to this problem, Spenser argues, is for a newly articulated role for Elizabeth I. He encourages her to exercise her royal prerogative and thus act 'resembling God in his imperiall might' (V.Proem.10.2). This has serious implications as to the manner in which the justice of Book V is meted out, and Elizabeth becomes a 'dread Souerayne Goddesse, that doest highest sit | In seate of iudgement' (V.Proem.11.1-2). From this seat, she may inspire in even the 'furthest Nations' an 'awfull dread' (V.Proem.11.5) by using 'the instrument whereof loe here thy *Artegall*' (V.Proem.11.9).

[78] See *Metamorphoses*, I.395-415.

Spenser's conception of justice outlined in the Proem is, I would argue, modelled on the same ethical understanding of justice found in Ovid's exile poetry of the *Tristia*.

Exiled to the shores of Pontus, Ovid emphasises the lawlessness of the land that he now calls home. Law ('lex'), justice ('ius') and divine right ('fas') can only be imposed at the end of a sword, with Ovid noting of the locals that 'non metuunt leges, sed credit uiribus aequum, | uictaque pugnaci iura sub ense iacent' (*Tr.* 5.7.47-48).[79] Justice ('ius') cannot exist without a Judge ('iudex', literally the 'ius' [justice] + 'dicere' [to speak]) and we find that ultimately 'iniustum rigido ius dictur ense' (Tr. 5.10.43).[80] For Ovid, the 'Iudex' was the Emperor Augustus, who is portrayed not only as the dispenser of human justice but is also transformed into 'Deus' (Tr. 1.2.4), the dispenser of divine justice. However, without Augustus' physical presence in Pontus, justice cannot be justly applied and generals such as Vestalis must be sent instead 'ut positis reddas iura' (Tr. 4.7.2) with force.[81] In effect, Ovid finds himself on what Matthew McGowan describes as 'the legal limits of empire' – the shoreline of Pontus – where the law cannot be applied without either the threat or actual use of force.[82] This model, I argue, informs the political and ethical direction of Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and Artegall's quest to rescue Irena's kingdom.

The introduction of Ovidian models of justice to underpin the moral framework of Book V results in a corresponding erosion of temperance. Artegall's suitability as the knight to undertake this new, ethical (as well as imperial) quest is clear from his immediate association with '*Hercules*' (V.i.2.5), who, like his father Bacchus, was considered to have upheld justice, albeit violently and despite frequent bouts of intemperate behaviour. His association with Hercules becomes its most ridiculous and also most intemperate during his subjugation at the hands of Radigund, who (like Hercules and Omphale) subjects him to a humiliating metamorphic feminisation. But if Artegall's susceptibility to pursue erotic attachment

[79] 'They do not fear laws, but right yields to force, and justice lies conquered under the sword of the aggressor'.
[80] 'Justice is dispensed unjustly by means of the stiff sword'.
[81] 'In order to administer justice'.
[82] Matthew M. McGowan, *Ovid In Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 121.

differentiates him from the temperate Sir Guyon, so too his use of violence clearly demonstrates his distinct ethical outlook. As early as Book IV, canto iv Artegall's moral character is under scrutiny and after his display at Satyrane's tournament he is known to his competitors simply as 'the saluage knight' (IV.iv.42.6). The extent to which Artegall's character ultimately complicates (or perhaps even compromises) his quest to save Irena, especially when we consider that Grantorto has himself already transformed the land into a 'saluage Iland' (V.xi.39.3), gives Book V political, literary and ethical conclusions that are highly distinct from those established in Book II.

Intemperate Justice on the Shore – Artegall, Pollente and the Giant

The structural connections between Books II and V of *The Faerie Queene* foreground the transformation in Spenser's thinking that had occurred between the publication of the first and second instalments of the poem. Much as Book II, canto ii brought Sir Guyon to the littoral castle of Medina, Book V, canto ii returns us to the shoreline and the 'Castle of the strond' (V.ii.4.2). Similarly, as the earlier book forced a confrontation between the temperate Guyon and the respective excesses and deficiencies of Elissa and Perissa (and their husbands Sir Huddibras and Sansloy), so too Artegall is forced to confront two figures (Pollente and the Giant) who represent extreme positions with regards to power and sovereignty. Pollente has taken control of the bridge that must be crossed to reach the Castle (representing an illegitimate monopoly of sovereignty); meanwhile, the Giant rouses the common people with talks of social and material equality (representing an illegitimate distribution of sovereignty). While these two scenarios serve to illustrate Artegall's approach to justice, they also find historical precedent in early modern society, with M. L. Neff, for example, detailing the many cases in England and Ireland when toll-bridges were used for extortion.[83] Both Pollente and the Giant in their own ways threaten to destabilise their local community and undermine the sovereignty that Artegall

[83] M. L. Neff, "Spenser's Allegory of the Toll-Bridge", *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 13 (1933), pp. 159-176.

is there to enforce. By creating an obvious parallel with the events of Book II, canto ii, Spenser invites the reader to consider the actions of the Knight of Temperance against those of the Knight of Justice and to measure the extent to which the former's temperate behaviour has been eroded in the conduct of the latter. Indeed, if critics have been troubled by the moral ambiguities displayed by Artegall when dealing with these two figures, then this is precisely in keeping with what, I argue, Spenser's poem deliberately elicits from the reader. Where the coastline had, in Book II, a fixed political, ethical and literary identity, by Book V it has become a more uncertain imperial and moral space.

Artegall's encounter with Pollente is swift and judicial, relying not on words but on deeds. After the two combatants tumble into the river, Artegall eventually overcomes Pollente and decapitates him. In language that recalls an execution rather than a duel, Spenser describes of Pollente's head how Artegall 'smote it off, that tumbling on the strand | It bit the earth' (V.ii.18.5-6). Pollente's body is carried downriver to the sea and his head is 'pitcht vpon a pole' (V.ii.19.4). The disturbing violence meted out to Pollente for the crime of extortion reflects the kind of intemperate justice that this foreign geography requires in order to maintain Gloriana's sovereignty. If read in an Irish context, as Andrew Hadfield has done, the killing of Pollente reveals both the history of English justice in Ireland (the decapitated head of Rory Oge O'More, for example, was displayed as a warning to others) as well as the future that Spenser's hopes his monarch will uphold.[84] However, it also reveals something more profound about the legal and ethical problems that Artegall faces.

If the landscape of Book V is indeed "Irish" then there is clearly something particularly problematic about the implementation of English justice. With the Pollente episode concluded, Spenser notes that Artegall had 'refourmed' (V.ii.28.8) the 'wicked customes of that Bridge' (V.ii.28.8). Zurcher has identified the particularly legal resonances of such a statement and examined the inherent conflict between Artegall's application of the law and the local customs

[84] Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 158-160.

that oppose it.[85] If the local custom is unwilling to give way to the general application of the law – as was imagined by English colonisers in Ireland – then violence was the only means by which to enforce it. There is an uneasiness introduced here as to the manner in which justice can be upheld when language and co-operation fail to persuade. Does Spenser condemn the violence in this episode or rather recognise that the temperate models of dialogue that were able to 'stablish termes betwixt both their requests' (II.ii.32.7) at the castle of Medina in Book II are no longer viable? It is my contention that Book V is marked by Spenser's acknowledgement (albeit potentially with some reticence) that this "Irish" geography can only be tamed through force. The moral implications of this are profound. There is a recognition that the forms of internal self-governance that defined the moral landscape of Book II are unsustainable in a territory in which external, judicial governance is the only means by which order can be maintained. The problem of how to ensure Gloriana's sovereignty is upheld is encountered again moments later when Artegall continues along the coast and meets with the Giant.

If Pollente's crime was to 'pols and pils [steal from] the poore' (V.ii.6.8) then as Artegall continues down the coast to find the 'mighty Gyant' (V.ii.30.1), he encounters one who would 'reduce vnto equality' (V.ii.32.9) all men by taking from the rich. Reference to the Giantomachy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.151-176) – the challenge to the God's sovereign authority by the giants and their resultant destruction – give this scene Classical resonances as it does at the conclusion of the book with the defeat of the giant Grantorto. In Spenser's poem, however, the Giant of canto ii symbolically holds a 'huge great paire of balance in his hand' (V.ii.30.3) – thereby challenging the authority of the law and offering the local people an alternative form of sovereignty from the one Artegall has been sent to enforce. After some disputation, during which the Knight of Justice reiterates the primacy of royal prerogative by concluding that God 'maketh Kings to sit in souerainty' and 'maketh subiects to their powre obay' (V.ii.41.5,6), Talus (Artegall's companion) pushes the Giant off the cliff to his death. This is likened, as so often in *The Faerie Queene*, to a ship being wrecked on the rocky shoreline:

[85] Zurcher (2007), pp. 141-142.

Like as a ship, whom cruell tempest driues
Vpon a rocke with horrible dismay,
Her shattered ribs in thousand peeces riues,
And spoyling all her geares and goodly ray,
Does make her selfe misfortunes piteous pray.
So downe the cliffe the wretched Gyant tumbled;
His battred balances in peeces lay,
His timbered bones all broken rudely rumbled,
So was the high aspiring with huge ruine humbled. (V.ii.50)

This cruel justice is considered both necessary and fitting; the Giant himself had proposed only moments earlier to:

throw downe these mountains hie,
And make them leuell with the lowly plaine:
These towering rocks, which reach vnto the ski,
I will thrust downe into the deepest maine,
And as they were, them equalize againe. (V.ii.38-1-5)

Rather than the seas being filled with the mountains – a metaphor, of course, for the levelling of social hierarchy – Talus instead sends the Giant's body in their place. Even more so than in the Pollente scene, the Giant has been executed rather than simply killed in combat. This is deemed necessary since his words had encouraged 'mutining' and his presence was wont to 'stirre vp ciuill faction' (V.ii.51.4) against the established social order. Both characters are part of a savage land and are deemed incapable of being persuaded by argument or exercising self-governance – their intemperate execution at the hands of Artegall is, Spenser seems to suggest, the only possible response.

But why should Spenser locate these encounters in such a littoral setting? It seems clear that in doing so, Spenser consciously invites comparison with the equivalent moments in Book II and reminds us of the way in which achieving the temperate solutions of Sir Guyon has become increasingly problematic in this "savage" land. Where Sir Guyon was able to quell the violent conflict between Sir Huddibras and Sansloys through language (relying to some extent on the combatants' ability to self-govern their passions), Artegall is only able to enforce his verdict through the use of violence – in the case of Pollente and the Giant, through summary execution. The Pollente and Giant episodes represent an important tonal shift from Book II to

V, one in which the confidence in language to broker co-operation can no longer be relied upon and moral temperance is instead replaced by an intemperate justice.

Shifting Shorelines, Erotic Distractions and the Allure of Radigund

Before concluding this final section of the chapter with an analysis of canto xii and the rescuing of Irena's kingdom, I want briefly to ponder the implications of Artegall's lack of temperance by considering his encounter with the Amazonian Radigund. In Book V, canto iv, we find Artegall 'passe by the sea shore' (V.iv.4.1), where he meets the brothers Amidas and Bracidas arguing over *wreccum maris* goods. This issue recalls the events of Florimell and Marinell in Books III and IV, however, rather than being resolved through a strict application of English common law, Artegall applies the principles of equity, judging that 'what the sea vnto you sent, your own should seeme' (V.iv.18.9). The two men's willingness to agree to Artegall's judgement prevents the need for violent confrontation and seemingly signals the possibility that Artegall will be able to adopt a more temperate moral direction in his coastal encounters. Nevertheless, rather than indicating a return to the fixed identity of the shoreline established in Book II, this episode reveals, instead, the fragility of the coastal geography in Book V. Each son had been given an equally-sized island by their father before a process of erosion and alluvium grew Amidas's island at the expense of his brother's. In a speech revealing the wider instability of Book V's coastal geography, Bracidas describes of their respective shores how 'all things doth decay' (V.iv.8.1), describing specifically the manner in which 'this deuouring Sea […] The most part of my land hath washt away, | And thrown it vp vnto my brothers share' (V.iv.8.2-3). The changeability of the shorelines here signals the manner in which these supposedly fixed boundaries have become both fragile and porous. With regards to Artegall's character, this becomes highly prescient and after travelling only a short distance further along the coast he encounters Radigund, 'a Princesse of great power, and greater pride, | And Queene of Amazons' (V.iv.33.4-5).

If Radigund's own porous sexual identity mirrors the changeability of the shoreline, then Artegall's interaction with her causes a similar destabilising effect. In Book II, Sir Guyon's encounters with the erotic distractions of the shoreline represented an opportunity for the knight to demonstrate his temperate abnegation of such diversions in order to pursue his imperial ambitions. By contrast, in Book V, Artegall's littoral encounter with Radigund does not merely present a distraction to the Knight of Justice but totally overwhelms him. During the meeting between Artegall and Radigund, Spenser portrays the total collapse of temperance as it pertains to confronting the erotic distractions of the shoreline. In this case, the erotic-imperial conflict presented on the coastline is resolved in favour of the former and to the immediate detriment of the latter. Radigund features as a kind of reimagined Acrasia, enslaving men by appealing to their passions. To resist the allure of Acrasia and Radigund, a man requires self-governance – this is found in Sir Guyon and found wanting in Artegall. Upon seeing Radigund's face, we are told that Artegall was 'ouercome' (V.v.17.1) and that 'to her he yielded of his owne accord' (V.v.17.2). In doing so, Radigund strips Artegall of 'all the ornaments of knightly name' (V.v.20.4) and, enslaving him:

> made him to be dight
> In womans weedes, that is to manhood shame,
> And put before his lap a napron white,
> In stead of Curiets and bases fit for fight. (V.v.20.6-9)

By removing Artegall's armour and sword and dressing him as a woman, Radigund performs a kind of metamorphic feminisation, confirming the Book's Ovidian influence and highlighting the vulnerabilities of Artegall's intemperance.[86] If the destruction of Acrasia and the Bower of Bliss in Book II represents the Elizabethan subjugation of the supposed excesses of a foreign, colonial territory, then Artegall's submission to Radigund in Book V demonstrates what happens when that conquest is reversed. Rather than the masculine power of the state conquering the feminine colonial space, it is the feminine that dominates the masculine. Indeed,

[86] Elizabeth D. Harvey has suggested that Spenser's source for this metamorphic feminisation is Deianira's epistle in Ovid's *Heroides*, in Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist theory and English renaissance texts* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 38.

Artegall has been stripped of his martial power and thus loses his ability to impose an imperial or moral agenda on the land or its people. It is not until he is rescued by Britomart that the imperial aspirations of the book can be resurrected. This episode is a key example of the new moral outlook of the poem. Temperance has become intemperance; Virgilian models have become Ovidian; the shoreline (the site of erotic-imperial conflict throughout the poem) has been destabilised as Artegall's interactions with it veer wildly from excessive uses of violence to sexual submission and metamorphic feminisation.

Rescuing Irena and Unleashing Moral Uncertainty

By canto xii of Book V, Spenser's imperial, ethical and literary project appears to be under strain. The mismatch, for example, between the canto's argument and its thematic content foregrounds this poetic crisis. The argument describes of canto xii how:

> *Artegall doth Sir Burbon aide,*
> *And blames for changing shield:*
> *He with the great Grantorto fights,*
> *And slaieth him in field.* (V.xii.Argument)

Artegall's assistance of Sir Burbon occurs, in fact, in the previous canto (a late revision that may account for canto xi's longer-than-typical length) and the argument makes no mention of the concluding encounter in canto xii between Artegall and Envy, Detraction and the Blatant Beast. If the structure of the canto betrays Spenser's poetic (even bibliographic) uncertainty at this point in the poem, then the content reveals a deeper moral uncertainty that resists the kind of neat conclusion that we found in Book II, canto xii. As the Pollente and the Giant episode of canto ii corresponded to the equivalent scene at the Castle of Medina in Book II, so too the actions of canto xii deliberately draw comparison with the journey to and destruction of the Bower of Bliss. Book V, canto xii is the culmination of Artegall's quest to rescue Irena from the giant Grantorto and, in so doing, save the land from rebellion. Nevertheless, Spenser establishes three key points of difference between the events of Books II and V, each of which, I argue,

reflects the changing moral landscape of the poem. First, the enticing, erotic shoreline of Book II has become hostile by Book V; second, unlike Sir Guyon, who captures Acrasia alive, Artegall is forced to kill Grantorto; third, while Book II ends with a completed quest and moral certainty, Artegall's mission is unresolved and unleashes the moral uncertainty of the Blatant Beast. These three key differences mark a transformation in the poem's political, moral and literary identity, and are significantly charted in its coastal encounters.

As in Book II, the final canto of Book V begins with a sea-voyage and an arrival on a foreign coast. Spenser notes how Artegall 'came to the sea coast' (V.xii.4.1) in preparation for his journey to Irena's kingdom and how, having embarked on their voyage, in 'one day they with the coast did fall' (V.xii.4.6). It is at this point that Spenser introduces the first point of difference between the sea-voyages of Sir Guyon and Artegall. Where Sir Guyon was continually enticed to the shore by the allure of erotic distractions (the seemly maid, the mermaids etc.), Artegall encounters 'great hostes of men in order martiall, | Which them forbad to land, and footing did forstall' (V.xii.4.9). His arrival is immediately punctuated by the prospect of violence – he is not even given the chance to exercise temperate restraint but is compelled to enter combat upon first contact with the coast. In order to 'win the shore' (V.xii.58), Talus attacks the men and chases them away. This erosion of temperance (or even the opportunity to exercise temperance) is key to understanding the shifting ethical ground between Books II and V (from a focus on internal self-governance to external, judicial government). The shoreline of Irena's kingdom is appropriately the site upon which temperance is tested; however, the hostility that Artegall encounters makes the exercise of temperance an unrealistic, or at the very least impractical, virtue to uphold. That this transformation across the poem should be charted by repeated interaction with the shoreline reveals the extent to which Spenser relied upon his poetic landscapes to function as capacious political, ethical and literary spaces rather than simply passive topography.

Upon arriving on the shores of Irena's kingdom, Artegall meets the giant Grantorto, whom he kills with the sword Chrysaor – the same one used by Jove to subdue the Titans in the Giantomachy. Criticism has long identified Irena with the "peaceful Ireland" that Spenser

would like to inhabit and Grantorto as the "great wrong" that afflicts it in the form of Catholic interference and native hostility. If these political readings of the episode are well-known, what is perhaps less clearly appreciated is the ethical uncertainty that Artegall's killing of Grantorto presents. As I have noted, the Proem to Book V acknowledges the moral confusion that underpins the ethical framework of the book when it suggests that 'right is now wrong, and wrong that was right'. The killing of Grantorto on the surface appears like another expression of intemperate violence on the part of Artegall by comparison to Sir Guyon, who chose instead to capture Acrasia rather than execute her. This is precisely the accusation levelled at Artegall by Detraction at the close of the canto, when she accuses him of having stained his sword 'with reprochfull crueltie' and the 'guiltlesse blood of many an innocent' (V.xii.40.6,7). Speaking specifically of his treatment of Grantorto, she accuses Artegall of having slain him through 'treacherie' (V.xii.40.8). But Spenser has spent the entire book establishing that the temperance of Sir Guyon is no longer possible in this savage land – what was right is now wrong, and what was wrong is now right.

The conclusion to canto xii signals the final major deviation from the structure established in Book II. Where Sir Guyon's quest is completed with the destruction of the Bower of Bliss, Artegall's imperial project in Irena's kingdom is curtailed. We are informed that:

> But ere he could reforme it thoroughly,
> He through occasion called was away,
> To Faerie Court, that o necessity
> His course of Iustice he was forst to stay (V.xii.27.1-4)

Artegall's recalling to Gloriana's court clearly voices Spenser's own frustration that the generals sent to maintain order in Ireland were too often prevented from completing their objectives by being recalled to England. In particular, Spenser seems troubled throughout the poem by the treatment of his erstwhile employer in Ireland, Arthur Grey de Winton, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, with whom Artegall has often been associated since the earliest critical

studies of the poem.[87] If, as I have argued previously, the destruction of the Bower of Bliss was an attempt by Sir Guyon to return the land to its temperate, pre-inhabited state, then we discover that Irena's kingdom cannot be restored by the killing of Grantorto. Given the littoral context that Spenser has established throughout the Book and in comparison with the earlier narrative of the Knight of Temperance, it is highly significant that the final action of Book V should take place on the shoreline. We are told that Artegall 'had not passed far vpon the strand, | When as two old ill fauour'd Hags he met' (V.xii.28.3-4). These 'Hags', as already noted, are Envy and Detraction – two figures whose power of linguistic manipulation threatens to derail the narrative of Artegall's quest and introduce moral uncertainty to the conclusion of the poem. The introduction of Envy, Detraction and the Blatant Beast at the conclusion of the canto highlights the vulnerability of the Book's ethical framework. Despite the apparent success of Artegall's quest, when looking at the poem as a whole, the reader cannot escape the problematic nature of their accusations.

At this point in the poem, Spenser could leave the reader to muse over the ethical dilemmas that the book has introduced both to the wider framework of the poem and to our notions of the shoreline. However, there is one final twist that introduces a further layer of complexity to our reading. One would expect Artegall's encounter with Envy, Detraction and the Blatant Beast to result in the same sort of violent reaction that concluded all of his previous coastal encounters. Instead, in a wonderful moment of restraint, Artegall simply walks past them. In the final two stanzas of the book, Spenser describes how:

> And still among most bitter wordes they spake,
> Most shamefull, most vnrighteous, most vntrew,
> That they the mildest man aliue would make
> Forget his patience, and yeeld vengeaunce dew
> To her, that so false sclaunders at him threw.
> And more to make them pierce and wound more deepe,
> She with the sting, which in her vile tongue grew,
> Did sharpen them, and in fresh poyson steepe:
> Yet he past on, and seem'd of them to take no keepe.

[87] H. S. V. Jones, "Spenser's Defence of Lord Grey", *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1919), pp. 1-75; Henley (1928), pp. 139-41; Josephine Waters Bennett, "The Allegory of Sir Artegall in *F.Q.* V, xi-xii", *Studies in Philology* Vol. 37 (1940), pp. 177-200.

> But *Talus* hearing her so lewdly raile,
> And speake so ill of him, that well deserued,
> Would her haue chastiz'd with his yron flaile,
> If her Sir *Artegall* had not preserued,
> And him forbidden, who his heast obserued.
> So much the more at him still did she scold,
> And stones did cast, yet he for nought would swerue
> From his right course, but still the way did hold
> To Faery Court, where what him fell shall else be told. (V.xii.42-43)

At this final moment, when the imperial, ethical and literary concerns of the book are at the point of collapse, Artegall finds the inner temperance to continue walking and not 'swerue | From his right course'.

CONCLUSIONS

Coastal encounters, I have argued, are central to the allegorical architecture of the books of Temperance and Justice. This structural device was a significant innovation on the part of the poet, who had found no such sustained engagement with littoral geography in his great continental vernacular models Ariosto and Tasso. Creating a personal syncretism from the mythological landscapes of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid* and fusing this with the coastal concerns of a nascent Elizabethan empire, Spenser transformed the shoreline into a site potent with literary, political and moral significance. In Book II, Sir Guyon becomes an Aeneas-like figure, whose abnegation of the erotic distractions of the shoreline allows him to fulfil his imperial mission. By Books III and IV, a focus on the erotic distractions and sexual transgressions of Britomart, Florimell and Proteus complicates this earlier vision of the shoreline and begins a process in which the erosion of temperance requires external governance to resolve these erotic-imperial conflicts. By Book V, Artegall's savage dealing with a savage land introduces a new level of moral uncertainty to Spenser's littoral geography; this is repeatedly foregrounded by Spenser's poetic paralleling with the earlier events of Book II. At its conclusion, Artegall's imperial and moral framework is on the verge of collapse with the unleashing of the Blatant Beast.

In his analysis of allegory, space and the material world in Spenser's writing, Christopher Burlinson has argued that 'Spenser does not imagine locations within a coherent and continuous spatial plane; instead, the narrative of the *The Faerie Queene* presents a consecutive series of events tied to often discrete locations'.[88] To this effect, his reading of Spenser's landscapes offers a 'rejection of semiotic readings of space' as well as an earlier critical approach that 'sees intertextual allusions, political significance and symbolic meanings inscribed palimpsestically onto the landscape'.[89] Both of these claims deserve attention. The first seems to be a conscious critique of Wayne Erickson's attempt to 'map the geography of *The Faerie Queene*' and identify a coherent structure to the topography of Faery Land.[90] Burlinson, as many other readers have before him, finds it difficult to imagine a "cartographic" representation of Faery Land constructed from the chorographic movement of Spenser's characters through space. Spenser's depiction of the interrelation of space is simply too vague and chaotic to imagine that there is a coherent plan. The second seems in conflict with Angus Fletcher's theory of allegory, in which he suggests that the poet has the ability to layer symbolic meaning onto objects, in this case the landscape.[91] Here too, Burlinson seems to want to rescue the landscape itself from the layers of allegory – seeing it as an object of study in and of itself.

While this chapter demonstrates the difficulty of mapping a coherent and contiguous geography in *The Faerie Queene*, I am unwilling to conclude that each representation of the shoreline is an entirely discrete location disconnected from those that have been encountered before. Their connection is not only literal (in that a coastline is necessarily continuous) but also metaphoric (in that they are connected through their association with one another). Similarly, while I am sympathetic to the view that a palimpsestic overlay of symbolic meaning onto the landscape presents the risk of obscuring the landscape itself, I am unable to agree that intertextual allusions, political significance and symbolic meanings have no place in a critical

---

[88] Christopher Burlinson, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 29-30.
[89] *ibid*., p. 41.
[90] Wayne Erickson, *Mapping* The Faerie Queene*: Quest Structures and the World of the Poem* (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), p. 1.
[91] Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (London: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 70-146.

study of Spenser's use of space. As this chapter has demonstrated, the shorelines of Spenser's writing are sites of complex imperial, moral and literary reactions that, as a result of mutating pressures, undergo a series of changes as the poem progresses. In Chapter One, I explored the fluid ways in which early modern colonialism was imagined in the writings of Richard Hakluyt; in this chapter, I have identified how Spenser further problematises our notions of early modern coastal arrival by placing it into a complex matrix of classical and European vernacular literary traditions. Spenser's apparent absorption of Raleigh's model of colonial thinking provides us with another point of contact between the highly complex moral allegory of the poem and the political reality of the sixteenth century. Coastlines become, in this reading, a vital element of Spenser's poetics and are the product of the poet's curious position as an imperial interloper in a land that is somehow both foreign and domestic. As such, neither the literary models of Virgil nor Ovid can fully account for Spenser's coastal thinking, and what emerges in *The Faerie Queene* is an entirely new engagement with the shore that is the product of both personal and wider Elizabethan imperial ambitions.

Chapter 3.
Erotic Dido, Imperial Aeneas: Representation and Allusion to Virgilian Coastal Arrival on the Early Modern Stage from 1583-1612

> For we are strangers driven on this shore,
> And scarcely know within what Clime we are.
> – Christopher Marlowe[1]

In the previous chapter, I set out to show how Spenser moved the shoreline from the periphery to the center of the allegorical architecture of *The Faerie Queene*. The coast became a site of erotic-imperial conflict with an evolving sense of moral purpose in the topography of the epic-romance. Moving now to the stage, I want to consider how early modern dramatists used the shoreline as a meeting point for various forms of personal, national, and imperial identity. The nature of theatre (populated by people rather than obvious physical geography) places particular emphasis on these questions of personal identity, and the shoreline, as it exists in the play, becomes a point of contact or conflict between these forms of identification. In what is considered by many to be Christopher Marlowe's earliest play, *Dido, Queene of Carthage*, the shoreline prominently takes on this dramatic function, becoming the focal site for questions of identity as the drama's protagonists consider their status in relation to the land and each other.[2] Arriving shipwrecked on the shores of Carthage, Aeneas reveals his own, as well as his companions', unsettled social status by announcing that 'we are strangers driven on this shore, | And scarcely know within what Clime we are'. Performed by the Children of the Chapel at around the time the first edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* was being published, the

[1] Christopher Marlowe, "Dido, Queen of Carthage", ed. Roma Gill, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), vol. 1, Act II, Scene i, lines 42-43. Further references to this play are taken from this edition and shall be cited in the body of the text in the form Act, Scene, lines (eg. (II.i.42-43)).

[2] The traditional chronology of Marlowe's plays places *Dido, Queen of Carthage* as the playwright's first composition, and David Riggs describes *Dido* as 'evidently his earliest play', see David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber, 2004), p. 48. This chronology has been recently challenged in Martin Wiggins, "When did Marlowe write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?", *The Review of English Studies* New Series, Vol. 59, No. 241 (Sep., 2008), pp. 521-541. Wiggins suggests that the play was composed after the *Tamberlaine* plays and close to the writing of *Doctor Faustus* in 1588. This is an interesting reordering of the plays but one that does not impact the argument of this chapter since my conclusions about Marlowe's *Dido* are not bound by a strict dating of the play.

play was written and first staged in a cultural context that could easily identify questions of dynastic politics in the actions of Dido and imperialist ambitions in the voyaging of Aeneas.[3] By describing himself and his comrades as 'strangers' on Carthage's shores, Aeneas labels his party in precise legal and political language reflective of these domestic and imperialist questions. The Trojans are, quite literally, *extraneus*, translated by the legal theorist Edward Coke in 1618 as being a *'Stranger or Forraigner*' and defined as '*a subiect who is borne out of the land, that is the power or iurisdiction of the King*'.[4] Upon making contact with the coast of North Africa, Aeneas steps onto the land and thus enters the legal and political jurisdiction of Dido. In so doing, he is transformed from a sailor into a stranger.

Dramatic representations of Dido and Aeneas have a long history on the early modern English stage: from John Rightwise's Latin play performed before Cardinal Wolsey in 1527, to Edward Halliwell's lost tragedy of *Dido* performed before Elizabeth I at Cambridge in 1565; from William Croston's *The History of Aeneas and Queen Dido* staged in Chester in 1564, to William Gager's Latin play *Dido* put on in Christ Church College, Oxford in 1583. Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* enters this tradition by drawing together both Virgilian and Ovidian representations of the episode while simultaneously highlighting topical concerns for his Elizabethan audience. Marlowe asks his audience to consider how Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage prompts him to reflect upon his sense of personal and national identity. Furthermore, he asks us to ponder how this coastal arrival impacts Aeneas' and his audience's understanding of the geographical space that he is encountering. This chapter is primarily concerned with unpicking these questions and demonstrating how they are connected to a wider interest in the formation of national and imperial identity on the early modern stage. Much as the previous chapter situated Spenser's littoral concerns in a wider matrix of classical allusions, so too this chapter will explore the ways in which reference to classical literature provides the

[3] Emily C. Bartels identifies a 'Colonialist Discourse' in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, though she suggests that Marlowe is equivocal towards the notion of 'European supremacy', see Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 29-59.

[4] [my underlining] Edward Coke, *Fasciculus florum. Or A handfvll of flowers gathered out of the seuerall bookes of the Right Honorable Sir Edward Coke Knight and one of the Kings Maiesties most honorable councellours of estate* (London, 1612), fols. E2r-v.

model for dramatic considerations of coastal arrival. In particular, I want to show that early modern dramatists used the shoreline as a key meeting point for various forms of identity when dramatising the Dido and Aeneas episode taken from Books I-IV of the *Aeneid*. This chapter sets out to consider the ways in which the Dido and Aeneas episode was used by early modern dramatists to prompt reflections on the nature of overseas colonialism (in the context of Aeneas's arrival on a foreign shore) and dynastic politics (in the context of Dido's desire to marry and secure a line of succession). If the character of Aeneas is perpetually looking outwards towards the discovery of foreign territories, then Dido is simultaneously looking inwards at the preservation of her own nation. This same dualistic vision underpinned early modern English conceptions of its domestic and overseas imperialism and, I argue, played out in its engagement with literary representations of the shoreline.

The first half of this chapter will consider two plays directly dramatising the Dido and Aeneas episode: William Gager's *Dido* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage*. Both plays, I argue, are connected to wider questions of national identity and state formation: the first, by directly commenting on the proposed marriage between Elizabeth I and the Duke of Anjou; the second, by offering a more general consideration of Aeneas' status as a stranger on the shores of Carthage and his conflicted sense of national identity. I will show how Aeneas' status as a stranger in Carthage becomes an irreconcilable impediment to his continued stay in North Africa and impels him to continue his quest to Italy. This, I hope to demonstrate, is connected to wider enthusiasm and anxieties about early modern exploration and the supposed threat that immigration into England (and particularly London) posed to local identity. It is perhaps ironic, in the sixteenth century as now, that a desire to conquer the foreign "other" was simultaneously aligned to fears about the "other" arriving on England's own shores.

In the second half of the chapter, I will consider how the potency of the Dido and Aeneas episode in the early modern imagination, in particular (from the 1580s onwards) Marlowe's dramatisation of it, permeates plays that are not directly about these characters. In particular, I will explore two coastally located plays from the seventeenth century by William Shakespeare (*Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest*) that, I argue, rework aspects of the Dido

and Aeneas episode in order to consider overseas and domestic imperialism after the Stuart succession. I hope to demonstrate their connectedness to Marlovian representations of the Dido and Aeneas episode and reveal the ways in which Shakespeare reimagined the story to gesture towards alternative endings. In particular, I will show how Antony's preoccupation with Cleopatra's body rather than her land undermines Rome's imperial project in Egypt – this focus on the body is reflected in a corresponding confusion surrounding Antony's gender identity and his increasing feminisation. Outside of Egypt, Antony attempts to reclaim his masculine identity but upon making contact with the shoreline of Alexandria he is forced to decide whether he will be the "conqueror" (male) or the "conquered" (female) in the erotic-imperial politics of the Roman empire. Here, I argue, Shakespeare draws from Marlovian notions of sexual and imperial politics to consider what happens when his Aeneas-like character (Antony) is unable to resist the erotic allure of his Dido-like queen (Cleopatra). If my reading of *Antony and Cleopatra* focuses on the erotic-imperial politics of the play and the potential dangers of an imperial male submitting to a female, colonial vassal, then I hope to demonstrate how coastal arrival in *The Tempest* focuses instead on dynastic politics and the potential for erotic attachment to secure (rather than undermine) a nation's imperial ambitions. While both plays demonstrate a preoccupation with marriage, the successful union of Ferdinand and Miranda reimagines earlier traditions of the Dido and Aeneas episode, but one in which there is no longer a fatal separation at its conclusion but the possibility of a secure political future. Such a prospect, I will argue, should be seen in the context of the Stuart succession and James I's proposed union between Scotland and England that would, if it had been achieved politically, have encircled the island of Britain with a single, continuous shoreline. The object of my readings of these Shakespearean plays is not simply to map out Virgilian, Ovidian or Marlovian allusions but to demonstrate the ways in which the combination of these earlier treatments of the Dido and Aeneas episode provided literary models for considering these complex questions of personal, national, and imperial identity and how they intersect with the littoral geography of the plays.

I. 'WAST THOU NOT WRACKT UPON THIS LIBIAN SHOARE, | AND CAM'ST TO DIDO': THE POLITICS OF "STRANGENESS" IN GAGER'S AND MARLOWE'S DIDO PLAYS

In this first section of the chapter, I want to consider the ways in which Elizabethan dramatic representations of the Dido and Aeneas episode contributed to a cultural conversation about the politics of strangeness and questions of national and imperial identity. In particular, I want to show how Aeneas' arrival on the shoreline of Carthage is marked with anxieties about his relationship to the land. In my reading of William Gager's Latin play *Dido*, I will show how the shoreline acts as a metaphorical barrier between Dido and Aeneas, with Aeneas' status as a stranger in Carthage proving to be an irreconcilable impediment to his marriage to Dido. Gager's focus on the undesirability of a marriage between strangers in 1583, I will demonstrate, was occasioned by his opposition to Elizabeth I's potential marriage to the Catholic Duke of Anjou, which was not fully resolved until the Duke's death in 1584. This didactic treatment of the Dido episode by Gager differs, I argue, from that of Christopher Marlowe in *Dido, Queene of Carthage*. In Marlowe's play, the interplay of Virgilian and Ovidian representations of the Dido and Aeneas episode creates a more complex consideration of identity. While Marlowe's version of the Dido and Aeneas episode is not topical in the specific way that Gager's was, I will show how it ponders similar concerns about the politics of "strangeness", the Elizabethan succession, and the ambitions of colonial explorers. In order to give my reading necessary historical context, I will also consider the politics of strangeness from a political, legal and sociological sense and show how the dramatic transformation of London in the years leading up to Marlowe's play had a profound effect on the way his audience was likely to respond to the questions of national and imperial identity raised in it.

William Gager's Dido *and the Dangers of Foreign Marriage*

Representations of Elizabeth I as Dido were part of a long-standing literary tradition that began with her accession to the throne 1558 and continued even after her death in 1603.[5] In 1559, for example, John Aylmer responded to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* by reminding his own readers of how Dido successfully ruled in Carthage, while in a 1588 poem celebrating *Elizabetha Triumphans*, James Aske commended 'our Queen most *Dido*-like' in her noble resistance to foreign, Papist plots.[6] Nevertheless, if Elizabeth's association with Dido was evidence of her suitability to rule, it was also used to highlight her vulnerability to foreign suitors. This was certainly the case between 1579 and 1584 when the prospect of Elizabeth's marriage to the French Duke of Anjou appalled many in the court, particularly those who gathered around the Earl of Leicester. Providing entertainment for a visit to Christ Church, Oxford, on 12 June 1583 by a Polish Pfalzgraf, Albertus Alasco, the English jurist William Gager decided to rework the Dido and Aeneas episode in a way that appeared to comment directly on Elizabeth's marriage prospects. The use of the Latinate name of Elissa for Dido, employed elsewhere by writers such as Edmund Spenser in *The Shepheardes Calendar*, further compounds the allusion that Gager clearly intended to draw between the actions of his play and those of his monarch.[7]

Gager was not the first to imagine the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke in Virgilian terms. In a letter of 1579 from the Frenchman Antony Gosson de Wavrin to the English diplomat William Davison, Gosson celebrated the Duke's arrival in England as if it were the appearance of Aeneas at Carthage. In his letter, Gosson says that he wishes to:

---

[5] Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England", *ELH*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 31-59.

[6] John Aylmer, *An harborovve for faithfull and trevve subiectes agaynst the late blowne blaste, concerninge the gouernment of wemen* (London: 1559), fol. E4^{r}; James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (London, 1588), p. 25.

[7] For the use of the word Elissa and, more widely, the figure of Dido in commentary about Elizabeth (particularly by Spenser) see, Richard McCabe, "'Little booke: thy selfe present': The Politics of Presentation in *The Shepheardes Calendar*", eds. Howard Erskin-Hill and Ricahrd A. McCabe, *Presenting Poetry: Composition, Publication, Reception, Essays in Honour of Ian Jack* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 15-40.

> […] commend to you on this subject some verses of the divine Aeneid:
>
> > *Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgerc regna*
> > *Conjugio tali! gallm comitantibus armis*
> > *Anglica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!*
>
> I am the more glad to do this, that both on his father's and on his mother's side M. d'Alenon is related to him of whom this was sung; for as the poets and the ancient annals testify, from Aeneas are descended the Italians and from Francion his cousin, the son of Hector, the French.[8]

Gosson claims that the Duke was 'related to him of whom this was sung' (Aeneas) and updates Virgil's poetry to give the lines topical relevance – replacing 'teucrum' with 'gall[e]m' and 'Punica' with 'Anglica'.[9] In Gosson's comparison, the Duke becomes a martial figure who will raise England to new heights just as Dido had hoped that Aeneas would help to defend Carthage from her enemies. However, while Gosson celebrated the Duke's Aeneas-like qualities, others criticised him on the same grounds. A letter sent only a few months earlier from Jaques Roussel to Francis Walsingham compared the Duke to Aeneas in less flattering terms. Roussel described:

> Duke of Alenon, who is noted for perfidy and other lightnesses and vices in his desperate actions; talking of which they compare him to Aeneas in that when in despair he takes refuge with Dido.[10]

Here, the Duke is presented not as an imperial figure who will benefit England but as a treacherous scoundrel who 'takes refuge with Dido' when desperate, with the implication that he will then abandon her when the danger has passed. Both Gosson's and Roussel's readings are legitimate responses to Virgil's presentation of Aeneas in the *Aeneid* but offer radically different views of him. Perhaps it is precisely because of the variety of responses that can be elicited from the Dido and Aeneas episode that it became such an enduring motif during the

---

[8] 'What a city, my sister, what a realm will rise with such a marriage! With the command of the army of France, the English will soar with glorious deeds!' These lines, modified from their Virgilian original, come from the *Aeneid* 4.47-49.; Antony Gosson de Wavrin to William Davison, 22 August 1579, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Vol. 14 1579-1580*, ed. Arthur John Butler (London, 1904), pp. 43-52.

[9] 'Troy', 'France', 'Carthaginian', 'English'.

[10] Jacques Roussel to Francis Walsingham, 15 March 1579, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Vol. 13 1578-1579*, ed. Arthur John Butler (London, 1903), pp. 449-466.

early modern period. Ultimately, Gager's dramatic response falls in line with Roussel's version of the story and presents, in effect, a dramatisation of Sir Philip Sidney's view of 1580 that the proposed union would be 'an odious marriage with a stranger'.[11]

Gager's play is framed by coastal encounters, beginning in Act I with Venus describing how 'Ad littus illud ambulanti illi obviam | Tyriae sub ore virginis memet tuli' and concluding in Act V with the Chorus complaining of 'O devota ratis quae dedit advenam | His oris Phrygium'.[12] Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage, much as it would later in Marlowe's play, is used to highlight his strangeness in Dido's north African court. Venus informs us that when Aeneas is found on the shore, Dido will hold a banquet for 'exteris' – the 'strangers'.[13] Throughout the play, Gager's language firmly reinforces an opposition to "strangers" entering the country and especially the marriage bed. In the closing chorus of Act IV, for example, the audience is asked rhetorically: 'Cur documenta | Querimus extera?'.[14] Aeneas is 'extera', a stranger from out of this land, and thus is not to be trusted. This mistrust is justified when Dido rages in Act V that:

> Iam vela pandunt remiges, pontum secant
> Tyriumque nudant littus, Aeneas fugit.
> Proh sancte sancte Iupiter nunquam nimis
> Vocande, regnis advena illudet meis?[15]

It is surely not accidental that Gager transforms Aeneas from 'extera' to 'advena' after the Trojan sets sail from the shores of Carthage to seek Italy – his departure changes him from one who is from "out of this land" to one who "comes to" another. Aeneas' leaving is seen as a mocking gesture towards Dido's kingdom, and by 'Tyrium nudant littus' ('stripping the Tyrian shore bare') it is as if he has enacted a final topographical ravishment of the land – taking refuge

---

[11] Philip Sidney, *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), Vol. III, p. 58

[12] 'And I, disguised as a Tyrian maiden, put myself in his [Aeneas'] way as he walked along the shore.'; 'Oh, damnable ship which brought the Phrygian stranger to these shores'; William Gager, "Dido", in Gager (1994), Vol. 1, I.i.73-74; V.Chorus.1199-1200.

[13] *ibid*., Vol. 1, I.i.101.

[14] 'Why seek the advice of a stranger?'; *ibid*., Vol. 1, Chorus.7-8

[15] 'Now the oarsmen spread their sails, cutting deep into the sea and stripping the Tyrian shore bare; Aeneas flees. Oh sacred, sacred Jupiter, whom one cannot evoke too much, does this stranger laugh at my kingdoms?'; *ibid*., Vol. 1, V.ii.40-43

with Dido in his time of need and then abandoning her in much the same way that Roussel accused the Duke of Anjou of behaving.

Despite Gager's violent imagery of sexual ravishment, the playwright's sympathies do not lie fully with Dido. Instead, she is presented as a warning to any Queen who might make the mistake of allowing a stranger into her marriage bed. As if to confirm this, and to absolve himself of directly criticising Elizabeth through his comparison, Gager ends the play with an epilogue in which he notes that:

> Sed una longa, Elisa, te superat tamen.
> Regina virgo quot tulit casus pia!
> Quae regna statuit! Quam dat externis fidem!
> Dignata nullo coniuge Sichaeo tamen,
> Animumque nullus flectat Aeneas suum.[16]

Elizabeth is not found to have faulted in the manner of Dido – neither offering her trust to strangers ('externis') nor marrying them – though the emphatic manner in which Gager declares this certainly suggests his concerns at her potential to become the Elissa of his play. Gager's criticism of foreign intervention in English politics was long-standing and in a series of odes written in 1586 against treason and foreigners, he asks his fellow countrymen 'quaecunque nostra religio imbuit | mentes, Elisam preaeferat externo'.[17] In writing *Dido*, Gager declared his loyalties to the Leicester camp; it is perhaps no coincidence that he should have chosen this topic for his play after learning that the Earl of Leicester and his nephew Sir Philip Sidney would be amongst the Christ Church College audience after accompanying the Polish dignitary to Oxford.[18] By transforming Carthage and Dido into unrealised (though fearfully credible)

---

[16] 'But there is one, Dido, who surpasses you by far: our Virgin Queen. How many falls has she endured, in her piety! What kingdoms has she founded! To what strangers has she given her trust! She has not deigned to marry any Sychaeus, and no Aeneas may sway her mind!'; *ibid*., Vol. 1, V.Epilogue.28-32

[17] 'Whatever religion grips our mind, let it prefer Elisa to a foreigner', William Gager, "Ode 9", in Gager (1994), Vol. 3, pp. 48-49.

[18] On 13 May the Earl of Leicester, then Chancellor of the University of Oxford, wrote to the Vice Chancellor to inform him that 'the Queen's Majestie hath willed me to signifie unto you that the Palatin Lasky the nobleman that is nowe out of Polonia mindeth shortly to come downe to see the universitie of Oxford, and that her highnes pleasure therefore is that he be receaved of you with all the curtesy and solemnitie that you may. I minde myself to accompanie him thither: the time we appoint to be there shalbe on mondaye the xth daye of June, and there to remaine that daye all tuesdaye and all wednesdaye and on Thursdaye morning to depart. You must use all solemnitie of disputation, orations, and readings as you did at her majesties being with you [...] I doo thinke it fittest for him to lie in Christ Church.' See,

versions of England and Elizabeth, Gager's play looks inwards to the preservation of a Protestant dynastic line. Dido suffers not because of Aeneas' call to fulfill his imperial destiny but because she allows the stranger to arrive on the shores of her kingdom and seduce her in the first place – putting sexual gratification ahead of political expediency.

Gager's play was clearly highly occasional – it is the product of a perfect storm of political and religious anxieties, the pre-knowledge that specific individuals would be in attendance, and residual concern for a particularly mistrusted marriage proposal. If it ultimately concludes that Elizabeth has negotiated these pitfalls without compromising her political integrity then it does so at the expense of those that Gager deems to be strangers to her country. There is a latent xenophobic sentiment that does not disappear after the playwright confirms that this dystopian vision has not been realised in his own country. What is intriguing is that this conflict of identity should play out on the drama's shorelines – that "strangeness" should be the product of a coastal arrival on a land to which one somehow does not belong.

The Politics of Strangeness and the London Stage

Aeneas' transformation of identity on the shores of Carthage was not something that we see confined to the early modern stage. In an account from 1593, published in Hakluyt's second edition of the *Principal Navigations*, the sailor Henry May described a 'shipwracke vpon the isle of *Bermuda*' that caused him to become 'but a stranger among 50'.[19] For Henry May, adopting the status of stranger would have had significant legal and political implications, and for audiences watching Marlowe's play in London, the same would be understood for Aeneas. In a society that divided its population unapologetically into citizens, denizens, and strangers, Aeneas' categorisation as the last would have marked him as a third-class resident at the mercy of what Paul Raffield describes as the 'xenophobic predisposition' of English common law at

---

Earl of Leicester, Letter to Vice Chancellor (13th May 1583) British Library, ms. Twayne xvii, fol. 170. Gager would have known, therefore, that the Earl would be in attendance at the performance of his play, and he would have just under a month to prepare the text.

[19] Hakluyt, (1599-1600) Vol. 3, pp. 571, 573.

this time – a system that notably placed prohibitions on strangers inheriting or bequeathing land.[20] Popular sentiments were often hostile towards foreign-born residents, and in 1571 the citizens of London expressed their concern at 'the great numbers of strangers in and about this cytty'.[21] Popular xenophobia was often at odds with the Crown's sentiments, and during Elizabeth's reign, her Chancellor Lord Burghley was a strong advocate for the support and protection of exiled, Protestant communities settling in London.[22] While London continued to accommodate foreign aliens, tensions built to a high point again in the early 1590s, when concerns about Spanish threats to the English crown (such as the Lopez plot of 1593), as well as hostility towards growing European communities in London, brought with it an increasing intolerance towards foreigners from the native-born population.[23] On 5 May 1593, just three weeks before Marlowe's death, a letter of verse couplets signed 'Tamberlaine' was nailed to the walls of the Dutch churchyard in the Broadstreet Ward with the message: 'Weele cut you throtes, in your temples praying | Not paris massacre so much blood did spill | As we will doe iust vengeance on you all'.[24] The Marlovian resonances here are striking, with the reference to the 'paris massacre' (Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* had been first performed in January of

[20] In early modern England, the distinction between citizens, denizens, and strangers was significant, with the last often facing the most severe legal and economic restrictions. According to Jacob Selwood, 'status as denizen entered the recipient into a bond of allegiance with the monarch', although 'denization did not grant all of the rights of subjecthood', see Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 49. Of particular importance was the prohibition of strangers and denizens from inheriting land, as well as bequeathing land to children born before the date of denization. Paul Raffield notes in *Images and cultures of law in early modern England: justice and political power, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 63, that in 1612 Middle Temple legislation forbade 'any Gentleman to lodg any Stranger in his Chamber' (Dugdale, *Origines Jurisdiciales*, fo. 192.); for a discussion of the interaction between 'citizens' and 'foreigners' in early modern Europe, see James S. Amelang, "Cities and foreigners", eds. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume Two: Cities and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-7), pp. 42-55.; for a thorough examination of the stranger in Elizabethan drama, see Lloyd Kermode, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

[21] "A Complaynt of the Cytizens of London against the great number of strangers in about this cytty", S.P.D., *Elizabeth*, vol. 81, no. 29, in *Tudor Economic Documents*, eds. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1935), Vol. 1, p. 308.

[22] Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant communities in sixteenth-century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 295.

[23] Nina Levine, *Practicing the City: Early Modern London on Stage* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 89-90.; for a history of "strangers" in early modern London, see Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions an the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996), *passim*.

[24] Verse libel reprinted from a manuscript found in 1971 in Arthur Freeman, "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel", *ELR* 3 (1973), p. 51.

that year) as well as the signature 'Tamberlaine' (recalling Marlowe's two-part play from the late 1580s). While there is no suggestion that Marlowe actually wrote the letter, the Dutch libel initiated an investigation that brought Thomas Kyd and subsequently Marlowe to the attention of the authorities. Regardless of the true identity of the letter's author, the allusions to Marlowe's work perhaps indicates the extent to which the libelist may have been engaged by questions of national identity through the playwright's work.

In the theaters, plays, such as the collaboratively-authored *Sir Thomas More*, reflected upon this social disquiet by transposing contemporaneous unrest in London for the xenophobic May Day riots of 1517.[25] Meanwhile comedies, such as William Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money* (1598), set 'stranger merchants' in competition with local Londoners in pursuit of a merchant-usurer's daughters with predictably xenophobic consequences. London grew rapidly on the back of migration, and in the same year that Haughton wrote his comedy the chronicler John Stow complained bitterly in his *Survey of London* that the city was 'pesterd with people'.[26] The growth of migrant communities in London prompted a corresponding decline in the percentage of the city's population who could claim to be citizens.[27] With the population doubling in the twenty years to 1600 to around 200,000, London underwent a profound transformation, leaving space for topical theatrical experiences designed, according to Steven Mullaney, 'to resonate with an audience newly uncertain of its individual or collective identities'.[28]

---

[25] The anti-alien sentiments expressed in *Sir Thomas More* are perfectly encapsulated in Lincoln's belief that 'It is hard when Englishmen's patience must be thus jetted on by strangers, and they dare not to revenge their own wrongs' (I.26-29). According to John Jowett, it was this line that caught the censor Edmund Tilney's attention and which received his 'strongest hostilities', see William Shakespeare, Antony Munday and Henry Chettle, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011), p. 357.

[26] John Stow, *Survey of London* (London, 1598), Vol. I, p. 165.

[27] Steve Rappaport estimates that seventy-five percent of the adult male population of London were citizens in the early 1550s, falling to around fifty percent in the 1640s, in Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 53.

[28] Details of the city's population growth are found in A. L. Beir and Roger Finlay, "Introduction", eds. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 1-33.; Steven Mullaney, "Affective Technologies: Towards an Emotional Logic of the Elizabethan Stage", eds. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 74.

Marlowe would have neither seen nor read Gager's play, since it was never printed in his lifetime and remained in manuscript in the Christ Church library.[29] Connections between the two are, therefore, coincidental rather than deliberately allusive. Nevertheless, both playwrights clearly felt that the Dido and Aeneas episode provided a particular set of conditions that resonated with contemporary questions of national and imperial identity. As noted, Gager's *Dido* was a highly occasional piece, written in the knowledge that the Earl of Leicester, amongst other courtiers and dignitaries, would be in the audience. It is wrapped up in specific dynastic concerns that revolve around the highly contentious question of Elizabethan succession and in particular the prospects of a marriage to the Duke of Anjou – a topic that would have been keenly discussed amongst the coterie elite in attendance. If Gager's *Dido* was written for a highly specific occasion and with an obviously topical debate in mind, then Marlowe's play exists in a more uncertain theatrical space.

The performance history of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is far less clear than that of Gager's play. The title page of its 1594 publication states that it was 'played by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell'; however, the company had not performed in the Royal Chapel since their prohibition in 1576, whereupon they took up residence in the Blackfriars' monastery until its closure around 1583.[30] After that, it is probable that the company existed without permanent residence and performed on a more *ad hoc* basis. While the details of the play's performance history are uncertain, the fact that it was performed by a children's company offers us some insight into the sort of audience that may have been in attendance and some of the pressures that may have influenced Marlowe when writing.[31] While the Children of the Chapel may not have performed at court at this time, they may have offered private performances before gentlemen of

[29] Christ Church College, Oxford archives, ms. 486.
[30] Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* (London, 1594), in Marlowe (1987), Vol. 1, p. 115.
[31] The title page also states that the play was co-authored by Thomas Nashe. The question of Nashe's involvement in the project is not one that I want to address in this chapter and does not, I believe, impact the conclusions that I draw.

the four Inns of Court, for whom children's companies performed with some frequency around the turn of the century.[32] The Inns of Court gentlemen were more embedded in the mercantile world of early modern London than the average theatre-goer, and an interest in joint-stock companies and New World exploration was exemplified by Richard Hakluyt, the elder, a member of Middle Temple, and his younger, more famous, cousin.

If Gager's *Dido* focused primarily on the role of a female monarch, Marlowe's play is more even-handed in its treatment of both Dido's position as Queen and Aeneas' position as imperialist. As such, a critical discussion of the play must account not only for the domestic politics of Dido's Carthage but also the imperial, proto-colonial politics of Aeneas. As Lisa Hopkins has noted, the epic teleology of Aeneas' conquest of Italy earned him the status as the '*ur*-coloniser' in early modern literature and, as such, the character cannot escape being viewed through the prism of early modern exploration.[33] In Marlowe's treatment of the episode, the characters of Dido and Aeneas respectively carve out spaces to discuss the domestic and dynastic ambitions of a female ruler and the military and imperialist desires of a male settler. In my consideration of the play, I want to show how both of these "spaces" and the narratives of their respective protagonists are shaped by Aeneas' "strangeness" and the ways in which this is introduced through contact with the shoreline.

Throughout *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe's characters continually remind the audience and Aeneas of his status as a stranger. In the opening exchange between Dido and the prince, the queen asks, 'what stranger art thou, that dost eye me thus?' (II.i.74), to which Aeneas responds that 'sometime I was a Trojan, mighty queen' (II.i.75). Here Aeneas appears tacitly to accept the erosion of his old identity (he *was* a Trojan but is no more) and the implementation of his new status. As the play progresses, Aeneas' strangeness becomes a fundamental barrier to his acceptance by the North African populous. The jealous Iarbus repeatedly draws attention to this issue, even suggesting, in relation to Dido's increasing

[32] Bart van Es, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 196.
[33] Lisa Hopkins, "'And shall I die, and this unconquered?': Marlowe's Inverted Colonialism", *Early Modern Literary Studies* Volume 2, Issue 2 (1992), p.

affection for Aeneas, that 'Ile dye before a stranger have that grace' (III.iii.11).[34] There is clearly a pejorative and condescending tone to the use of this word that places Aeneas in contrast to those who are, in Iarbus' opinion, more deservedly citizens of the state. This contrast between citizen and stranger is foregrounded later in the play after Dido's pronouncement that her people must 'waite upon [Aeneas] as their soveraigne Lord' (IV.iv.69). Aware of the sensitivity surrounding this issue, Anna asks her sister 'what if the Citizens repine [at this]?' (IV.iv.70). Anna's focus on what the 'Citizens' will think, draws attention once again to Aeneas' strangeness, which she believes could be an obstacle to the local people's willingness to call him their Lord. Much as in Gager's play, Aeneas' "strangeness" is problematic with respects to Dido's monarchy; marriage risks alienating the citizenry and provoking further antagonism from local lords, such as Iarbus. Dido's desire to wed Aeneas is presented as a case of putting personal, perhaps even erotic, pleasure above the national interest.

Rather than focusing primarily on Carthage's potential ruin, as Gager does, Marlowe's play invites the audience also to consider the impact of Aeneas' "strangeness" on his own imperial ambitions. Aeneas' companion Achates tells Dido that '*Aeneas* for his parentage deserves | As large a kingdome as is *Libia*' (IV.iv.79-80), foregrounding the Trojan's own claims to a dynastic homeland. While Dido believes that Carthage can become that homeland, Aeneas is keenly aware that the kingdom that he is destined to found cannot be Libya itself. To do so would require Aeneas to shed the entirety of his identity to become, in Dido's eyes, '*Sicheus*, not *Aeneas* […] The King of *Carthage*, not *Anchises* sonne' (III.iv.59-60). Such a transformation is an anathema to Aeneas and, understanding that his status as a stranger in Carthage will forever remain an impediment to fulfilling his destiny to 'flourish *Priams* race' (IV.iv.87), Aeneas expresses his hope that one day he 'shall be planted in as rich a land' (IV.iv.82). Marlowe elicits his audience's sympathies by framing Aeneas' decision to leave Carthage in terms that would remind them of England's own imperial ambitions. His language draws the audience out of the mythopoetic, classical narrative, returning them to late sixteenth-

[34] Iarbus refers to Aeneas as a 'stranger' elsewhere at IV.ii.17 and V.i.279.

century London and its own ambitions, voiced in certain quarters, towards "planting" settlements in rich, exotic lands.

In response to Aeneas' talk of future settlement elsewhere, Dido bids him 'speake of no other land' (IV.iv.82). By this point in the play, however, Aeneas' departure has been confirmed to the audience and his destination made clear. In Act IV, scene iii, Aeneas bids farewell to the land by declaring:

> *Carthage*, my friendly host adue,
> Since destinie doth call me from thy shoare:
> Hermes this night descending in a dream,
> Hath summond me to fruitfull *Italy* (IV.iii.1-4)

The 'fruitfull *Italy*' that awaits him is yet another reminder of the imperial motivation that directed many of England's early explorers to the New World.[35] Having arrived as 'strangers driven on this [Carthaginian] shore', Aeneas and his followers prepare for their departure through that same littoral boundary by setting sail 'from [Carthage's] shoare'. A neat circularity brings Aeneas' contact with Dido's Carthage to a conclusion by returning him geographically to the point of his arrival. However, this is not the only littoral pairing that exists in the play. Aeneas' first contact with the shore is reported in the description of his escape from Troy. In a moving speech to Dido's court, Aeneas describes how:

> Then we got to our ships, and being abourd,
> *Polixena* cryed out, *Aeneas* stay,
> The Greekes pursue me, stay and take me in.
> Moved with her voice, I lept into the sea,
> Thinking to beare her on my backe abourde:
> For all our ships were launch into the deepe,
> And as I swomme, she standing on the shoare,
> Was by the cruell Mirmidons surprizd,
> And after by that *Pirrhus* sacrifizde. (II.i.280-288)

Aeneas' abandonment of Polyxena as he departs the burning wreckage of Tory prefigures his later rejection of Dido. Both women are left to die on the shoreline – one slain by Achilles' Mirmidons, the other by the flames of her own funeral pyre. However, before Aeneas' story can

[35] The word 'fruitfull' is used frequently in the account compiled by Richard Hakluyt to describe the potential riches of planting in the New World, see Chapter 1.

fully resolve, he must make contact with one final shore, that of Italy. Completing the littoral circularity that underpins the geography of this play, Aeneas determines to 'haste unto *Lavinian* shoare, | And raise a new foundation to old *Troy'* (V.i.78-79). It is only on the shores of Italy that Aeneas can carve a new identity for himself and his followers by building a New Troy out of the old – itself a subtle allusion to the Brute myth and the foundation of London as a Troynovant.[36] Aeneas' contact with these various shorelines is predestined, and his departure from Carthage ensures that he completes the gods' teleological progression for him from soldier to sailor, from sailor to stranger, and finally stranger to settler.

Marlowe's Coastal Geography

It is evident that the shoreline is a vital component of Marlowe's dramatic geography, and the playwright foregrounds its importance in the closing lines of the drama through a highly significant choice of quotation. Before throwing herself onto the pyre, Dido addresses the audience in Latin in one of only two direct quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid*. Noting the conflict that Aeneas' departure has ensured between Carthage and Rome, Dido curses:

> *littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas*
> *imprecor: arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotes:* [37]

In Richard Stanyhurst's 1582 translation of the first four books of the *Aeneid*, he offers an 'Englished' version of these lines as:

> Let shoare bee too shoars, let seas contrarye toe seas stand,
> And to armours, armours I do pray, let progenye bicker.[38]

[36] Allusions to a New Troy (Troynovant) deliberately recall the Brute myth, by which early chronicles such as William Caxton and Raphael Holinshed claimed the foundation of London to have been by a Trojan refugee Brute. Contemporary plays, such as *Locrine*, deal with the legendary Trojan founders of England and Troynovant. For a discussion of the mythologising of British national identities in the seventeenth century, see Lisa Hopkins, "We were the Trojans: British national identities in 1633", *Renaissance Studies* Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 36-51.

[37] These lines appear at V.i.310-11 in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and at IV.628-29 in the *Aeneid*.

[38] Stanyhurst (1582), p. 83; Thomas Phaer's 1573 translation *The whole .xii. bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill* renders the lines 'Let shore to shore, and streame to streame, be stil repugnant right. | This I desire, let them in armes and al their offspring fight' (Fol. Lii^{r}.); the Earl of Surrey's 1554 *The fourth boke of Virgill, intreating of the loue betweene Aeneas and Dido*, translates the lines 'Our costes to them contrary

While this translation helped to introduce the classical text to a late sixteenth-century readership, Stanyhurst does not quite capture the significance of the Latin original in his version – a significance that the classically accomplished Marlowe no-doubt had in mind when he selected these specific lines for inclusion in the otherwise vernacular play.[39] '*Littora littoribus contraria*', Dido says; the two shores stand "contrary", "opposite", "against" one another. The shoreline becomes a site of violence and destruction – the frontier of animosity between two city-states that would not be resolved historically until the second century BC and the destruction of Carthage. In quoting the *Aeneid*, Marlowe's Dido and Virgil's Dido collapse into one character at the very moment of her self-destruction; the weight of history presses down upon her, and her final line ('*sic sic juvat ire sub umbras*' (V.i.313)) fittingly locates her between two worlds – the living and the dead, the historical and the present.[40] She, like the shorelines that she describes, has become a liminal entity between two competing forms of identity.

The apparent transformation of the shore into a violent geographical space for Dido confirms the destructive nature that it already represented for Aeneas. Although Dido believes that Aeneas speaks 'like a Conqueror' (IV.iv.93) in Carthage, his arrival was one of misfortune and accident rather than of a conquering or colonising lord. Indeed, for Aeneas and his men, coming to Carthage was an act of survival rather than deliberate arrival, with their ships having been wrecked along the North African coast. Aeneas' companion Cloanthus describes their fate during their original voyage in search of the shores of Italy:

---

be they for aye, | I craue of God, and our streames to theyr fluddes, | Armes vnto armes, and of spryng of eche rate.' (Fol. Diii[r])

[39] Roma Gill suggests that Marlowe's play does not engage with any translations or commentaries of the *Aeneid* that were prevalent throughout the sixteenth century (see note above), Roma Gill, 'General Introduction to *Dido, Queen of Carthage*', in Marlowe (1987), Vol. 1, pp. 115-20; this is challenged by Sheldon Brammall, who notes that portions of Marlowe's text (notably III.iv) have no basis in the Virgilian original but were mediated through medieval and early modern sources, see Sheldon Brammall, "'Sound this angrie message in thine eares": Sympathy and the Translation of the *Aeneid* in Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 270 (2013), pp. 383-402.

[40] Virgil's line translates as 'Thus it helps to go into the shadows' [my translation].

> […] suddenly gloomie *Orion* rose,
> And led our ships into the shallow sands,
> Whereas the Southerne winde with brakish breath,
> Disperst them all amongst the wrackfull Rockes:
> From thence a fewe of us escapt to land,
> The rest we feare are foulded in the flouds. (I.ii.26-31)

The 'shallow sands' and 'wrackfull Rockes' of Libya's shores are inimical to the Trojan host, and those living on them – the 'barbarous sort' who 'will not let [them] lodge upon the sands' (I.ii.34,35) – are no more welcoming. In fact, it is Dido alone amongst the Carthaginians who praises the 'happie sand that made him [Aeneas] runne aground' (IV.iv.94-95). If Aeneas is made to feel a stranger in Carthage, then it is in part because he is not allowed to forget that he is a shipwreck survivor who is obliged to remain grateful to his host. It is on this precise point that Dido chastises Aeneas as he prepares to depart, asking 'wast thou not wrackt upon this *Libian* shoare, | And cam'st to *Dido* like a Fisher swaine?' (V.i.161-62).[41] Dido believes that Aeneas owes her a fealty of love – as if by washing up on her shores Aeneas becomes a *wreccum maris* and her rightful property claimed from the sea. By feeding and clothing Aeneas, Dido suggests that the prince owes her a debt of loyalty; this is seemingly shattered by his sudden departure. In a highly symbolic act of destruction, Dido puts to the flame 'the garment which I cloath'd him in, | When first he came on shoare' (V.i.298-299). Where Gager described the shores of Carthage left stripped bare by Aeneas' departure, Marlowe unwittingly reverses this metaphorical divestment by having Dido literally burn the Trojan prince's clothes. Though abandoned, Marlowe's Dido is not the ravished victim of Gager's play but a more active participant in the play's violent denouement. Aeneas, who was forced to strip away his Trojan identity upon arrival upon the shore, is divested (one final time) of his status as a 'stranger' with the removal and destruction of these Carthaginian clothes.

[41] This is quite unlike Gager and Virgil's Dido, who does not take possession of Aeneas on the shore but offers up her kingdom to him instead – a kind of reverse *wreccum maris*. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil's Dido cries out: 'eiectem litore egentem, | excepi, et regni demens in parte regni locavi' (IV.373-374 ['I received this outcast on the shore and madly established him in a share of my kingdom']). Gager's play follows this model closely, with Dido lamenting: 'Ego hunc egentem, littore eiectum meo | Patriaque pulsum nuper accepi, at malis | Tot me levamen, denique et regnum dedi' (IV.ii.852-854 ['This outcast, exiled from his lands and thrown onto my shore, I lately accepted. I gave all of myself to relieve his misfortunes and finally gave him my kingdom]).

Since it was a shipwreck that brought Aeneas to Dido, it is fitting that Dido curses one further shipwreck upon her former love as he abandons her. In her final speech to Aeneas, Dido first accuses her lover of 'creeping from the shoare' like a 'Serpent' (V.i.165) – an image that, perhaps, recalls the beast that killed Laocoön in Troy – before calling upon him to:

> Goe goe and spare not, seeke out *Italy*,
> I hope that that which love forbids me doe,
> The Rockes and Sea-gulfes will perform at large,
> And thou shalt perish in the billowes waies (V.i.169-172)

Dido asks that the 'Rockes' and 'Sea-gulfes' of the Italian shore will 'perform' the shipwreck that will drown Aeneas; she hopes that it will be the final unseen Act to complete the tragedy of her life. Marlowe's use of the word 'perform' at this key moment in the play foregrounds the ways in which the littoral geography of the play becomes, in a sense, a stage upon which identity is acted out as well as the space in which the play will be completed.[42] For Dido, the identity performed on the shoreline is of a female monarch, who is caught between the desire to re-marry (thereby having the opportunity to provide an heir to her throne and ensure dynastic succession) and remain chaste (thereby preserving the integrity of her sovereignty from foreign influence). For Dido, as for Elizabeth I, gender was itself an act of performance that constantly threatened to destabilise her monarchy. For Aeneas, the identity performed on the shoreline is of an imperialist arriving at a land he cannot conquer. Even if he were to marry Dido, Aeneas' status as a stranger would make his position almost untenable in the eyes of both the Carthaginian citizens as well as his own Trojan companions. Aeneas' imperial ambitions can only be revived once he departs from Carthage's shores and, in so doing, discards his "strangeness".

[42] See the etymology of "perform" in the Latin "performare" ("to carry out").

II. 'DIDO AND AENEAS SHALL WANT TROOPS AND ALL THE HAUNT BE OURS': THE SPECTRE OF MARLOWE'S DIDO, QUEENE OF CARTHAGE IN THE SEXUAL AND IMPERIAL POLITICS OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

In the previous section, I have shown the ways in which Gager and Marlowe used the Dido and Aeneas episode in order to introduce political topics that may have resonated with the concerns of their respective audiences. In particular, I wanted to demonstrate the bifurcated focus of Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage*, which seems interested in both the problematic nature of female monarchy and the politics of strangeness that complicated Aeneas' imperial ambitions. In this section, I want to consider how Marlowe's play informed the sexual and imperial politics of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.[43] I will focus specifically on the ways in which coastal arrival in Egypt places pressure on the personal, national and imperial identity of Antony. In particular, I will examine the ways in which gender and imperialism intersect and how Antony's feminisation and even emasculation (as he oscillates across the Alexandrian shoreline between the Egyptian and Roman worlds) is used to illustrate dramatically a process of de-Romanisation and imperial failure.[44]

The dramatic influence of *Dido, Queene of Carthage* reverberates through Shakespeare's writing. Direct references to Dido in Shakespeare's plays cluster around the years immediately after 1594, suggesting a certain fascination with the Dido encounter in Marlowe's play, which was first printed in that year. We find references to Dido, for example, in *Titus Andronicus* (II.ii.22, V.iii.81), *Romeo and Juliet* (II.iv.xx), and *The Merchant of Venice* (V.i.9-12). In the last of these, Lorenzo invites comparison with the Venetian evening by suggesting that:

---

[43] Criticism connecting these two plays has been long-standing; for early studies see, T. P. Harrison, "Shakespeare and Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*", *The University of Texas Studies in English* Vol. 35 (1956), pp. 57-63; Janet Adelman, *The Common Liar: An Essay on* Antony and Cleopatra (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 177-183.

[44] Christopher Highley has noted, particularly in the writings of Edmund Spenser, how the word 'degendered' is used to denote moral degeneracy. The threat of castration by Irish rebels also caused sufficient anxiety to English colonist, who remembered the Earl of Essex's warning that the Irish dismembered their captives by 'cut[ting] off their privy parts'. See Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 101, 197.

> 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. (V.i.9-12)

The gentle eroticism of Lorenzo's comparison clearly places it outside of Virgil's more aggressive conclusion and into Ovidian territory, where in the *Heroides* Dido is given time to reflect upon Aeneas' departure and to pine for his return before her ensuing suicide. A combination of Ovidian eroticism and Virgilian imperialism underpins Marlowe's version of the Dido and Aeneas episode and is key to understanding the ways in which Shakespeare responded to the story in his own writing.

J. B. Steane concluded from his comparative reading of Shakespeare and Marlowe that 'Shakespeare had a copy of [Marlowe's] *Dido* or knew it well, that the memory remained with him as late as *The Tempest*, and that few contemporary plays moved his more than this'.[45] More recently Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith have suggested that Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* remained a preoccupation for Shakespeare throughout his career and that 'when the Shakespeare canon refers to Dido, one has to suspect a source in Marlowe as much as a source in Virgil'.[46] Charles Martindale has usefully characterised Shakespeare's use of classical sources as 'a matter of complex, fragmentary refractions more than a fully organised, head-on response'.[47] This assessment, I believe, can be extended to the way in which Shakespeare deploys his reading of Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* from the 1590s onwards. What we find is not a direct mapping of "source" into "text" but a series of "refractions" that are generative of new (and, at times, unexpected) conclusions. In my reading of *Antony and Cleopatra*, I want to identify points of contact between the two plays and demonstrate how Shakespeare used the Dido and Aeneas episode (as mediated through his reading of Marlowe) to consider the dangers of a male, imperial figure becoming subordinate to a foreign, female ruler.

---

[45] J. B. Steane, *Marlowe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 55.
[46] Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith, "What is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read his Marlowe", *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 68 (Shakespeare, Origins and Originality), pp. 28-29.
[47] Charles Martindale, "Shakespeare and Virgil", in Martindale and Taylor (2004), p. 102

What seems fundamental to this consideration, and which has been absent from critical comparisons of these plays, is the transformation of "strangeness". If Marlowe's play obsessively focused on the strangeness of Aeneas in Dido's court, then Shakespeare reverses the emphasis by considering the foreignness of Cleopatra in a fundamentally Roman world. The erotic-imperial conflict that Antony undergoes forces him to confront this foreignness – he must either conquer it or be conquered by it. Ultimately, his contact with the Alexandrian coast erodes his Roman identity as he increasingly assimilates with the foreignness of Cleopatra's Egypt. In this section, I want to see how Shakespeare dramatises this shifting identity by oscillating Antony between various binaries: on the one hand, there is his male, imperial and Roman identity; on the other hand, his female, colonised and Egyptian identity. The Alexandrian coastline becomes the boundary between these binaries and, as Antony moves back and forth across it, we find his sense of identity placed under increasing pressure. In particular, I want to consider how Shakespeare foregrounds Marlovian notions of Aeneas' feminisation in Carthage to show how Antony has become emasculated and consequently de-Romanised because of his prolonged stay in Egypt.

Questions of Gender in the Erotic-Imperial Conflict of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra

Questions of gender identity in *Antony and Cleopatra* have been increasingly foregrounded in recent criticism.[48] Coppélia Kahn, for example, has focused on how the rivalry between Antony and Octavian is presented in terms of gender and problematises Antony's suicide as the product of a complex nexus of cultural expectations around masculinity.[49] Meanwhile, Alan Sinfield has suggested that the play's outward displays of effeminacy (such as Antony's cross-dressing) are compounded by the real emasculation of Antony allowing Cleopatra to determine the conduct

[48] See, for example, Jocye Green MacDonald, "Antony's Body", *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 19 (2009), pp. 1-23;
[49] Coppélia Kahn, *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, wounds and women* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 110-143.

of the war with Octavian.[50] For both critics, we find gender and imperialism intersecting in interesting ways – with the outward expression of gender often used as a visible, theatrical representation of the imperial ambitions or abilities of a character. Interestingly, this same combination of imperial duty and emasculation-anxiety is something that we find in Marlowe's depiction of Aeneas in *Dido, Queene of Carthage*. While I have so far focused mainly on the imperial aspects of Marlowe's play, I want now to introduce some analysis of its Ovidian eroticism and demonstrate how Shakespeare used this framework to explore the erotic-imperial conflict at the heart of *Antony and Cleopatra*. As Goran Stanivukovic has pointed out, Ovidian depictions of the body in early modern literary frequently interweave themes of 'sexuality, power, and nation building'.[51] The fact that the fluidity and fragility of gender, power and imperial destiny should play out in moments of coastal arrival is entirely in keeping with the kinds of metaphoric porousness that I have identified already in literary depictions of the shore.

The eroticism of Marlowe's play is evident from the opening scene. The drama opens not in Carthage but the home of the gods, where we see 'Jupiter dandling Ganimed upon his knee' (I.i) and making flirtatious comments to one another. As their conversation proceeds, an underlying sexual conflict between Juno and Ganymede for Jupiter's affections becomes apparent, and Venus chastises the king of the gods for:

> toying there,
> And playing with that female wanton boy,
> Whiles my *Aeneas* wanders on the Seas (I.i.50-52)

In becoming the object of Jupiter's affections, Ganymede (who, we should remember, was Trojan himself) becomes a 'female wanton boy' – his gender is confused by the seemingly homoerotic relationship with Jupiter. Furthermore, by focusing his attention on an erotic attachment to one Trojan, Jupiter is accused by Venus of ignoring the imperial ambitions of another. This conflict between the erotic and the imperial (as seen in my reading of Spenser's

[50] Alan Sinfield, *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality: Unfinished Business in Cultural Materialism* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 103-104.
[51] Goran Stanivukovic, "Introduction", *Ovid and the Renaissance Body*, ed. Goran Stanivukovic (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001), p. 4

shorelines) begins in Marlowe's play with Jupiter and Ganymede and continues into the story of Dido and Aeneas. However, the threat is not simply that Aeneas will pursue erotic attachment to Dido and thereby ignore his imperial destiny, but that, in doing so, his gender identity will (much as Ganymede's) be eroded. Sensing the threat to Aeneas' masculine identity, Achates reminds Aeneas that staying in Carthage:

> is no life for men at armes to live,
> Where dalliance doth consume a Souldiers strength
> And wanton motions of alluring eyes,
> Effeminate our minds (IV.iii.33-36)

Moments later, Illioneus compounds this assessment by reminding the Trojans of their duty to 'builde a Citie of our owne, | And not stand lingering here for amorous lookes' (IV.iii.38-39) – the implication being that Aeneas must decide between the binary of male imperialism or female eroticism. Aeneas takes heed of his companions' words and, resolving to leave, commits no longer to endure 'this female drudgerie' (IV.iii.55) of erotic attachment. If Aeneas' short time in Carthage has already threatened to 'effeminate' his mind, then what are the logical extremes of such a stay? This question is at the heart of *Antony and Cleopatra*, where Antony's repeated arrival on the shores of Alexandria continually erodes his masculine identity and, in so doing, forfeits his imperial control over the land. Indeed, after abandoning his new wife Octavia and returning to Egypt, Caesar remarks of Antony that 'Cleopatra hath | Nodded him to her. He hath given his empire | Up to a whore' (III.vi.66-68). It is in Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* that, I argue, Shakespeare found inspiration for the erotic-imperial conflict of *Antony and Cleopatra*; furthermore, the de-gendering of Antony during the play acts as a kind of literary response to the question of how far will a supplicant Aeneas-like figure become 'effeminate' in the hands of a North African, Dido-like queen.

In the opening act of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the Egyptian queen comments directly on Antony's gender, declaring him to be 'my man of men' (I.v.74). This seems to be unequivocal in its praise of Antony's masculinity, placing him above all other men and, in particular, Caesar, with whom he is being most directly compared. What has seemingly gone unrecognised in

critical considerations of this phrase, however, is that Shakespeare is directly quoting Marlowe. In Act III of *Dido, Queene of Carthage*, Iarbus describe Aeneas ironically as 'that man of men' (III.iii.26) – the sarcastic hyperbole of the phrase undercutting Aeneas' masculinity rather than reinforcing it. In Act I, scene v of *Antony and Cleopatra*, when Cleopatra praises her lover in such terms, Antony has already left Egypt and set sail for Italy. By quoting Marlowe in this way, Shakespeare not only presents Antony in Aeneas-like terms but also forces the audience to question the stability of his masculinity. Will he stay in Rome and thereby regain the identity of a masculine imperialist or will he return and continue the feminising erosion of his gender identity in Egypt?

The feminisation that Antony has undergone on the Alexandrian shores is a key point of concern for his fellow Romans. In the very next scene, Caesar is introduced for the first time in the play and in his opening speech comments on this point:

> From Alexandria
> This is the news: he fishes, drinks, and wastes
> The lamps of night in revel; is not more manlike
> Than Cleopatra, nor the Queen of Ptolemy
> More womanly than he (I.iv.3-7)

Caesar suggests that Antony and Cleopatra have reversed their gender roles – Antony is clearly 'more womanly' and Cleopatra 'more manlike' than is acceptable. Echoing the language used in praise of Antony by Cleopatra, Caesar notes that he is 'a *man* who is the abstract of all faults | That all *men* follow' ([my italics] I.iv.9-10). Antony is, according to Caesar, a "man of men" but one who exceeds his peers in fault not virtue. This excess – the kind of intemperance that I analysed in the previous chapter – is associated with femininity and further compounds the apparent erosion of Antony's masculine identity. This is problematic for Caesar, Lepidus and the imperial prowess of Rome, since Antony is in control of a third of the empire and thus, as Caesar notes, 'we do bear | So great weight in his lightness' (I.iv.24-25). This weight is exacted on the Mediterranean coastline in the form of Pompey and his comrades Menecrates and Menas; these latter two are described as 'famous pirates' (I.iv.49), who harry the 'borders maritime' [shorelines] (I.iv.52) of the Roman Mediterranean. In effect, Antony's erotic encounters on the

Egyptian shoreline cause a corresponding imperial crisis on the Italian coast. This problem is, ultimately, only resolved once Caesar has restored Roman, imperial control over what Antony later describes as the 'sea-side' (III.xi.20) of Rome's Mediterranean empire.

Throughout the play, Shakespeare offers hints as to the ways in which Antony's masculinity has been eroded during his stay with Cleopatra. In a striking allusion to Hercules' subjugation at the hands of Omphale, Cleopatra recalls how she dressed him in her clothing:

> O times!
> I laughed him out of patience, and that night
> I laughed him into patience, and next morn,
> Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed,
> Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst
> I wore his sword Philippan. (II.v.18-23)

The dressing of Antony in Egyptian clothes recall the same costuming of Aeneas in Carthaginian clothes in Marlowe's play. However, Shakespeare takes this one step further. At the same time as Cleopatra dresses Antony in her 'tires and mantles', the queen commits a kind of symbolic emasculation by taking and wearing his sword – removing Antony's ability to conquer her (with its sexual and imperial resonances) and thereby conquering him. This power-exchange is confirmed at the mid-point of the play when Antony admits to Cleopatra that:

> You did know
> How much you were my conqueror, and that
> My sword, made weak by my affection, would
> Obey it on all cause. (III.xi.65-68)

Antony's sword (with all of its erotic as well as imperial implications) has been 'made weak' by his affection towards Cleopatra and ultimately becomes hers to control. In an Egyptian court filled with eunuchs, Antony's symbolic emasculation reduces him to the status of a servant rather than a social equal of Cleopatra. Enobarbus reminds Cleopatra that ''tis said in Rome | That Photinus, an eunuch and your maids | Manage this war' (III.vii.13-15) – from the Roman perspective, at least, there is seemingly not a single true man in command of the Egyptian forces.

Antony's emasculation reaches a high point at the moment of his suicide. Rowland Wymer has noted that by the time *Antony and Cleopatra* was first staged 'suicide had become one of the ways of defining Roman mores and Roman character in the theatre'.[52] Antony's inability to commit suicide – protracting his death over multiple scenes and even asking his soldiers to complete the job – demonstrates just how far his Roman identity has been eroded. His sword, for a long time unable to impose Rome's imperial control over Egypt, is now not even sufficient to take the life of its master. Cleopatra attempts to console her lover by suggesting that 'none but Antony | Should conquer Antony' (IV.xv.17-18) but this we already know is not the case, as Antony himself has admitted. For his own part, Antony hopes to be remembered for his courage, his nobility and, in particular, his Roman identity, but his description of his own death as a 'Roman by a Roman | Valiantly vanquished' (IV.xv.59-60) places uncomfortable pressure on his self-identification as a "Roman". Ultimately, Antony is left with a gaping 'wound' (V.i.25) in his body – a symbolic reminder of the feminising transformation that he has undergone during the course of the play.

Shakespeare foregrounds Antony's emasculation across the course of the play in order to highlight the problems that this causes to his position as imperial legislator in Egypt; Roman control over the colonial territory of Egypt erodes as Antony's "Romanness" (dramatised through gender identity) becomes increasingly unstable. At the same time that Shakespeare dramatised the loss of imperial control in Alexandria as a kind of castration, a New English settler in Ireland, Barnabe Rich, was imploring the English imperial authorities to imitate 'the *Egyptians*' and castrate Irish rebels.[53] He hoped that the '*Eunuches of Ireland*' would soon outnumber their intact brethren and a process of eradicating the bloodline would ensue.[54] Anxieties around English colonists losing their imperial focus in the face of the erotic allure of the colonial "other" were longstanding. Indeed, it was an important aspect of my consideration of Spenser's coastal geography in the previous chapter and will occupy me in the next when dealing with imperial parody. Andrew Hadfield has rightly noted that during the early modern

[52] Rowland Wymer, *Suicide and despair in the Jacobean drama* (Brighton: Harvester, 1986), p. 134.
[53] Barnabe Rich, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610), p. 23.
[54] *ibid*., p. 23.

period 'there were no attempts to establish colonies on the far shores of the Mediterranean, showing that the relationship between Englishmen and Muslims was simply not the same as that between Englishmen and native Americans'.[55] Nevertheless, Shakespeare's audience must still have identified aspects of England's renewed colonial interest in the Americas and continued investment in Ireland in Rome's imperial project in Egypt. However, much as I was hesitant to map Spenser's poetic geography directly onto early modern Irish or American colonial spaces, I do not propose here to suggest that "Egypt" is "Ireland" or "America" in the imperial politics of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Instead, I hope to have highlighted the literary nexus that brought questions of imperial and sexual politics to Shakespeare and how they intersect with more general concerns around contemporary colonial ventures. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I believe, responds to the dangers of male effeminacy raised by Marlowe in *Dido, Queene of Carthage* and demonstrates the pressures that this placed on Antony's ability to fulfill his imperial mission in Egypt. Ultimately, Scarus' assessment that Antony 'kissed away | Kingdoms and provinces' (III.x.7-8) is the most succinct diagnosis of what happens when the colonialist fails to negotiate the erotic-imperial conflicts of the shoreline.

Imperial Conflict in the Coastal Waters of Antony and Cleopatra

The coasts of *Antony and Cleopatra* are, as I have argued, connected to the play's gender politics by acting as a point of separation between the binary identities of the male, imperial, Roman world and the female, colonised, Egyptian world. As Antony oscillates across the shorelines of Alexandria (interacting with the Roman world and Egyptian world respectively) his sense of personal, national and imperial identity is placed under pressure. Before concluding my analysis of the play, I want also to show briefly how Shakespeare simultaneously invests the coast with imperial importance in the form of sea-battles. Leeds Barroll has highlighted the fact that early modern sea-battles (much like their classical counterparts) were fought in sight of the

[55] Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages & Machiavels: Travel & Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 119.

land and very often in close proximity to the shoreline – this, he suggests, was well-understood by dramatists hoping to stage such conflict in the early modern theatre.[56] Perhaps the most famous such sea-battle, still in living-memory for many of Shakespeare's audience, was the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The littoral significance of the defeat of the Armada remained in the cultural imagination through the seventeenth century, not only in the famous Tilbury speech given by Elizabeth I in anticipation of the encounter, but also in the scores of Spanish ships wrecked on the Irish coast as they attempted to circumnavigate the British Isles to escape back to Spain. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, the Battle of Actium, a pivotal moment in classical history and also occupying a central position in the early modern play, highlights this naval tradition. Indeed, Enobarbus is commanded to watch the sea-battle from 'yond side o'th'hill' (III.ix.1) where 'we may the number of the ships behold | And so proceed accordingly' (III.ix.3-4). In effect, Enobarbus is positioned on a coastal clifftop, giving him sufficient vantage to observe the sea-battle below.

If Antony's arrival at and prolonged stay on the shores of Alexandria has eroded his masculine, imperial and Roman identity, then the Battle of Actium is held up as evidence in the play of the imperial consequences of this transformation. In anticipation of the battle, Antony, Cleopatra, Canidius and Enobarbus discuss the possible ways to meet Octavian's forces. Antony informs the generals that 'we | Will fight with him by sea' (III.vii.27-28), with which Cleopatra concurs, saying 'by sea – what else?' (III.vii.27). Enobarbus informs Antony that to meet Octavian at sea would prove advantageous only to their enemies, noting that:

> Your ships are not well manned,
> Your mariners are muleteers, reapers, people
> Engrossed by swift impress. In Caesar's fleet
> Are those that often have 'gainst Pompey fought;
> Their ships are yare, yours heavy. No disgrace
> Shall fall you for refusing him at sea,
> Being prepared for land. (III.vii.34-40)

[56] Leeds Barroll, "Mythologizing the Ottoman: *The Jew of Malta* and *The Battle of Alcazar*", ed. Goran V. Stanivukovic, *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 121; see also, John F. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys:changing technology and Mediterranean warfare at sea in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), Chapter 1.

This wise counsel falls on deaf ears, however, and Antony responds only by parroting Cleopatra's earlier words – 'by sea, by sea' (III.vii.40). The various parties disagree as to which side of the shoreline they should conduct their battle – the "Romans" advising the land and the "Egyptians" the coastal waters off Actium. Moments later a Roman soldier rushes in and likewise advises Antony 'do not fight by sea' (III.vii.61), reminding him that 'we | Have used to conquer standing on the earth' (III.vii.64-65). Again, this does not move Antony to reconsider his plans and he further aligns himself with the "Egyptian" rather than "Roman" camp. After the departure of Antony, Cleopatra and Enobarbus, the general Canidius feels able to speak freely and informs the solder that 'our leader's led, | And we are women's men' (III.vii.69-70). Cleopatra's insistence that the fight happen 'by sea – what else?' is the only advice that Antony will apparently heed – this his men now know all too well.

The Battle of Actium itself proves to be Antony's final undoing. In attempting to meet the Roman fleet with Cleopatra's Egyptian ships, Antony finds himself no match for the imperial and martial prowess of Octavian. As the fleets clash, Antony flees the slaughter and Scarus (watching from the shoreline) describes how 'I never saw an action of such shame. | Experience, manhood, honour, ne'er before | Did violate so itself' (III.x.22-24). Having ignored the advice of his men, Antony attempted to regain his "manhood" by meeting Octavian at sea; in abandoning his fleet and returning to the shore, Antony desecrates his "manhood" one final time. This, Antony himself acknowledges as he steps back onto the shoreline when he announces: 'Hark! The land bids me tread no more upon't; | It is ashamed to bear me' (III.xi.1-2). Though Antony did not perish at sea, his reputation and honour have been sunk. Enobarbus emphasises this predicament when reflecting on how, like rats abandoning a sinking ship, Antony has become 'so leaky | That we must leave thee to thy sinking' (III.xiii.67-68). Enobarbus' choice of word ('leaky') is highly particular – once again reinforcing early modern notions of femininity, and, in particular, negative connotations associated with unconstrained

emotion overcoming reason.[57] Shakespeare subtly conflates an assessment of Antony's gender identity and naval prowess with this word, suggesting perhaps the inevitability of his defeat at Actium – his "leaky" ships are seemingly the product of his "leaky" masculinity. The shoreline of Actium becomes the site upon which the integrity of Antony's masculinity and his Roman imperial ambitions are tested – much as his ships find their way to the bottom of the Mediterranean, so too his sense of identity is shown to be highly porous. As Antony himself acknowledges moments before his attempted suicide: 'Here I am Antony | Yet cannot hold this visible shape' (IV.xiv.13-14).

The Literary Afterlife of Dido and Aeneas

In the moments before Antony decides to take his own life, Shakespeare allows him to reflect upon his relationship with Cleopatra. Believing her to be dead already and resolving to follow her, he cries out 'Eros! – I come, my queen. – Eros! – Stay for me.' (IV.xiv.51). The line surely recalls the dying words of Iarbus and Anna respectively in Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* – Iarbus dies saying 'Dido, I come to thee' (V.i.318) and Anna, only a few lines later, ends her life with the words 'Now sweet Iarbus, stay! I come to thee' (V.i.328). Compounding this allusion to Marlowe's play, Antony compares himself to Aeneas in direct terms. He imagines being in the afterlife with Cleopatra:

> Where souls do couch on flowers we'll hand in hand
> And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze.
> Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops,
> And all the haunt be ours. (IV.xiv.52-55)

As early as William Warburton's eighteenth-century edition of Shakespeare's plays, critics have highlighted what has been seen to be an inaccuracy in Antony's statement. Indeed, in Book VI of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas journeys to the underworld, Dido refuses to meet her former lover,

[57] The association of early modern women with "leaky vessels" has been explored in Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 23-63.

preferring instead to remain with her husband Sychaeus. However, if *Antony and Cleopatra* is to some extent an experiment in what would happen if Aeneas had submitted to his love for Dido and thus neglected his imperial duty, then is it not appropriate that Antony should likewise reimagine the classical source to reflect this transformation? What Shakespeare presents us with at this moment is as close to a conscious statement of his literary process in writing this play. It is an acknowledgement that this is a Dido and Aeneas episode reimagined. The literary "ghosts" of Dido and Aeneas will indeed gaze on Antony and Cleopatra and see an alternative conclusion to the one that had been represented many times in classical literature and on the early modern stage.

Much like Marlowe's play, *Antony and Cleopatra* dramatises the erotic-imperial conflict of a female ruler and a male imperialist. Though perhaps more oblique than in Marlowe's play, the shoreline acts as a liminal space across which forms of personal, national and imperial identity are challenged. In the case of Antony, arriving on the shores of Alexandria places pressure on his masculine, imperial and Roman identity – aspects of himself that he is willing to forfeit out of love for Cleopatra. Though I do not wish to suggest that the play was occasioned by any specific aspect of seventeenth-century English colonialism, the dangers of submitting to the foreign "other" are manifest in Antony's ultimate destruction. This anxiety, as I will show in Chapter Four of this thesis, was pervasive and connected to notions of gender ascribed to foreign shores. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare employs Marlovian notions of the Dido and Aeneas episode to reimagine their encounter concluding with imperial collapse and erotic self-destruction. However, what if the union of Dido and Aeneas were to offer the possibility of reconciliation and imperial becoming? In the next section, I want to consider the ways in which Shakespeare offered another version of the Dido and Aeneas episode. Likewise ending with the union of an Aeneas-like character with a Dido-like character, *The Tempest* does not conclude with death and destruction but life and reconciliation. While critics have long viewed *The Tempest* through the lens of early modern imperialism, particularly England's nascent colonies in America, I want to connect the play instead to England's dynastic politics of the seventeenth century. In this way, we can see *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Tempest* as

individual treatments of the bifurcated concerns of Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Cathage* – the former, pondering overseas, imperialist anxieties, and the latter, domestic, dynastic ambitions.

III. 'NOT SINCE WIDOW DIDO'S TIME': COASTAL ARRIVAL AND DYNASTIC POLITICS IN THE TEMPEST

Shakespeare's late romances – *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* and *The Tempest* – each reflect upon the formation of monarchy and the maintenance of dynastic longevity at a time of significant political upheaval in England and Scotland. Furthermore, each of these plays is marked by representations of or allusions to moments of coastal arrival. What is particular about these littoral encounters is that they invariably involve some kind of shipwreck. In *Cymbeline*, for example, the Queen remarks on Britain's defense of its sovereign independence by recalling how:

> A kind of conquest
> Caesar made here, but made not here his brag
> Of 'came and saw and overcame'. With shame –
> The first that ever touched him – he was carried
> From off our coast, twice beaten, and his shipping,
> Poor ignorant baubles, on our terrible seas
> Like eggshells moved upon their surges, cracked
> As easily 'gainst our rocks. (III.i.22-29)[58]

Here, the coast acts as a kind of defensive barrier preventing (albeit only temporarily) Britain's conquest by the Romans. Later in the play, however, we find that the coast no longer confers such protective benefits on the British and Cymbeline is informed by one of his soldiers that 'the Roman legions, all from Gallia drawn, | Are landed on your coast' (IV.iii.24-25). The coast in this play becomes a point of entry and exit – serving to mark the boundary between what is within the nation and without.

In *The Winter's Tale*, by contrast, the shoreline marks not only the separation between the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Sicilia but also the generic division between the tragic and

[58] William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Valarie Wayne (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017), Act III, scene i, lines 22-29. Further citations to the play will be embedded in the text and follow the format Act, scene, lines (eg. III.i.22-29).

pastoral portions of the play. We meet the Bohemian shepherd at the close of Act III 'by the seaside' (III.iii.66) and learn from his son how the ship that bore Antigonus was wrecked 'up the shore' (III.iii.87) and how 'the sea mocked' (III.iii.97) the sailors as they drowned.[59] This shipwreck simultaneously marks the culmination of the tragic action of the opening three Acts as well as the introduction of the Clown and the play's transition to the pastoral landscape of Bohemia. Philip Edwards has rightly noted of such generic signaling how 'shipwreck symbolises loss, deprivation, separation – the condition towards which tragedies work, and from which comedies start'.[60] In a tragicomedy, such as *The Winter's Tale*, the shipwreck functions dually to bring the audience simultaneously to the conclusion of the tragedy and opening of the comedy – the coastline becoming a boundary between the two.[61]

In *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Shakespeare offers a particularly sustained engagement with the shoreline, depicting Pericles' shipwreck on the shores of Pentapolis (II.i), Thaisa's casket washing up on the coast of Ephasus (III.ii), and Marina's reuniting with Pericles on the coastal waters off Mytilene (V.i).[62] The littoral focus of the play places it firmly in the literary tradition established by Heliodorus in the third century, Greek romance *Aethiopica* and resurrected prominently by Sidney in the 1580s with the *New Arcadia*. In Sidney's rewritten opening of the *New Arcadia*, the reader encounters the 'naked stranger' Pyrocles (a possible inspiration for Shakespeare's own Greek voyager) clothed by the shepherds Claius and Strephon on the shore.[63] Pericles's own arrival on the shores of Pentapolis likewise sees him clothe himself (in

---

[59] William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010).
[60] Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Journey, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), p. 147.
[61] Other comedies that have prominent shipwrecks include *Twelfth Night* and *The Comedy of Errors* – in each of these the shipwreck functions to separate a pair of twins, thus initiating the "loss" that must be recovered to conclude the comic trajectory of the play.
[62] William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004). Further citations to the play will be embedded in the text and follow the format Act, scene, lines (eg. III.i.22-29).
[63] Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590), p. 4. Five extant Hellenistic prose romances exist: Chariton's *Chaeresas and Callirhoë*, Xenophon of Ephesus' *Anthia and Habrocomes* (also known as *Ephesica*), Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (also known as 'The Pastoral Story'), Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, and Heliodorus of Emesa's *Theagenes and Chariclea* (also know as *Aethiopica*). However, early modern readers would not have had access to all of these texts, *Chaeresas and Callirhoë* and *Anthia and Habrocomes* were not published until the eighteenth century, and so whilst they may have been known as a stories they would not have been read directly. *Daphnis and Chloe* is the only one of these text to be explicitly pastoral in its setting, and was printed in a single sixteenth-century translation into English in 1587. *Leucippe and Clitophon* went through two editions in the sixteenth

armour recovered from the sea) and he arrives in Simonides court as a 'stranger knight' (II.iii.65) having been 'after shipwreck driven upon this shore' (II.iii.82). Gower's description in the chorus to Act II offers a neat summary of Shakespeare's play, and foregrounds its coastal focus, when he describes of Pericles how 'he, good prince, having all lost, | By waves from coast to coast is tossed' (II.0.33-34). If *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* is punctuated by moments of coastal arrival, then it was in Shakespeare's final romance *The Tempest* that he constructed a work that is entirely fixated on the social and dynastic implications of such an encounter.

Critical assessments of *The Tempest* have increasingly foregrounded "colonial" and "New World" readings of the play. In particular New Historicist and post-Colonial critics have argued over how the play fits into developing narratives about early modern notions of empire. Tristan Marshall has sounded a useful alarm cautioning critics away from focusing attention solely on an American reading of the play's moments of coastal arrival and imperial concerns.[64] Unlike Jacobean plays such as the collaboratively-authored *Eastward Ho*, and entertainments such as George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* (works that I tackle in Chapter Four of this thesis when considering English theatre and the Virginia company), *The Tempest* is actually comparatively uninterested in New World venture. Marshall, instead, suggests that readers and audiences reconsider the play in the light of early seventeenth-century developments in what he terms the 'British Imperium' and in particular the effects of the Stuart succession.[65] In this final section of the chapter, I want to investigate the ways in which Shakespeare reimagines aspects of the Dido and Aeneas episode in *The Tempest* and how the play's interest in "marriage" intersects with these contemporary concerns around dynastic politics and Britain's imperial unification.

---

century, a Latin translation in 1589 and an English translation in 1597. By far the most popular, however, appears to be *Aethiopica*, which was first appended in translation to an addition of Plutarch in 1567, before a translation by Thomas Underdown was published in 1569; this edition was reprinted in 1577, 1587, 1591, 1605, 1606. In 1622 an edition was compiled offering comparative translations of the text into different languages. Sidney's source is most likely Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, which similarly opens with a scene of shipwreck and half-dead bodies on the shore.

[64] Tristan Marshall, "The Tempest and the British Imperium in 1611", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), pp. 375-400.

[65] *ibid*., p. 375.

Undoubtedly, the play contains numerous moments in which dynastic order and sovereignty is challenged: Antonio and Sebastian's plot to kill Alonso, Stephano and Trinculo's plot to kill Prospero, and allusions to Prospero's initial conquest of the island from Sycorax. While each of these provides interesting reflection on the politics of monarchy, I want to focus my attention in this chapter not on usurpation but union. In particular, I want to consider two marriages that allude to the Dido and Aeneas episode: the first, the marriage of Alonso's daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis, from which the Italian party was returning when shipwrecked; the second, the union of Ferdinand and Miranda, which occupies much of the narrative of the play and brings it to its conclusion. The former, a "marriage of strangers", is problematic and echoes those in *Dido, Queene of Carthage* and *Antony and Cleopatra*; the latter, a "marriage of kin", is redemptive and a politically expedient way to bring together two dynasties – those of Naples and Milan. In both cases, arrival on the shoreline both symbolises and actualised the buckling (in both the antagonistic and unifying senses of the word) of two forms of identity; however, where the marriage of Claribel and Tunis brings together conflicting identities, the marriage of Miranda and Ferdinand succeeds in uniting complementary identities. By associating these marriages with the Dido and Aeneas tradition – in particular the politics of "strangeness" in Marlowe's version – Shakespeare's play enters the debate on imperial and dynastic politics. In the context of early seventeenth-century dynastic politics, in particular, I want to consider how the play's two "marriages" reflect simultaneously a distrust for political union with Catholic, European nations as well as a tentative support for the closer bridging of the constituent nations of Britain under James I. Before addressing the play's two "marriages", however, I want to show the extent to which the British monarchies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries considered themselves in terms of the Dido and Aeneas episode and the ways in which the Stuart succession was framed in such Virgilian terms.

In a letter dated 13 April 1594 from James VI to Elizabeth I, the Scottish king admonished the English queen for giving 'harbor' to his enemy the Earl of Bothwell.[66] In doing so, James considered Elizabeth's actions to be 'so far against all princely honor as I protest I abhor the least thought thereof'.[67] Having outlined his grievance, he concludes the letter by stating that: 'I trust ye will not put me in balance with such a traitorous counterpoise, nor willfully reject me, constraining me to say with Virgil, *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*'.[68] James took this line from Book VII of the *Aeneid* when Juno, observing the Trojans arriving on the shores of Italy and beginning to establish their first settlement there, calls upon the fury Allecto to prevent Aeneas from gaining a foothold in the country through intermarriage with the subjects of King Latinus. Juno threatens to "move the Acheron" [the primary river of the underworld] if her invocation to the heavens goes unanswered. In quoting this line from the *Aeneid*, James seems to cast himself as the vengeful Juno and Elizabeth as an imperial Aeneas with whom he intends to interfere. At least this is how Elizabeth read his words, believing the quotation to be a veiled threat against her and her people. In her response, she drew attention to this line in particular and reminded him that 'I am that prince that never can endure a menace at my enemy's hand, much less of one so dearly treated'.[69]

Sensing that a tense diplomatic incident was building, James attempted to absolve himself of having seemed to threaten the queen by offering his own interpretation of the lines and how they matched the political situation with the Earl of Bothwell. James writes in his follow up letter that:

> the other point of mistaking is of yon Latin verse in the hinder end of my letter, which I perceive ye interpret to be a threatening of you. But I doubt not ye will

[66] The letters are found in Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: collected works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), p. 376; this exchange is discussed in the introduction to Sheldon Brammall, *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 1-4.
[67] Elizabeth I (2000), p. 376.
[68] 'If I cannot move the heavens above, I will move the Acheron [hell]', *ibid*., pp. 376-377.
[69] Elizabeth I (2000), pp. 380.

> conceive far otherways of my meaning thereby, if ye will pleased to weigh first the meaning of the author that first wrote it, and since consider what precedes and follows in my letter that alleges it. For Virgil feigneth that Juno – being in a rage that the rest of the gods through Venus' persuasion nold consent to the wreck of Aeneas, whom against she bare inveterate hatred as against all Troy – she not only pronounceth these words of my letter but immediately goes to Alecto, one of the hellish Furies, and persuades her to stir up Turnus in Italy to war against Aeneas, thereby to hinder his conquest there. Now, to make the allusion then: suppose (*Omnis comparatio claudicat uno pede*) I am Juno, ye are the rest of the gods, Bothwell is Aeneas, and other foreign princes are Acheron. Juno's seeking aid of Acheron, then, was only for the wrack of Aeneas, and no ways either for the invading or threatening of the rest of the gods.[70]

James suggests that Elizabeth's interpretation of his words was incorrect, arguing that his 'intention was to complain unto you, not to threaten you, thereby seeking your aid'.[71] In James's interpretation of the analogy, Bothwell is Aeneas, he is Juno, and Elizabeth is the other gods to whom he comes for assistance. Rather than giving 'harbor' to Bothwell/Aeneas, James hopes that Elizabeth will help him to 'wreck' his enemy – employing nautical language in keeping with the Virgilian framework of his complaint. This epistolary exchange reveals something fascinating about the way in which these British monarchs were willing to fashion themselves in Virgilian terms. James's direct mapping of character onto person is more straightforwardly analogous by design than even the boldest critic would claim of the allusive tactics found in other literary texts of the period. Indeed, with the stakes as high as they were, James could not afford to allow his own allusion to be misinterpreted or for the characters to slip fluidly between representations of different political figures. Unlike James, I will not try and fix the identities of Shakespeare's characters to his contemporaries; however, I am interested in the notion that the British monarchs were willing to construe themselves in these Virgilian terms, even arguing over their exact identity in the allusion.

If Elizabeth I has had a long literary association with Dido, James I has been similarly (though less emphatically) connected to Aeneas. Upon his ascension to the English throne, a poet identified only as J. F. celebrated the new monarch in such terms in a poem entitled "King James his welcome to London". Here the poet noted how:

---

[70] Elizabeth I (2000), p. 381.
[71] *ibid*., p. 381.

> So as the Romanes *Romulus* did call,
> The first foundator of their City wall.
> Or as *Aeneas* Latines term'd to be,
> The chiefest father for their progeny:
> And first found Captaine of their Italy:
> Or *Bruite* the Patron of our Brittany:
> So after ages may in time to come,
> Call thee the *Romulus* of their English Rome,
> Thou shalt be our *Aeneas* the first grounder,
> Of all our settled stay, our hopes first founder.[72]

Aeneas (like the poet hopes James will be) becomes the 'first founder' of the Roman civilization by uniting the Trojans and Latins and as the 'chiefest father of their progeny'. If Elizabethan authors focused on Aeneas as a potentially dangerous "stranger" infiltrating the kingdom of a female monarch, the shift of emphasis after the Stuart succession reframed Aeneas as the unifying father of the nation. Rather than focusing primarily on Aeneas' arrival on the shores of Carthage, his settlement on the Italian coastline offered an alternative aspect to the story that celebrated a foreign (though kindred) ruler uniting two peoples as one blood. In his 1604 treatise *A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie union of the two famous kingdoms of England and Scotland*, John Thornborough likewise likened James's unifying project to the one 'that noble and valiant Troian Aeneas long sithence put in vse, who by Vnion, euen of diuers nations, *Omnes eodem nomine, & eodem iure Latinos vocauit*'.[73] Thornborough praised the classical character in particular for bringing 'many and diuers nations as one people, most familiar, and most friendly together'.[74] Once again, Aeneas becomes a model for James's unifying project with the focus now on the coastal arrival in Italy rather than Carthage.

This newly imagined role for Aeneas was articulated repeatedly by Ben Jonson in the early 1600s in relation to the new monarch. In his entertainment written to celebrate James I's entrance into London in 1603, Jonson quotes a passage from Book VIII of the *Aeneid* describing

---

[72] J. F., *King Iames his welcome to London With Elizaes tombe and epitaph, and our Kings triumph and epitome* (London, 1603), sig. B3^{r}.
[73] 'All the same name, and the same rights he called the Latins', John Thronborough, *A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie union of the two famous kingdoms of England and Scotland* (London, 1604), p. 14.
[74] *ibid*., p. 14.

Aeneas's arrival on the banks of the River Tiber, which he describes as being the same as 'his maiesties gratefull approach to this citie' and the River Thames.[75] Later, in *The Haddington Masque*, performed at court in 1608 to celebrate the marriage of Lord Viscount Haddington, James was more explicitly compared with Aeneas. Staged in an explicitly coastal setting, at the foot of a 'high, steepe, red cliffe', the masque is predominantly a discussion between Venus, Cupid and Hymen about the virtues of marriage.[76] In it, Hymen praises Aeneas (who in a marginal note to the printed text is revealed by Jonson to represent 'my Soueraigne') for doing 'not what Kings may, but what Kings ought'.[77] In the context of the Virgilian narrative, rejecting the distractions of Carthage to found a more glorious kingdom in Rome – or in the case of James I, taking the English crown and attempting to bring all of Britain under one sovereignty. In both examples of Jonson's use of Aeneas to represent James I, the Stuart succession is framed as if it were analogous to the arrival of the Trojan prince on the shores of Italy. The positive association of this coastal arrival with marriage, particularly in the latter entertainment, further foregrounds the merits of uniting two peoples (Trojans/Latins, Scottish/English) in a way that had significantly evolved since the more cynical Elizabethan uses of the *Aeneid* to caution against foreign nuptial in the 1580s and 1590s. In my reading of *The Tempest*, I want to show how both of these traditions combined in Shakespeare's focus on the marriages of Claribel and Tunis, on the one hand, and Miranda and Ferdinand, on the other. In the former, Shakespeare resurrects Marlovian pessimism towards a "marriage of strangers"; while in the latter, he explores the more Jonsonian optimism towards a "marriage of kin". This, I will suggest, is connected to wider questions of "British" unification and dynastic politics explored in the play.

---

[75] Ben Jonson, "Part of the Kings Entertainment in Passing to his Coronation", *Ben Jonson*, eds. Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, 11 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), Vol. 7, ll. 100-115, 122.
[76] Ben Jonson, "The Haddington Masque", *Ben Jonson*, eds. Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, 11 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), Vol. 7, l. 23.
[77] *ibid*., l. 218.

Claribel, Tunis and the "Marriage of Strangers"

Shipwrecked on the shores of Prospero's island, Gonzalo's reference to 'widow Dido' (II.i.77) has long excited critics to interpret its importance during this peculiar interlude in the narrative of *The Tempest*.[78] Jan Kott has suggested that the reference is simply a reminder to the audience of the Virgilian parallels established throughout the play, while J. M. Nosworthy argued, in an early essay on this topic, that the broken love between Aeneas and Dido is introduced as a deliberate counterpoint to the Ferdinand and Miranda marriage plot that the play will ultimately explore.[79] While I am inclined to agree with Nosworthy that this is not merely a throwaway comment but part of a deeper investigation into the way in which Shakespeare interacts with his sources, I believe that the comparison being drawn by Gonzalo is more directly concerned with the specific details of the Italians' discussion: 'the marriage of the King's fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis' (II.i.71-72).

The allusion to Dido and Aeneas at this moment in the play has a destabilising effect on the way in which Claribel's marriage to Tunis is presented. Although often receiving little attention from critics of the play, it is the marriage of Claribel and Tunis that, I argue, establishes a key point of contact with the Virgilian, Ovidian and Marlovian sources with which the play interacts. Responding to Gonzalo's reference to Dido, Antonio asks: 'Widow? A pox o'that. How came that widow in? Widow Dido?' (II.i.78-79), to which Sebastian adds: 'What if he had said widower Aeneas too?' (II.i.80). The insistent focus here on the marital status of Dido and Aeneas is highly revealing and connects the play to Shakespeare's earlier play *Antony and Cleopatra*. In that work, Cleopatra's status as 'Egypt's widow' (II.i.38) and Antony's as 'a widower' (II.ii.127) helped to associate the work, in turn, with the Dido and Aeneas episode found in Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* – where Dido was the widow of Sychaeus and

[78] A critical overview of the scene's interpretations is presented in Gail Kern Paster, "Montaigne, Dido, and *The Tempest*: 'How came that widow in?'", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 91-92.

[79] Jan Kott, "*The Aeneid* and *The Tempest*", *Arion: A Journal of the Humanities and the Classics* New Series Vol. 3, No. 4 (1976), pp. 424-451; J. M. Nosworthy, "The Narrative Sources of *The Tempest*", *Review of English Studies* Vol. 24 (1948), p. 293.

Aeneas, widower of Creusa. By alluding to Dido and Aeneas and foregrounding their marital status at this moment in the play, Shakespeare introduces a complex, intertextual matrix that places pressure on the idea of a marriage between strangers (as the union of a Christian, Italian bride [Claribel] to a Muslim, African husband [Tunis] must surely have been viewed). Stephen Orgel has suggested that Claribel's marriage to the King of Tunis would have appalled the Italian courtiers and English audience alike because of his "inferior" status as a Muslim.[80] The topicality of this collision of identities (particularly religious identities) was undoubtedly pressing for Shakespeare and his audience; indeed, during the early 1610s, when the play was written and first performed, significant intrigue surrounded the proposed marriages of James I's eldest children Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth to the heirs of various foreign powers. Like the marriage between Claribel and Tunis, the prospect of a marriage between James's Protestant children and Catholic suitors seemed, at least to some, problematic.

Between 1610-1612 in particular, James's equivocation as to whether to offer the hand of his daughter Elizabeth to either a Catholic or Protestant suitor was scrutinised as a sign of the king's positioning of England in the complex web of Europe's sectarian politics. The skeptical attitude of Alonso's Italian courtiers towards his daughter's marriage to Tunis may perhaps be read in the context of such European real-politicking. Indeed, Sebastian outlines his companions' position when chastising Alonso for the loss of his children: Claribel for having been given 'to an African' (II.i.126) and Ferdinand for having been lost to shipwreck on the return journey. With respect to the former, Sebastian emphatically reminds the King that:

> You were kneeled and importuned otherwise
> By all of us, and the fair soul herself
> Weighed between loathness and obedience, at
> Which end o'th' beam should bow. (II.i.129-132)

However, these warnings, it is suggested, fell on deaf ears, and Claribel is as lost to the Italians as her brother Ferdinand seemingly is after Prospero's tempest wrecked their ship.

---

[80] Stephen Orgel, "Introduction", *The Tempest* ed. Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 30.

The comparison drawn between the problematic relationship of Dido and Aeneas and that of Claribel and Tunis succeeds in connecting *The Tempest* to *Dido, Queene of Carthage*. In Marlowe's play, Dido (or Elissa) was connected, albeit loosely, to Elizabeth Tudor; in Shakespeare's, Claribel (another kind of Dido/Elissa) perhaps gestures similarly towards Elizabeth Stuart. In the same way that Elizabeth I's proposed marriage to Catholic suitors troubled English courtiers, so too James I's own willingness to consider a Catholic match for his daughter, supported by his wife Anne's own sympathetic religious convictions, may have been equally troubling. Claribel's marriage to the King of Tunis may have seemed doubly problematic to Shakespeare's seventeenth-century audience for being both interfaith and interracial. Elizabeth's own brother, Prince Henry, was resolute that such interfaith marriages were objectionable, arguing that 'two religions should never lie in his bed'.[81] Indeed, the Prince was so adamantly anti-Catholic that he enlisted Sir Walter Raleigh to pen "A Discourse Touching a Marriage Proposal between Prince Henry and a Daughter of Savoy". In this manuscript, Raleigh revived the conspiracies of Papist plots to take over the English crown when he noted of Princess Elizabeth that:

> I cannot tell, I leave it to wiser men to judge, whether the lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of England, were not therefore sought, both by the king of Spain and the Savoyan, by her to strengthen and revive the former pretences [to the English throne][82]

Ultimately, the threat of a Spanish infiltration into the English monarchy did not materialise. James offered Elizabeth's hand to Frederick V – a Protestant match to balance the proposed betrothal of Prince Henry to one of Europe's Catholic Princesses (a match that did not materialise given the young man's untimely death in November 1612). Nevertheless, it is somehow appropriate that *The Tempest* was revived during the winter of 1612-1613 and performed at the festivities celebrating Elizabeth's marriage. Even as the play pondered the undesirability of a "marriage of strangers" in 1610-1611 when it was written, by 1612 that

[81] *Calendar for State Papers, Venetian* Vol. XII (1610-1613), p. xi.
[82] Walter Raleigh, "A Discourse Touching a Marriage Proposal between Prince Henry and a Daughter of Savoy", *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, Vol. VIII (Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, 1829), p. 240.

threat had largely been averted and it could be performed at a wedding of what, at least in religious terms, was a "marriage of kin".

It is not accidental, I would argue, that this discussion of the marriage of Claribel and Tunis should occur immediately upon arrival on the shores. With the characters having witnessed a kind of Dido and Aeneas coastal arrival in the marriage of Claribel and Tunis *ante dramatis*, Shakespeare signals his desire to imagine the actual narrative of the play exploring an alternative conclusion to the broken love of these classical precedents. Rather than arriving as strangers on Prospero's island (thereby shedding their former identity), Gonzalo notes how 'methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first' (II.i.70-71). By retaining their garments, the characters preserve the outward manifestation of their inner identity and mark themselves differently both to Aeneas in *Dido, Queene of Carthage* and Antony in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Though subtle, Shakespeare indicates through this theatrical signal the ultimate trajectory of the narrative – it is not a tragedy, where the collision of identities will result in abandonment and death, it is, rather, a comedy, where identity, albeit confused and challenged, is nevertheless restored and strengthened by the end of the play.

Miranda, Ferdinand and the "Marriage of Kin"

If the *ante dramatis* union of Claribel and Tunis evokes the same dangers of a "marriage of strangers" expressed in *Dido, Queene of Carthage* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, then Ferdinand's arrival on the shores of Prospero's island in Act I, scene ii shifts the Virgilian allusion to Aeneas' appearance in Italy and a more optimistic "marriage of kin". Ferdinand comes on stage to the sound of Ariel singing – a verse that not only foregrounds the littoral setting of the scene but also reminds us of the marriage potential that coastal arrival entails in this play:

> Come unto these yellow sands,
> And then take hands;
> Curtsied when you have, and kissed
> The wild waves whist;
> Foot it featly here and there,
> And sweet sprites bear

The burden. (I.ii.375-382)

Ariel's song immediately evokes a Virgilian context to this coastal arrival – Ferdinand finds himself on the 'fulva […] harena' ([yellow sands] VI.643) of Elysium as described during Aeneas' journey there in Book VI of the *Aeneid*. The shoreline is established in the song as a location not only of erotic potential but also imperial destiny; it is a place of dance and kisses that can banish the 'wild waves' and 'burden' from the young prince but also, like the yellow sands of Elysium where Aeneas sees a vision of Rome, it foretells of a powerful dynastic line that will be established in Italy. By following Ariel's singing, Ferdinand finds himself 'sitting on a bank, | Weeping again the King my father's wreck' (I.ii.390-391). Just as Aeneas' meeting with his dead father Anchises in Elysium renews his imperial ambition, so too Ferdinand ponders the implications of his fathers (supposed) death on yellow sands and his own role as imperial leader.

It is appropriate, given the erotic potential of the play's littoral geography, that the first person Ferdinand should encounter on the shore is Miranda, the woman to whom he will ultimately become betrothed. Ferdinand addresses her in paraphrase of Aeneas' meeting with the disguised Juno on the sands of Carthage – 'most sure the goddess | On whom these airs attend!' (I.ii.422-423) ['O dea certe' (I.328)]. If such an address seems to complicate the notions of marriage introduced by Ferdinand's arrival on the shores of Prospero's island (indeed, Juno is Aeneas' mother, not lover), then it is because we have failed to appreciate the shifting tone of the play. By addressing Miranda as if the goddess Juno, Ferdinand implicitly reveals that he and Miranda are somehow "kin" – while she is, of course, not his mother, they are also not truly strangers to one another. This becomes increasingly apparent to both Ferdinand and Miranda as the play progresses towards its conclusion and they discover each other's true identity. Much as Gonzalo and his interlocutors, upon their own arrival on the shores of Prospero's island, appear obsessed by the marital status of Dido and Aeneas, so too Ferdinand's first question to Miranda is 'if you be maid or no?' (I.ii.428). What follows is an accelerated realisation of the shoreline's

erotic potential after Miranda asserts that she is 'certainly a maid' (I.ii.329). Indeed, fewer than twenty lines of dialogue pass from this discovery before Ferdinand declares to Miranda that:

> O, if a virgin,
> And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
> The Queene of Naples. (I.ii.448-450)

While the 'swift business' (I.ii.451) of marriage is, in fact, Prospero's ambition for the pair, he determines that he must introduce some elements to frustrate the the union 'lest too light winning | Make the prize light' (I.ii.452-453). To achieve this, Prospero challenges Ferdinand on imperial grounds, charging him with attempts to 'usurp' (I.ii.454) control of the island and 'win it | From me, the lord on't' (I.ii.456-457). Once again, Shakespeare exploits the erotic-imperial tension associated with coastal arrival, creating uneasiness between the different (though not mutually exclusive) ambitions that might motivate Ferdinand on the shore.

Ariel's song ('Come unto these yellow sands') in Act I not only alludes to moments of coastal arrival in the *Aeneid* but also frames this in a courtly context – the curtseys, kisses, and dances evoking the masque tradition. Later in the play, in the masque scene of Act IV, Shakespeare uses intratextual allusion to remind the audience of Ferdinand's coastal arrival in Act I and the Virgilian context established there. Alluding to the same Virgilian scene as Ferdinand's earlier meeting with Miranda ('most sure goddess'), the masque character Ceres notes that 'Highest queen of state, | Great Juno comes; I know her by her gait' (IV.i.101-102); this recalls Aeneas' ability in Book I of the *Aeneid* to recognise Juno 'incessu' (['by her step'] I.405). Ceres herself is noted by Iris as occupying the 'sea-marge, sterile and rocky-hard' (IV.69) – an appropriate setting given the play's overwhelming fixation on littoral geography but also playfully paradoxical with the sexual suggestiveness of the space as being simultaneously 'sterile' and 'rocky-hard'. By returning the audience's attention to allusive coastline found in Act I, Shakespeare completes the betrothal initiated there with this theatrical flourish.

The littoral setting, classical themes, and Virgilian allusions of Shakespeare's masque may well have been familiar to many in his audience when the play was performed both at

Whitehall in 1611 and Princess Elizabeth's wedding in 1613, since it seems to borrow liberally from Jonson's 1608 *Haddington Masque*. Nevertheless, there are some obvious deviations, most prominently in the absence of the erotic figures of Venus and Cupid and Shakespeare's focus instead on the 'temperate' (IV.i.132) approach to 'true love' (IV.i.133) that the remaining goddesses celebrate. This kind of temperate approach on the shoreline was a prominent feature of my analysis of Spenser's littoral geography of *The Faerie Queene*, and was connected to Virgilian notions of coastal arrival and imperial becoming. In *The Tempest*, the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda fulfills a similar function – becoming the culmination of imperial destiny rather than a Dido-like distraction from it. In this way, Miranda functions more like Aeneas' Latin wife Lavinia, and Ferdinand's coastal arrival is on the shores of Italy (not Carthage).

The Tempest *and the Shorelines of the British Isles*

Paul Brown has argued that *The Tempest* was written during a moment of 'historical crisis'. That crisis, he suggests, was 'the struggle to produce a coherent discourse adequate to the complex requirements of British colonialism'.[83] In the reconciliation scene that concludes *The Tempest*, Miranda remarks on the 'brave new world' (V.i.183) that seems possible now with the discovery of so many people. This line has certainly contributed to critical assessments that have foregrounded colonial, New World readings of the play such as that by Brown. Nevertheless, Prospero reminds Miranda that such a prospect must seem '*new* to *thee*' ([my italics] V.i.184) – implicitly suggesting that for himself and the rest of the assembled party it does not hold such novelty. If the 'brave new world' is not an unknown geographical space then it must, instead, be a familiar one reimagined. While critics have often connected the masque and betrothal of Miranda and Ferdinand to the Protestant marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick V of the Palatinate in 1613, I want to suggest that this "marriage of kin" speaks also

[83] Paul Brown, "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine": *The Tempest* and the discourse of colonialism", *Political Shakespeare: Essays in cultural materialism*, eds. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 48.

to the unifying project of James I as he attempted to bridge the gap between his Scottish and English subjects.[84] Indeed, given the play was written at least two years before the princess's marriage, it is probably coincidental rather than occasional that it should appear to comment directly upon that specific match. Instead, the marriage is abstracted to the level of kingdoms rather than individuals, with Prospero's island becoming a kind of British Isles and the merging of the Kingdom of Naples and Dukedom of Milan evoking the recent unification of England and Scotland under James I. Rather than considering the moment of 'historical crisis', identified by Brown, as being related to the discourse of colonialism, I wish to suggest that the play reflects more acutely on the crisis of British unification – a project that was inherently imperial.

In this reading, the shoreline takes on particular prominence as a core component of this reimagined British geography. Elizabethan notions of England as an island, seen elsewhere in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, became more fully realised when augmented, by the inclusion of Scotland, to become a united Britain. The shoreline of *The Tempest* acts as a point of contact between various identities – these identities have the potential to buckle, much like the land and sea, either in conflict (in the case of the various plotters) or in marriage. Focusing on the marriages that occur as a result of coastal arrival, I have demonstrated how Shakespeare presents two alternative outcomes: a "marriage of strangers" and a "marriage of kin", each of which negotiates the erotic-imperial tensions established as a component of the shoreline through intertextual allusion to classical and early modern versions of the Dido and Aeneas episode. In the final act of the play, Prospero describes the characters' growing understanding of what has occurred in littoral terms, noting how:

> Their understanding
> Begins to swell, and the approaching tide
> Will shortly fill the reasonable shore
> That now lies foul and muddy. (V.i.79-82)

[84] David Scott Kastan, "'The Duke of Milan and his brave son': dynastic politics in *The Tempest*", *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's 'The Tempest'*, eds. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (New York: G.K. Hall, 1998), pp. 96-97.

Just as the encroaching tide promises to wash over the muddy shores, so too Shakespeare's play is itself a wave that rolls over the accumulated sediment of classical and early modern representations of coastal arrival. What remains is not a cleansed shoreline, but one which has been continually reshaped by the repeated literary interventions of early modern writers.

CONCLUSIONS

Coastal arrival is a central motif in Virgil's *Aeneid*; it is bound up with questions of personal, national and imperial destiny. Whether it is Aeneas' appearance as a stranger on the shores of Carthage or his later coming to the coast of Italy, Virgil imbues such moments with symbolic significance. In the early modern period, representations of and allusions to Virgilian coastal arrival likewise consider these important themes of identity. The figures of Dido and Aeneas, in particular, provided authors with literary precedents through which to examine moments of acute political and dynastic crisis, notably those associated with the Elizabethan succession crisis of the 1590s and the Stuart monarchy of the early seventeenth century. By examining a range of literary responses to the Dido and Aeneas episode from the *Aeneid*, I have shown how the highly politicised concepts of "strangeness" and "marriage" were closely aligned to dramatic representations of and allusions to Virgilian/Ovidian moments of coastal arrival.

My analysis of William Gager's *Dido* demonstrated the specific ways in which this occasional piece commented directly on a particular moment of religious and dynastic anxiety; meanwhile, my reading of Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queene of Carthage* situated the play in a broader context of concerns around immigration and national identity. In discussion of the latter of these play, I introduced the idea that gender was placed under scrutiny in order to reflect on the porousness of other more abstract forms of identity (national, imperial). That such porousness should be associated with coastal arrival was owing to the shoreline's status as a liminal meeting point between the binary opposites of land and sea. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, I demonstrated how crossing this boundary (both littoral and gender) was associated with notions of personal, national and imperial betrayal. The Roman emphasis on imperial masculinity, for

example, is eroded by Antony's adoption of effeminate forms of dress and manner. This transition, I have shown, occurred along the Alexandrian coast, with Antony's masculine, Roman identity and feminine, Egyptian identity gaining greater or lesser prominence as he oscillated physically over the shoreline.

If the shoreline represented boundary separating opposing identities in *Antony and Cleopatra*, then in *The Tempest* I have shown how, as a meeting point of land and sea, it can also represent notions of marriage. Drawing on the earlier Virgilian representations of coastal arrival, as well as playwright's own references to Dido, I demonstrated how Shakespeare explored the competing depictions of a "marriage of strangers" and a "marriage of kin". Contradicting much recent scholarship that has placed *The Tempest* in a New World context, I argue instead that the play's Old World literary allusions comment more directly on the early Stuart monarchy. Much as the reference to Dido and Aeneas in the sixteenth century seemed interested in drawing comparison to the Elizabethan monarchy, so too the same imagery was, I suggest, redeployed in the seventeenth century to consider the fledgling Stuart dynasty and James I's proposed diplomatic marriages between his children and European nobility. Furthermore, I argue that *The Tempest* abstracts its consideration of the marriage of kin to the national level, exploring and, perhaps, implicitly endorsing James I's desire to unify Scotland and England politically – thereby creating a British Isle surrounded by an unbroken shoreline.

In each of these plays, moments of coastal arrival place personal, national and imperial identity under pressure. Reaching the shoreline of a nation and stepping into its political and legal jurisdiction forces characters and audiences alike into confrontation with what is "inside" and "outside" the nation. For England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, infiltration by the foreign "stranger" appears to have been the cause of significant political, religious and social anxiety. In these plays, the shoreline enacts a dual symbolic function: it is a geographical barrier that simultaneously separates and unites the land and sea – in each case, prompting consideration of certain metaphoric associations with the various kinds of identities under discussion. As with my discussion of coastal arrival in Chapters One and Two, we can see here that dramatic representations and allusions to Virgilian moments of coastal arrival are far from

static during the period. Instead, we find authors deploying familiar imagery to a variety of ways to explore and comment upon an evolving political and social climate.

Chapter 4.
Foreign Lands, Familiar Shores: Mocking Mercantilism in Ben Jonson and John Fletcher's "Voyage" Dramas

> *Gent 2.* On what coast are you, think you?
> *Sir Pet.* On the coast of France, sir.
> *Gent 1.* On the coast of Dogs, sir.
> - Chapman, Jonson, and Marston[1]

In the previous chapter, I examined dramatic representations of coastal arrival – focusing in particular on the shoreline's potent metaphoric function as a point of "marriage" between what is within the nation (land/citizens) and what is without (sea/strangers). The literary association of coastal arrival and the prospect of marriage was identified in the classical precedent of Virgil's *Aeneid* and then traced through early modern representations and allusions to Dido and Aeneas. Ultimately, it was the status of "stranger" conferred upon Aeneas upon his arrival on the shores of Carthage that, I argued, undermined his potential marriage to Dido and which had political repercussions in early modern representations of this episode. Dramatic arrivals on "foreign" shores prompted questions concerning imperial, national and person identity – each category of which was potentially fraught with complicated literary and political reactions. In this chapter, I want to consider the ways in which the early modern stage provided a location for less earnest considerations of coastal arrival. In particular, I want to consider the ways in which the ambitions of seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers came under fire from satirical playwrights, who identified the dual motives of lust and greed in those hoping to land on the shores of Virginia.

In my examination of Hakluyt's colonial writing in Chapter One, I explored the two strands of colonial thinking that, I argued, underpinned late sixteenth-century ventures to the New World: Walsingham's "mercantile" model and Raleigh's "imperial" model. I concluded the chapter by suggesting that, in part thanks to Hakluyt's simultaneous promotion of both models and his dominant role in propagating colonial ventures to the New World, the

[1] George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), Act IV, scene i, lines 189-191. All subsequent citations from the play will be embedded into the main body of the text as Act, scene, lines (eg. IV.i.189-191).

seventeenth-century resurgence of colonial interest in Virginia adopted a hybridised model of these two earlier strands of thinking. During the early seventeenth century this hybrid model was put into practice by merchant companies combining the mercantile ambitions of earlier joint-stock ventures with the prospect of imperial planting envisaged by Raleigh for New World settlement. In this chapter, I want to consider how literary opposition to seventeenth-century merchant-adventures untangled this hybridised model for New World colonial venture and parodied the two original strands in their satirical writing; ambitions of imperial "planting" and mercantile "trade" were transformed into accusations of merchant-adventurers' lustfulness and greed when arriving on the shores of the New World. If literary representations of arriving on colonial shorelines during the Elizabethan period had lauded the lofty ambitions of the colonialists, this chapter will explore how writers during the Jacobean period refracted these motives through a prism of base corporeal desire – leaving the public with an image of merchant-adventurers as naïve adolescents at best or whoring Mammons at worst.

Parodying Shipwreck in Eastward Ho

In Act IV of the collaboratively written city-comedy *Eastward Ho*, the play's deceitful adventurers Francis Quicksilver and Sir Petronel Flash, as well as the suspicious husband Security, suffer shipwreck as they row eastwards along the Thames. Rather than drowning in the river, however, each man appropriately lands on shores befitting his particular vice or character flaw: the usurer Security, whose wife is being wooed by the gallant Sir Petronel, washes up on Cuckold's Haven; while Sir Petronel and Quicksilver, each respectively seeking escape from financial debt and professional obligation, are cast ashore on the Isle of Dogs, which at the time hosted a notorious debtors' prison. Far from being the desired end of their adventures, these shorelines and their associations serve to mock the men for their misplaced ambitions and haughty pretentions. Thinking they have at least made it as far as the coast of France, Sir Petronel and Quicksilver affect accents and attempt to converse with the local gentlemen they encounter in broken French. '*Je suis un pauvre chevalier d'Angleterre*,' says Sir

Petronel, '*qui a souffri l'infortune de naufrage*' (IV.i.181-182), to which the gentleman responds in English that the men have arrived not in France by 'on the coast of Dogs, sir; y' are i' th' Isle o' Dogs' (IV.i.191-192).[2] The bathos of their shipwreck serves as a mocking reminder of the foolishness of their intended voyage – plans that were made half-drunk and which are brought low by the very thing that inspired them. Indeed, upon his own arrival on the shores of Cuckold's Haven, Security announces out of shame that 'I will run back and drown myself' (IV.i.45); however, it is not long before we are reminded that the adventurers 'were drowned in a tavern before, or else [they] would never have took boat in such a dawning as this was' (IV.i.193-195). While the adventurers' seemingly appropriate arrival on these various shorelines is what provokes the immediate mirth of the audience, it is the men's intended destination that compounds the play's mockery of them. As early as Act II, we learn that Sir Petronel and Quicksilver had hoped to join other financially-wayward adventurers, the appropriately-named Scapethrift and Spendall, on 'a ship, now bound for Virginia' (II.ii.177) – a specific destination that the playwrights no doubt included in order to foreground the ridiculousness of their intended venture. But why should voyaging to Virginia in 1605 be treated with such ridicule in the play? And why is the coupling of sexual and financial humiliation played out on the shores of London and the New World?

This chapter seeks to answer these questions by exploring a developing tradition of New World parody that emerged as a response to the earnest ambitions of the merchant-adventurers of the late-Elizabethan period. By the time New World colonialism had been resurrected under James I, theatrical mockery of merchant-adventurers (particularly those of the nascent Virginia Company) became a persistent feature of the English stage. This chapter will demonstrate how parody of coastal arrival in the New World began as a product of the Inns of Court culture of gentlemanly wit – with poems of seduction (by figures such as John Donne) consciously aping the earnestly gendered language of sixteenth-century colonialism. With such poems circulating amongst the cultured though often financially challenged young men around the Inns of Court, parody of the would-be-seducer's arrival on the shores of the New World

[2] 'I am a poor knight from England, who has suffered the misfortune of shipwreck'.

became embedded in the literary imagination of a select group of individuals. This chapter will show how this was not simply a casual association but a deep structure within the body of thought concerning early modern masculinity. Moving beyond the circulation of manuscript poems amongst a coterie of readers, parody of New World coastal arrival made its way to the stage in some of London's city-comedy plays. While the genre of city-comedy was both short-lived and a geographically precise response to particular set of circumstances (such as the "War of the Theatres"), I hope to demonstrate how certain tropes associated with the genre continue to resurface in the plays of the early seventeenth century. Indeed, when audiences arrived at the more exotic shorelines of John Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage* and *The Island Princess*, they found, I will argue, hidden reformulations of the same paradigm that haunted city-comedies of a decade earlier. While the gallants are no longer traversing the Eastcheap taverns but New World locations, there is, nevertheless, the continual threat of sexual and financial humiliation – there is always the danger that they will be shipwrecked, albeit it metaphorically, on the shores of Cuckold's Haven or the Isle of Dogs.

Coastal Arrival and Early Modern Parody

This chapter will begin by considering the ways in which *Eastward Ho* responds to the nascent ambitions of seventeenth-century merchant-adventurers to Virginia. I examine the play both in the context of a developing literary tradition of parodying New World coastal arrival, as well as demonstrating how it intersects with a body of political opposition to New World colonialism. In particular, I hope to demonstrate how *Eastward Ho* exposes the sexual and financial motives of the merchant-adventurers and presents them to its audience for mockery. In the subsequent two sections of this chapter, I examine the literary responses to the sexual and financial ambitions of merchant-adventurers in turn. In the first, I explore the ways in which John Donne (in poetry) and Joseph Hall (in prose) helped to establish an emerging tradition of parodying the gendered vision of the New World first seen in the writing of sixteenth-century colonialists, such as Lawrence Kemys. In this regard, mockery of merchant-adventurers' lustfulness can be

seen as a parodic refraction of the imperial ambitions associated with Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580s. In the second, I explore the financial conflict between the theatre companies and the merchant companies, focusing in particular on Ben Jonson's dramatisation of the hypocrisy of the merchant-adventurers' claims to be colonising America for god rather than gold. I will look, in particular, at Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* and the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*. The mockery of merchant-adventurers' greed can be seen as a parodic refraction of the mercantile ambitions associated with Sir Francis Walsingham in the 1580s. Having explored the way in which these two strands of colonial thinking were parodied in the seventeenth century, I will conclude the chapter by analysing how this literary parody of merchant-adventurers' imperial/sexual and mercantile/financial motives culminated in two "voyage dramas" by John Fletcher: *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*. I will argue that Fletcher's plays were occasioned in part by the financial and organisational troubles besetting the Virginia Company and that in these plays his characters encounter the familiar shores of city-comedies set in the foreign lands of the New World.

So far this thesis has engaged with the ways in which early modern writers received and responded to models of classical literature – either in Spenser's use of Virgilian and Ovidian coastal arrival, or Marlowe's reshaping of the Dido and Aeneas episode for the stage. In this chapter, I will consider moments of literary "response" in terms of deliberate (and often highly critical) parody. In order to be effective, the anti-Virginian satires of the early 1600s were constructed around a close caricature of the propagandistic materials that had accumulated in the literary consciousness of the Elizabethan era. Satirists required their readers and audiences to participate in this complex network of allusions in order to recognise what Ejner J. Jensen calls the 'defining features of the time' that are ultimately the subject of the authors' parody.[3] For parody to be successful, readers and audiences of satires must be cognisant of these "defining features" and, as such, the texts are often written with a specific audience in mind – what Adam Zucker describes as 'those in the know' – who could be relied upon to understand

[3] Ejner J. Jensen, "Verse Satire in the English Renaissance", in *A Companion to Satire Ancient and Modern* ed. Ruben Quintero (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), p. 101.

the references.[4] As I have already suggested, in the case of anti-Virginian satire, the texts were initially directed at a coterie of urban gentlemen who congregated around the Inns of Court and at the plays of the children's companies. Such gentlemen, more widely read than most and participating in the circulation of poetic manuscripts, could be expected to appreciate the playwrights' anti-Virginian jokes, which relied upon an awareness of the "defining features" of Elizabethan and early Jacobean colonial propaganda. Foremost amongst these features was the deliberate feminisation of the North American coast – the name "Virginia" itself being the most obvious example of this feminising process. Building on Louis Montrose's influential essay on gender and the New World, I will argue that what Montrose describes as the 'feminized topographical and textual spaces of the new found land' actually extends beyond the 'politic and natural bodies of the *Queen of England*' and becomes part of a wider metaphoric configuration of New World territories that persisted well into the seventeenth century.[5] This chapter proposes that the earnest metaphorical conflation of sexual and geographic conquest that was established under Elizabeth I became, during James I's reign, a literary trope used to mock merchant-adventurers.

In Gavin Hollis's study of the representation of America on the early modern stage, he identifies character-types that he associates with the theatre's critical view of colonial venture: 'the *noveau riche* merchant, the prodigal, the citizen wife, the bankrupt knight'.[6] In this chapter, I want to suggest that the shoreline itself becomes a kind of "character" in several seventeenth-century dramatic representations of New World coastal arrival. This "character" corresponds to the city-comedy trope of the "disguised whore" – a prostitute, who tricks a buffoonish man (often by disguising herself as a wealthy heiress) to commit himself to her in marriage.[7] Motivated by financial and sexual greed, the buffoonish man ultimately discovers his mistake

[4] Adam Zucker, *The Places of wit in early modern English comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 1.
[5] [my italics] Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery", *Representations* No. 33, Special Issue: The New World (Winter, 1991), p. 33.
[6] Gavin Hollis, *The Absence of America: the London stage, 1576-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 19.
[7] For examples of the "disguised whore" character in early modern city comedy, see Thomas Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1605); Lording Barry, *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks* (1608); and Thomas Middleton, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613).

and must suffer the humiliation of his thwarted ambitions. In the final section of this chapter, I will examine the extent to which the shorelines of the New World are presented as a reconfiguration of the "disguised whore" trope of city comedy – promising sexual and financial riches and yet delivering disappointment.

I. 'WHERE AM I CAST ASHORE NOW': EASTWARD HO AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OPPOSITION TO NEW WORLD COLONIALISM

In 1605, when *Eastward Ho* was written and first performed, the prospect of re-establishing a colony in Virginia must have seemed laughable. Ventures specifically intending to colonise Virginia had waned during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, with the failed colony at Roanoke (finally abandoned in 1590) weighing heavily on those who had hoped to re-establish an English settlement in the New World. On 31 December 1600, Elizabeth issued a royal charter to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 others to form the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies' – the inception of what was to become England's most notorious trading company. While significant in and of itself, the granting of this charter reveals much about the imperial and mercantile aspirations of early seventeenth-century England. After notable failures in Virginia, England's ambitions appear at this time to have looked neither "Western" nor focused on colonial "planting", but instead sought out trading potential to the east. However, the new primacy placed on Eastern trading lasted as long as the ailing queen, and after the ascension of James I to the throne of England in 1603, plans to colonise Virginia began to be resurrected by merchants and colonisers alike, who identified in the new king a willingness to support such ventures. In July 1603, Bartholomew Gilbert anchored his ship *The Concord* in Chesapeake Bay and, taking four men ashore, made one final attempt to search for the missing members of the lost Roanoke settlement. The venture itself, sanctioned by Raleigh, who still held the exclusive crown grant of the whole coast, had been intended partly as a trade mission and partly as a settlement party. Though neither

ambition came to fruition, it succeeded in reigniting interest in the prospect of a lasting Virginian colony.

Satirising Virginian Coastal Arrival in Eastward Ho

The playwrights of *Eastward Ho* drew their picture of Virginian "colonisation" against the backdrop of this enthusiastic though bleak history of recent attempts. Reading the play with twenty-first-century hindsight of England's indelible mark on America's shores runs the risk of assuming early modern audiences were likewise aware of the ultimately successful teleology of English colonialism in the New World. Instead, we must be attuned to the ways in which the playwrights conjure an entirely fanciful notion of what coastal arrival in the New World really promised in 1605. The aptly named captain of the play's potential Virginian voyage, Seagull, feeds his companions with false promises of easy riches and licentious women – the same ambitions that had become an object of mockery from the late sixteenth century onwards. When the credulous Spendall asks whether Virginia is 'inhabited already with any English?' (III.iii.17), the Captain responds that:

> *Sea.* A whole country of English is there, man, bred of those that were left there in '79. They have married with the Indians, and make 'em bring forth as beautiful faces as any we have in England. (III.iii.18-21)

Chapman, Jonson and Marston (as well as their audience) would have known full well that no such men were 'left there in '79' – Richard Grenville had made the first attempt at settling Virginia in 1585. Seagull's fantastical tale of a half-English, half-native, Virginian population is merely a mockery of the sorts of hopes expressed in Bartholomew Gilbert's attempt to relocate the men from the lost colony of Roanoke thirteen years after they were known to have disappeared. Seagull goes further into the realm of fantasy by teasing the men with tales of 'treasure there' (III.iii.24). He describes how:

> *Sea*. I tell thee, gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring, I'll have thrice the weight in gold. Why, man, all

> their dripping pans and their chamber pots are pure gold; and all the chains, with which they chain up their streets, are massy gold; all the prisoner they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holidays ad gather 'em by the seashore, to hang on their children's coasts, and stick in their caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches, and groats with holes in 'em. (III.iii.26-37)

These fanciful claims begin in the realm of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, where we learn of the Native Americans that 'copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red', 'copper […] they esteem more than gold' and 'we exchanged a copper kettle for fiftie skins worth fiftie crownes', before descending into pastiche (and at times even quotation) of Thomas More's *Utopia*.[8] Following the 1551 Ralph Robinson translation of More's text, we observe irrefutable borrowing from the fictional Raphael Hythlodaeus' description of Utopia by the play's authors. Hythlodaeus describes of the Utopians how:

> of gold and siluer they make commonlye chamber pottes and other like vesselles, that serue for moste vile vses, not only in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate cheynes with fetters and giues wherin they tye their bondmen. Finally who so euer for any offence be infamed, by their eares hange ringes of golde: vpon their fingers they were ringes of golde, and about their neckes chaynes of gold: and in conclusion their heades be tiede about with golde. Thus by all meanes that may be they procure to haue gold and siluer emong them in reproche and infamy. And therfore thies metalles, which other nations do as greuously and sorroufully forgo, as in a maner from their owne liues: if they should all togethers at ones be taken from the vtopians, no man there wold thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also peerles by the sea side, & Diamondes and Carbuncles vpon certein rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them they cutt and polish then. And therwith they decke their yonge infanntes.[9]

The promise of easy riches, particularly gold, became a permanent target for satirists seeking to mock the Virginian ventures and adventurers on stage. In this case, the playwrights turn the Utopianism that many merchant companies associated with the New World on its head; Virginia's potential riches are the stuff of fantasy akin to More's fictional world (the 'rubies and diamonds' found on the 'seashore' in Virginia are as fanciful as the 'Diamondes and

[8] The connection here to Hakluyt was first identified in A. H. Gilbert, "Virginia and Eastward Ho", *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII (1918), pp. 183-184; the subsequent connection to More is identified in R. W. Van Fossen ed., *Eastward Ho* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. 138n.

[9] Thomas More, *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson* (London, 1551), sigs. Kviii^{r-v}.

Carbuncles' found on the 'sea side' of Utopia. By conflating Hakluytian depictions of the New World with More's *Utopia*, the playwrights mockingly suggest that the play's Virginian adventurers are as likely to discover riches on the shores of America as they are to find the fictional "No Place" of More's satire. Indeed, when it becomes apparent to Quicksilver that he will never arrive on the American coastline, he proposes instead to 'blanch copper so cunningly that it shall endure all proofs but the test' (IV.i.239-240); upon realising the foolishness of the venture, his New World gold becomes little more than the iron pyrite that had tricked Martin Frobisher in the 1570s and Walter Raleigh in the 1590s.

Despite the mockery levelled at merchant-adventurers in the theatre, many of these sixteenth-century clichés about colonial riches persisted into the seventeenth century and helped to fuel the second wave of Virginian ventures. In 1605, the year *Eastward Ho* was written and first performed, James Rosier published an account of George Weymouth's voyage to Virginia that had taken place earlier that year. Rosier's report seems to advocate the establishment of a hybrid "imperial/mercantile" settlement somewhere between the kind of self-supporting colony of the sort that Jamestown would eventually become and a trading outpost that would help to facilitate 'traffique' that might profit England with trade.[10] Indeed, the author writes excitedly about the discovery on 11 June of a river that might 'bring in all traffiques of Marchandise, a benefit always accounted the richest treasury to any land'; however, as if to suggest that trade alone is not enough, he notes that the land 'affoordeth as much diuersitie of good commodities, as any reasonable man can wish, for present *habitation* and *planting'*.[11] Rosier advises any future venture to settle Virginia that 'the first and chiefest thing required, is a *bold coast* and faire land to fall with' and in this respect he ascribes 'a special attribute to this *shore* [found by Weymouth], being most free from sands or dangerous rocks'.[12]

The shoreline of Chesapeake Bay is not only valued by Rosier for its ability to harbor trading ships, however, and the author reiterated the promise of immediate wealth that could be

---

[10] James Rosier, *A TRVE RELATION of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captaine* George Waymouth*, in the Discouery of the land of* Virginia (London, 1605), sig. D4^{v}.
[11] [my italics] *ibid.*, sig. D2^{v}.
[12] [my italics] *ibid.*, sig. D4^{v}.

accrued even from the first contact with the New World. Describing an expedition party landing on the coast of Virginia, Rosier notes how:

> Heere our men found abundance of great muscels among the rocks; and in some of them many small Pearls: and in one muscell (which we drew vp in our nets) was found fourteene Pearles, whereof one of the prety bignesse and orient: in another aboue fiftie small Pearles.[13]

The language here is surprisingly technical and yet would have been understood by the fictional goldsmith's apprentice, Quicksilver, if he had had the opportunity to read it. The 'prety bignesse' of the pearl certainly suggests that it would have commanded a high price; however, its description as 'orient' is more revealing – the term is drawn directly from the idiolect of early modern goldsmiths to denote a pearl particularly high in nacre and thus of the greatest quality and value.[14] The text suggests that the shoreline has such an abundance of 'profits and fruits' that all men who venture there will be made rich as soon as they make landfall.[15] The remainder of Rosier's account is focused primarily on the party's contact with local Natives and the fact that 'they had Furres and Tabacco to trafficque with vs'.[16] In this way, the text is doubly primed – speaking simultaneously to the sorts of men who might actually travel to Virginia in hopes of making their fortune, as well as those who would stay in England and the mercantile aspect of the venture. In each case, there is the promise of a quick return on one's investment, either in the ready rewards that can be extracted from the shoreline physically or the profits that can be made through financing long-term trading in the commodities of fur and tobacco with the Native population.

---

[13] Rosier (1605), sigs. B2^{v}-B3^{r}.
[14] For the term 'orient' in the early modern period, see Miriam Emma Jacobson, *Barbarous antiquity: reorienting the past in the poetry of early modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2014), p. 164-165.
[15] Rosier (1605), sig. B2^{r}.
[16] *ibid.*, sig. C3^{v}.

Financing Merchants in Eastward Ho

The question of how to fund future ventures to the New World was a pressing concern in the early seventeenth century. *Eastward Ho* is attuned to this issue and reserves a portion of its mockery for those who would naively fund the extravagances of the merchant-adventurers. In some of the opening lines of the play, Quicksilver asks rhetorically 'how would merchants thrive, if gentlemen were not unthrifts?' (I.i.38-39). The foolhardiness of gentlemen in funding such ventures is as direct a target for mockery as the merchant-adventures themselves, who gull such young men out of their money. The playwrights are highly particular in describing the venture's patrons as 'gentlemen'. The play was first performed by the Children of Her Majesties Revels at Blackfriars theatre and the audience would have been comprised almost exclusively of young men answerable to such a label.[17] Much as Marlowe's specific use of the word 'citizen' in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, discussed in the previous chapter, was a term likely to draw distinction between those watching the boys' company play and those attending adult performances, the term 'gentlemen' here undoubtedly refers to the kinds of young men studying and working in the Inns of Court, who would have been specifically in attendance at the *Eastward Ho* performance.

In mocking unthrifty gentlemen in this way, the play treads a fine line between embracing and alienating its audience as regards to colonial funding. The comedy is derived from the fact that certain members of the play's gentleman audience would have been acknowledged amongst their peers to fall into such a category of unwise commercial backers; however, in 1605 such gentlemen would have remained a minority of the audience. George Weymouth's 1605 venture, for example, was not funded by a large consortium of middle-class investors (as would become the model under the Virginia Company) but instead almost exclusively by Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of Wardour and Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.[18] The play succeeds in probing its audience's ambitions without alienating large

[17] This is indicated on the title page of the 1605 quarto.
[18] G. P. V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), p. 159.

segments who might in fact have sunk significant portions of capital into backing merchant-adventurers. As the decade progressed, however, and particularly by the 1610s, this situation would have changed dramatically as greater numbers of gentlemen invested their money in the commercial opportunities that Virginia was purported to offer. If the play is somehow prescient of this transformation in the funding model for merchant companies then it is almost certainly accidental. Nevertheless, one of the play's authors, Ben Jonson, would return to the issue of middle-class funding of merchant ventures a decade later in the induction to his city-comedy *Bartholomew Fair*.[19]

If the Virginian context of *Eastward Ho* had at all been occasioned by the Weymouth expedition (and this seems plausible given the two projects would have been initiated almost simultaneously) then this may go some way to explain the dramatists' specific hostility towards such ventures – particularly that of George Chapman, who is considered responsible for the most satirical episode against Virginian exploration, Act III, scene iii.[20] Chapman's relationship with the Earl of Southampton, the major financial backer of Weymouth's venture, had been embarrassingly curtailed in the late 1590s when he was passed over for patronage of his translation of the first seven books of the *Illiad* and for his classically inspired *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. Several critics, notably Arthur Acheson and more recently MacDonald P. Jackson, have consider Chapman as the potential inspiration for the "rival poet" in Shakespeare's sonnets – a text that did, by contrast, receive Southampton's support.[21] *Eastward Ho*'s anti-Virginian satire was unlikely to have been written as a direct attack on Southampton; however, considered in the context of the 1605 Weymouth venture, the play may have provided Chapman with the opportunity to vent his frustration towards what he may have considered to be the Earl's misdirected financial backing. The competition for funding between the theatre companies and

[19] This will be examined in section three of this chapter.
[20] The three major twentieth-century editors of the play (T.M. Parrott, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Comedies* (1914); Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson: The Complete Works* (1925); and C. G. Petter, *Eastward Ho!* (1973)) each ascribe Act III, scene iii to George Chapman; see Appendix 3 in R. W. Van Fossen, *Eastward Ho* (1979), p. 226.
[21] Arthur Acheson, *Shakespeare and the rival poet: displaying Shakespeare as a satirist and proving the identity of the patron and rival of the sonnets* (London: John Lane, 1903), *passim*; MacDonald P. Jackson, "Francis Meres and the Cultural Contexts of Shakespeare's Rival Poet Sonnets", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 56, No. 224 (Apr., 2005), pp. 230-233.

the merchant companies during the early seventeenth century was a key motive behind the antagonism between the two groups and would ultimately help to prolong the conflict well into the 1620s.

Avoiding Censorship and Eastward Ho*'s Anti-Virginian Allies*

Eastward Ho proved to be a controversial work, landing Jonson and Chapman in jail for the play's anti-Scottish comedy. If Chapman was concerned for his life and liberty then he appears to have pleaded for them with a subtle, yet remarkably bold, sense of irony. In a letter sent during his imprisonment 'to his Most Gratious Maiestie', Chapman asks James I to bestow his 'most Cesar-like Bountie' upon the authors and 'spare the Conquerd'.[22] If Chapman truly hoped to be spared then it is peculiar that he should have evoked Caesar as the model of forgiveness that he hoped James to follow. Chapman's assessment of Julius Caesar's beneficence had already been made in his earlier closet-drama *Caesar and Pompey* – the final scene of which featured the consul's cruelty and sentence of 'tortures, tortures for them' (V.i.) who had crossed him.[23]

While the play's anti-Scottish satire did not evade the censorious hands of the state, its anti-Virginia satire may have survived owing to the licensor's sympathetic attitude towards its sentiments. In 1603, the poet and historian Samuel Daniel took over the post as the licensor for the company of the Children of the Queen's Revels.[24] Ian MacInnes has quantified Jacobean

[22] George Chapman, "Letter to his Most Gratious Maiestie", in Chapman, Jonson, and Marston (1979), p. 218.

[23] The dating of this play has proved controversial with early critics suggesting that it came from the 1610s (see, George Chapman, *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: The Comedies* ed. T. M. Parrott 2 vols. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1910-14)), while more recently a study of allusions to the play has led J. E. Ingledew, Jr. to suggest that the play predates Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Northward Ho*, written in 1607, and thus comes from the early 1600s (see J. E. Ingledew, Jr., "The Date of Composition of Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*", *RES* 12 (1961), pp. 144-59.). Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith advance a chronology of Chapman's plays that places *Caesar and Pompey* before *Eastward Ho* in *The New Intellectuals: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama* eds. Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), pp. 152-153.

[24] Samuel Daniel's role as licensor for the Children of the Queen's Revels at the time of controversial plays such as *Eastward Ho* (1605), John Day's *The Isle of Gulls* (1606), and George Chapman's two-part play *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron, Marshall of France* (1608) is noted in

opposition to Virginian ventures too narrowly by suggesting that Daniel was the 'one person' who offered any dissent (if nothing else, *Eastward Ho* adds three more names to that list); however, MacInnes is correct to specify Daniel as a fervent opponent to the New World expansionist policies that were returning to vogue under James I.[25] In a 1609-1610 verse epistle to James I's son, Prince Henry, Daniel explained his opposition by comparing England's predicament to that of Rome.[26] Rather than opposing Virginian ventures on the grounds that they would be unsuccessful, Daniel is more concerned by the prospect that their success might prove the start of England's political, economic and moral decline. In his broad perspective of European colonial projects both to the East and West, Daniel speculates whether 'Indea may not vnto Christendome | As Fatall be, as Asia was to Rome' (37-38). He is concerned that in overextending the bounds of their own dominions, seventeenth-century European nations, in particularly England, might similarly 'be made | A prey vnto some Gothicq barbarous hand | That shall lay wast our glorie' (86-88). That is not to say that England should not have any imperial ambitions and he supports a policy to 'Colonise neere home' (115) – implicitly backing further Irish planting – however, he believes that there is no benefit to be gained from travelling 'to any other Forraine continent' (126). In the same way, Francis Bacon would suggest in a 1606 manuscript to James I containing "Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland" that compared to the success in Ulster, the venture in Virginia was 'an enterprise in my opinion differing as much from [Ulster], as *Amadis de Gaul* differs from Caesar's *Commentaries*'.[27] Bacon's own reservations appear to have been muted by 1609 when he became one of fifty members of sitting on the Council of Virginia. Nevertheless, in Daniel's verse epistle, the use of classical allusions to the founding of the Roman imperium – a notable

---

Richard Dutton, *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 39.

[25] Ian MacInnes, ""Some Gothicq barbarous hand"; Poetry and foreign policy in Samuel Daniel's Epistle to Prince Henry", *Appositions* (May, 2009), p. 1.

[26] The "Epistle to Prince Henry" is found in the Brotherton Manuscript which has been described and transcribed in John Pitcher, *Samuel Daniel: The Brotherton Manuscript, A Study in Authorship* (Leeds: Leeds Texts and Monographs [New Series No. 7], 1981) pp. 20-37, 131-137. Quotations from the poem will be taken from this text using the line numbering supplied by Pitcher in his transcription.

[27] Francis Bacon, "Certain Considerations Touching the Plantation in Ireland, Presented to His Majesty, 1606", James Spedding, ed., *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1861-74), Vol. VI, p. 123.

feature of sixteenth-century colonial propaganda – are employed to offer warnings of the once-great empire's eventual decline. For a historian such as Daniel, it is not the founding mythology of Rome but the history of its decline that is of primary concerns when comparing early modern Europe to its classical past.

Daniel concludes his poetic epistle by co-opting the propagandistic language of Drayton's 1606 "Ode to the Virginian Voyage" and transforming it to suit his own anti-colonial purposes. Where Drayton, in the first line of his poem, called upon the 'brave Heroique minds' of England's merchant-adventurers to pursue Virginian colonisation, Daniel concludes his poem by suggesting to the 'Magnanimous Prince', who occasioned his verse, that his own work hopes to inspire colonial restraint from 'great heroicq mynds' (236). Prince Henry was a well-known advocate for further Virginian expansion and Daniel claims to have written his poem as a response to requests by the Prince for divergent opinions on the matter. If Daniel concluded his poem in a manner that he hoped would draw a distinction between his views and those of Drayton then this was in keeping with the kinds of jostling for patronage that we have already seen from Chapman. In 1607, Daniel had dedicated his *Tragedie of Philotas* to the Prince, while Drayton – who had been courting Henry's favour for years – offered his first edition of *Poly-Olbion* to the Prince in 1612, only months before the young man's death. Daniel's evident opposition to Virginian expansion – fully articulated in his verse-epistle – as well as his friendship with Chapman in the 1600s placed him firmly on the anti-colonial side of the debate and made him in 1605 perhaps the most sympathetic possible licensor, in this regard, for *Eastward Ho*'s own assault on the prospect of renewed New World enthusiasm from merchant-adventurers.

Eastward Ho*'s Foreshadowing of Jacobean Colonial Satire*

The theatres' commitment to satirical plays concerning London's merchants and particularly the exploits of the Virginia Company appears only to have intensified with the granting of the royal charter on 10 April 1606. This charter divided the North American coast between the Virginia

Company of London and the Virginia Company of Plymouth – two companies that were to be overseen by the thirteen members of the Counsel of Virginia handpicked by the King himself. Over the next eighteen years, an intense war of words followed between the theatre companies and the merchant companies, with accusations of moral corruption, financial mismanagement, and general incompetence being hurled from one group to the other. As Meredith Skura has noted, 'the official propaganda, optimistic about future profits, was soon countered by a backlash from less optimistic scoffers challenging the value of the entire project, one which sent money, men, and ships to frequent destruction and brought back almost no profit'.[28] The anti-Virginian satire of *Eastward Ho* looks, in retrospect, to have been located at a historical fulcrum around which American colonial policy appears to turn. It mocks an earnest pursuit of gold and women in the New World at a time when such ventures had almost been consigned to an Elizabethan past. The playwrights could surely not have anticipated the explosive interest in American colonialism that would build in the years immediately after the play was written; however, their depiction of Seagull, Quicksilver and the Virginian adventurers seems almost prophetic when seen with the benefit of historical distance. Nevertheless, the satirical modes exploited in *Eastward Ho* were not created *de novo* but were interacting with a tradition that had been developing amongst the very gentlemen of the Inns of Court towards whom the play is so clearly directed. In the next two sections of this chapter, I want to explore the emergence of this tradition – focusing first on the gendering of colonial shorelines in the poetry of the young John Donne and prose of Joseph Hall, before turning to the later accusations of greed associated with merchant-adventurers' ambitions for arriving on the shores of America levelled in the dramas of George Chapman and Ben Jonson.

[28] Skura (1989), p. 55.

II. 'WHOLE SHYERES OF FRUITFULL RICH GROUNDES […] DOE PROSTITUTE THEMSELUES VNTO VS': THE GENDERING OF COLONIAL SHORELINES

In Act III, scene iii of *Eastward Ho*, Captain Seagull invites the assembled merchant-adventurers to 'come, boys, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maidenhead' (III.iii.15-16). The line is deliberately paradoxical – one cannot share the "rest" of a woman's maidenhead – and is thus in keeping with Seagull's demonstrable ignorance of both America and, presumably, women. If Chapman wrote these lines, as it seems most likely he did, then their latent mockery of the conflation of sexual and geographical conquest are in stark contrast to the attitudes he endorsed and propagated in the 1590s. Georgia Brown has noted the manner in which sixteenth-century writers and explorers feminised the geography of the New World, identifying in Sir Walter Raleigh's 1596 *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtiful Empire of Gviana* how 'the land of Guiana is a substitute for Elizabeth' at time when the captain was out of favour with the monarch for pursuing one of her Gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber: Elizabeth Throckmorton.[29] In the text, Raleigh conflates territorial and sexual conquest, reminding his readers that Charles I of Spain has already 'had the Maydenhead of Peru'.[30] While England may have come late to the project of Western planting, Raleigh is keen to emphasis that 'Guiana is a Country that hath yet her Maydenhead' – she is a country as yet seemingly untouched by any other European nation and thus available for English adventurers.[31]

In this section, I want to chart the emergence of the feminisation of the New World and the ways in which a tradition of literary parody emerged in response. I argue that the "imperial" model of colonialism that Raleigh advocated in the 1580s lent itself to parodies of merchant-adventurers' lustfulness owing to its metaphorically potent fixation on "planting" and "husbandry" in the New World. Accusations of lustfulness becomes a fundamental critique of the colonial project in Virginia which, I will demonstrate in the final section of this chapter

---

[29] Georgia Brown, *Redefining Elizabethan Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 20-22.
[30] Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtiful Empire of Gviana* (London, 1596), sig. ¶3[r].
[31] *ibid*., p. 96.

dealing with John Fletcher's "voyage dramas", carried through into the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Colonial Propaganda and the Feminisation of New World Shorelines

In the same year that Raleigh published his account of Guiana, one of the captain's companions, Lawrence Kemys, published his own account of the venture to the New World. Amongst the dedicatory epistles to this work, George Chapman contributed a lengthy verse entitled *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum* in which Guiana becomes a geography of erotic potential. Chapman's "Carmen Epicum" (simply, "Epic Verse") does not yet appear to be tinged with the sort of colonial parody that would underpin his presentation of New World exploration in *Eastward Ho*. Instead, he writes earnestly, in the manner of colonial-advocates such as the poet Charles Fitzgeoffrey, who also published that year a poem of colonial celebration, of how imperial conquest will 'create | A golden worlde in this our yron age'.[32] The poem's almost obsessive fixation on the potential gold to be found in Guiana ('golden bunches' (42), 'inherit gold' (69), 'golde of honour' (75), 'gold-made men' (78), 'golden-graueled springs' (144)) is the gilding on Chapman's anthropomorphised view of the land that ascribes a feminine identity to this New World coastal discovery. In what begins as a quasi-geographical-blazon, Chapman notes how:

> *Guiana*, whose rich feet are mines of golde,
> Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
> Stands on her tip-toes at faire *England* looking,
> Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
> And euery signe of all submission making
> To be her sister, and the daughter both
> Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
> Is the true fruite of virtue (18-25)

Guiana is presented as a female counterpart to England – a 'sister' or even 'daughter' to Elizabeth's virgin 'Maide'. While this description does not appear sexualised, Chapman's use of

[32] George Chapman, *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum*, in *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), ll. 30-31. Further references to the poem will be taken from this edition and line numbers will be embedded into the text. See Charles Fitzgeoffrey, *Francis Drake, His honourable life's commendation, and his Tragical Deathes Lamentation* (Oxford, 1596).

the word 'barrennesse' to describe his monarch's virginity speaks to the imperial anxieties that vexed many Protestants at the close of the century as Elizabeth's impending death signalled an uncertain future for both the nation and, what Chapman calls elsewhere in the poem, Elizabeth's 'soueraigne Empire' (63). By contrast, Guiana is presented as a young woman whose 'submission' is achieved through the innuendo-laden planting of a colony and mining for hidden treasures. Chapman foregrounds Raleigh's pseudo-sexual rather than violent domination of the land by noting that it was a '*Conquest* without bloud' (15) – non-violent, perhaps, though also implicitly suggesting that by 1596 Guiana was no maiden to Raleigh's advances.[33]

Chapman's feminisation of Guiana was in keeping with the text to which his poem was appended: Lawrence Kemys's *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana*. Kemys accompanied Raleigh on all three of the captain's voyages to Guiana, committing suicide in 1618 during the third expedition after Raleigh refused to forgive him after an expedition inland, led by Kemys, resulted in the death of Raleigh's son. Fiercely loyal to Raleigh (he was imprisoned with his master in 1603 during the aftermath of the alleged Main Plot against James I), Kemys wrote his account of the second voyage in order to assist in the rehabilitation of Raleigh's reputation in court. Much as Raleigh and Chapman have been seen to inscribe a feminine identity onto the land of the New World, so too Kemys saw Guiana through the prism of gender. Describing the coastal region of Guiana, Kemys describes how 'here whole shyeres of fruitfull rich groundes lying now waste for want of people, doe prostitute themselues vnto vs like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and flower of desired yeares'.[34] If Chapman's sexualised image of Guiana was implicit, Kemys's here is highly explicit. The 'fruitfull rich groundes' are seen to be actively soliciting the explorers that ultimately conquer her – though at this time she is not the hoary wench of seventeenth-century city-comedy but a 'faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and flower of desired yeares'.

[33] The early modern belief that a virgin should bleed during intercourse as a result of the perforation of her hymen and its symbolic representation on the stage is discussed in Marie H. Loughlin, *Hymeneutics: interpreting virginity on the early modern stage* (London: Associated University Press, 1997), *passim*.
[34] Lawrence Kemys, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596), sig. F3^{r}.

This same feminised vision of the New World was repeated much later in 1625 when Samuel Purchas – taking up the mantel from where Hakluyt left off – asked the readers of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* to:

> looke vpon *Virginia;* view her louely lookes (howsoeuer like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Couerts and shadie Woods, expecting rather rauishment then Mariage from her Natiue Sauages) suruay her Heauens, Elements, Situation; her diuisions by armes of Bayes and Riuers into so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired, nay not yet improoued, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loues of the best Husband.[35]

Despite thirty intervening years of ventures to the New World, Kemys and Purchas present an almost identical image of a sexually receptive, though as-yet-untouched, maiden America. However, while Kemys presents the land as prostituting itself to the merchant-adventurers who land there, Purchas is concerned with the 'Natiue Sauages', who, he suggests, prefer 'rauishment then Mariage'. If Kemys' text offered encouragement to English merchant-adventurers to conquer (both territorially and sexually) the New World, then Purchas's ambitions are subtly different. Instead, he hope that the Old World will prove the 'best Husband' to the New – implicitly bringing order and progress to a world that is otherwise 'not yet improoued in Natures best Legacies'.

These sixteenth-century colonial texts were fundamental in inscribing a feminine identity to the shores of the New World. In doing so, coastal arrival became a kind of sexual (rather than purely colonial) conquest. In this section of the chapter, I want to consider how this feminisation became the subject of colonial parody. In the poetry of John Donne, the metamorphic transformation of the land into a woman is reversed in his depiction of women transformed into colonial shores; in the prose of Joseph Hall, the New World becomes overrun by feminine rule, and the passive submission of the female land is grotesqued into a democratic (and thus unruly) matriarchy.

---

[35] Purchas (1625), p. 1818.

John Donne's Parody of New World Feminisation

Though the poetic transformation of the shorelines of the New World into a maiden persisted well into the seventeenth century, it also became the subject of parody almost as soon as it was introduced in earnest to London's avid readership.[36] However, where the land-to-woman metamorphosis featured primarily in printed texts, its satirical opposite, the woman-to-land transformation, occurred principally in circulated manuscripts. Amongst the Inns of Court coterie circulating manuscript poetry, John Donne repeatedly co-opted the colonialists' gendering of New World territories to facilitate the metaphorical conceits of his poem's sexual conquests. In his elegy "On Love's Progress", Donne offers his reader a blazon of his mistress (39-70); however, rather than the land taking on the qualities of a woman, it is the woman that takes on the qualities of the land.[37] In a poem in which Terry Sherwood identifies an 'excessive Elizabethan interest in sea discovery and world trade', Donne adopts the role of maritime explorer – albeit one who 'goes | To sea for nothing but to make him sick' (2-3).[38] On his metaphorical journey, he discovers his lover's 'brow' (43) which, like a shoreline, 'becalms us when tis smooth and plain' (43) but 'when tis wrinkled, shipwrecks us again' (44). Later he comes 'upon the Islands Fortunate' (51) – which we discover are her 'swelling lips' (53) – and decides to 'anchor there, and think ourselves at home' (54). Donne's poetic/erotic journey does not merely chart the physical, however, and we see the poet willing to engage with the sorts of temporal conflations between the classical and the early modern that marked the poetic voyages found in the writing of Edmund Spenser amongst others. In moving down his mistress's body, Donne notes how he must pass 'the strait Hellespont between | The Sestos and Abydos of her breasts' (60-61) encountering on his voyage 'some island moles' (64) that might punctuate the

[36] Donne's playful reimagining of Elizabethan colonial propaganda (both in poetry and prose) is examined in R. V. Young, "'O My America, My New-Found-Land': Pornography and Imperial Politics in Donne's "Elegies"", *South Central Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, John Donne (Summer, 1987), pp. 35-48.
[37] John Donne, "On Love's Progress", *The Complete Poems of John Donne* ed. Robin Robbins (Harlow: Longman, 2010). All references to Donne's poetry shall be taken from this edition and citations to line numbers will be embedded in the text.
[38] Terry Sherwood, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 72.

otherwise 'boundless sea' (63) between them. Here he evokes Ovidian imagery – drawing together the content of the *Double Heroides* and the transformative process of the *Metamorphoses*. Finally, returning to the world of early modern exploration, he passes her 'Atlantic navel' (66) and encounters 'another forest' (69) – her pubic hair – where he notes that 'some do shipwreck and no further get' (70). Donne's conceit not only co-opts the gendered language of colonial discourse but centers it geographically on the shoreline. In this poem, he coasts the exterior of his mistress but does not dare to penetrate the land nor begin the process of "plantation".

Elsewhere, Donne seems more forthright about his territorial/sexual conquests. In "The Good Morrow", Donne describes lovers as 'sea-discov'rers to new worlds' (12), suggesting that each partner 'hath one, and is one' (14) and must 'possess' (14) the other. Similarly, in the elegy "On his Mistress Going to Bed", the poet locates his territorial/sexual exploration firmly in the context of the charter Elizabeth granted Raleigh to explore Guiana, asking his mistress to likewise:

> License my roving hands, and let them go
> Behind, before, above, between, below!
> O my America! My new-found land!
> My kingdom, safeliest when with one man manned!
> My mine of precious stones! My empery!
> How blessed am I in this discovering thee!
> To enter in these bonds is to be free:
> Then where my hand is set, my seal shall be. (25-32)

His mistress becomes his 'America' and where his 'roving hands' go first, he declares, his 'seal' will follow shortly – impressing upon the reader, and his mistress, both sexual, phallic imagery and the symbolic mark of possession. Donne is precise in his satirical use of the colonists' language of exploration, identifying in his mistresses both a 'mine of precious stones' and an 'empery' that awaits after successful planting; in a single line Donne offers a retrenched summary of the two major Elizabethan colonial ambitions: gold and empire. The former, so easily the target of early modern satirists' mockery of New World exploration, is lingered upon with deliberately erotic overtones in "On Love's Progress"; here the poet describes 'the

ductileness, the application | the wholesomeness, the ingenuity' (12-13) of gold, noting that 'all these in women we might think upon' (17).

The transformation of the eroticised female body into the territory of America would remain a feature of coterie, Inns of Court writing into the seventeenth century – long after Donne himself had re-evaluated his own interest in the prospects of a Virginian settlement. In the 1602 play *Blurt, Master Constable*, attributed to Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, the authors adopt Donne's metaphor of geographical metamorphosis almost directly during a speech in which the roguish Spanish solider Lazarillo attempts to woo the courtesan Imperia and her ladies.[39] Lazarillo declares that:

> I doe first deliuer to your most Skreete, & long-fingred hands, this head (or top of all the members) bare and vncomb'd, to shew how deeply I stand in reuerence of your naked Female beauties. Bright and vnclipt Angels, if I were to make a discouerie of any new-found land (as *Virginia* or so) to Ladies & Courtiers, my speech should hoist vp Sailes, fit to beare vp such loftie and well rigged vessels[40]

The play was performed by the boys' company the Children of Paul's and would have been attended predominantly by the same Inns of Court gentlemen who would have been circulating Donne's poetry in manuscript through the 1590s and early 1600s. The allusion to Donne is, I would argue, far from accidental but instead the deliberate product of a particular network of thinking that centred around the Inns of Court. This network of writers, exemplified by Donne's poetry, was co-opting the language and imagery of sixteenth-century imperial propaganda in order to mock the earnestness of such Elizabethan colonialists.

If Donne's interest in New World exploration during the sixteenth century was tinged with an erotic playfulness that mocked the earnest conflation of land and body made by Elizabethan colonial propagandists, then his attitudes appear to have changed with the ascension of James I and the establishment of the Virginian Company in 1606. In a 1610 verse epistle "To

---

[39] The question of the play's authorship has been highly contested but is now generally considered to be the product of either Thomas Dekker or Thomas Middleton or a collaboration between the two, see M. L. Wine, "Thomas Dekker", in *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama,* Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith eds. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1975), pp. 33-34.

[40] Anonymous, *Blurt master-constable, Or The Spanish night-walke* (London, 1602), sig. E3^{r}.

the Countess of Bedford", Donne appears more earnest about the colonial prospects of Virginia, noting how 'We've added to the world Virginia and sent | Two new stars lately to the firmament' (67-68). Those 'two new stars', Robin Robbins suggests, were the souls of the recently departed Lady Markham and Ceilia Bulstrode – the latter of whom died in August 1609, meaning this poem was written nearly a year after Donne had openly expressed his desire to become the official Secretary to the Virginia Company.[41] A letter of February 1609 written by John Chamberlain all-but confirms Donne's interest in the position when he notes that 'newes here is none at all but that John Dun seekes to be preferred to be secretarie of Virginia'.[42] Though the Virginia Company would be one further position denied to Donne before his eventual entry into the Church in January 1615, he seems to have retained an interest in the venture well into the 1620s. In November 1622, he delivered a sermon before the 'Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation' in which his earlier conflation of New World land and the female body are rearticulated with a new-found earnest sincerity.[43] Perhaps unconsciously rearticulating Chapman's own earlier earnestness towards Virginia's colonial prospects, Donne describes the plantation at Jamestown as being like England's '*little sister*' – feminising the space in the manner of sixteenth-century colonial propaganda.[44] In the final prayer offered to the plantation itself, the metaphoric body-politic of Virginia is more fully articulated when Donne asks God to:

> Looke gratiously and looke powerfully upon this body, which thou hast bene now some yeares in building and compacting together, this Plantation. Looke gratiously upon the Head of this Body, our *Soveraigne* and blesse him with a good disposition to this work, and blesse him for that disposition: Looke gratiously upon them, who are as the *braine* of this body, those who by his power, counsel and advise, and assist in the Government thereof […] Look gratiously upon them ho are the *Eyes* of this Body, those of the *Clergy*, who have any interest therein […] Blesse them who are the *Feete* of this body, who goe thither, and the *Hands* of this body, who labour

[41] Robin Robbins, "To the Countess of Bedford", in Donne (2010), p. 710, n.68.
[42] John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* ed. Norman Egbert McClure 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1938), Vol. I, p. 284.
[43] John Donne, "A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation. 13 November. 1622. By Iohn Donne, Deane of St. Pauls, London", *The Sermon of John Donne*, eds. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, Vols. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), Vol. IV, pp. 264-282.
[44] *ibid*. p. 276.

> there, and them who are the *Heart* of this bodie, all that are heartily affected, and declare actually that heartinesse to this action.[45]

Donne's literary progression from playful mockery of the land-body conflation in the 1590s to an earnest use of that that same metaphoric metamorphosis by the 1620s follows an opposing trajectory to much of the rest of London's literary milieu, which was becoming increasingly satirical in its treatment of Virginian ventures. As late as 1625, in a sermon preached in January of that year at St Paul's, Donne noted of the two hemispheres of the world that 'the first hath been knowne long before, but the other, (that of America, which is the richer in treasure) God reserved for later Discoveries'.[46] To any of his congregation old enough to have read Donne's poetry as it circulated the Inns of Court in the 1590s, they may have remembered a time when the rich treasures of America meant something far less spiritual and far more corporeal to Donne.

In Donne's 1611 elegiac poem *The First Anniversary: An Anatomy of the World* – a poem for which the title itself alludes to this metaphoric conflation of land and body – the poet describes the deceased Elizabeth Drury in terms reminiscent of his earlier poetic, colonial metamorphoses. Donne notes how:

> she whose rich eyes and breast
> Gilt the West Indies and perfumed the East,
> Whose having breathed in this world, did bestow
> Spice on those isles, and bade them still smell so,
> And that rich Indie which doth gold inter,
> Is but the single money coined from her. (229-234)

The transformation is taken here to its logical extreme and Elizabeth becomes 'she to whom this world must itself refer | As suburbs or the microcosm of her' (235-236). Here the female body is not analogous to the land nor the land analogous to the female body; instead, the land is a 'microcosm of her' – she having reached an almost divine, macrocosmic position in relation to it. This poem, itself a meditation on the material and spiritual realities of the world, was

[45] Donne (1959), Vol. IV, p. 282.
[46] John Donne, "The second of my Prebend Sermons upon my five Psalmes. Preached at S. Pauls, Ianuary 29. 1625. [1625/6]", *The Sermon of John Donne*, eds. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, Vols. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), Vol. VII, p. 69.

introduced in its 1611 edition by a poem "To the Praise of the Dead, and 'The Anatomy'" written by the noted satirist and later Bishop, Joseph Hall.[47] It is probable that Hall had been invited to contribute the short introductory poem on account of his having been the former vicar (1601-1608) at Sir Robert Drury's parish church at Hawstead, Suffolk – the ultimate burial place for Drury's daughter Elizabeth. Hall and Donne most likely met in person during their respective Hawstead years; however, their respective fondness for verse-satires may have acquainted one with the other as early as the 1590s. In any case, if Donne initiated a playful reversal of the colonialists' land-body conflation in his early poetry, Hall would go on to make the metaphor of the feminised New World the center piece of his anonymously published anti-colonial satire *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605) – literally "Another World and yet the Same" and rendered in John Healey's unauthorized 1609 translation as *The Discovery of a New World*.[48]

Critiquing a Female New World in Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem

As early as Hall's expanded 1598 collection of satirical verses *Virgidemiarum*, the poet mocks Virginia as the destination of only the poorest and most destitute of England's citizens. In Book V, satire i, Hall suggests that the excessive rents of 'greedy Land-lords' (V.i.73) will force 'whole Collonies of poore' (V.i.109) to have no option by to relocate 'to the new-nam'd *Virgin-lond*' (V.i.113). Later, in Book V, satire iii – a poem that explicitly explores the sixteenth-century conflation of land and the female body (and male proprietorship over both) – Hall suggests that 'ech man can gard what thing he deemeth deere, | As fearfull Merchants doe their Female heyre' (V.iii.52-53). Given the slippery metaphoric language of land and body, the merchants' female heir may well represent more than simply a daughter or wife but become the

[47] Joseph Hall, "To the Praise of the Dead, and 'The Anatomy'", in Hall (1949). All quotations from Hall's poetry will be taken from this edition and citations (noted as line numbers) shall be embedded in the text itself. In the case of references to Hall's *Virgidemiarum* the citation shall take the form of Book, satire, line number (eg. V.i.221).

[48] The early print history of the text is described in detail in John Millar Wands, "The Early Printing History of Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* Vol. 74, No. 1 (First Quarter, 1980), pp. 1-12; the relationship between the 1605 Latin version of the text and the 1609 English translation is discussed in Appendix A. of Richard A. McCabe, *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 321-330.

sort of geographical space that might offer the 'promise of […] welth' (V.iii.54). This land may be for planting – bearing the coarsely sexualised 'furrows' of men's 'husbandrie' (V.iii.39); however, as in Donne's poetry, the New World is presented as offering even easier riches to be extracted from the land. In an earlier satire, for example, Hall had noted how 'ventrous *Fortunio* his farme hath sold, | And gads to *Guiane* land to fish for gold' (IV.iii.28-29).

If Hall's sixteenth-century satires offered an oblique criticism of the colonists' promise of an easy land from which treasures – whether vegetable, mineral, or corporeal – could be extracted, then *Mundus Alter et Idem* (henceforth *Mundus*) is far more explicit in its satire of the imperial and mercantile ambitions of New World adventurers. While the imagined world of the text is supposedly located in the South Indies, it is evidently concerned with England's colonial fixation on the Americas that were, in 1605, being resurrected by a new generation of merchant-adventurers. The organization of the text into the various geographical regions of the "Mundus Alter" is in keeping with the manner in which Richard Hakluyt divided the *Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599-1600) in the sixteenth century and how Samuel Purchas would divide his *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1614, 1625) in the seventeenth century. In Richard McCabe's assessment, Hall's text is 'something of a burlesque of Hakluyt' and that 'in Hall's eyes the wanderlust of his contemporaries was indicative of their vanity, idleness, and greed'.[49] Given this, McCabe sees the text as primarily designed to 'satirise the failings of contemporary Europe'.[50] However, attuned to the imperial ambitions that were being resurrected in 1605, Peter Mancall has returned the text to the colonial context of the early seventeenth century, proposing that to Hall's coterie of Latin-reading gentlemen the original content of *Mundus* 'cast colonies as *dystopias* to be avoided'.[51] Hall's *Mundus* is deliberately written in the satirical paradigm established by Thomas More's *Utopia* and, as such, offers an ironic nod to the utopian framework in which colonial propagandists were casting the New

[49] McCabe (1982), p. 76.
[50] *ibid*., p. 76.
[51] [my italics] Mancall (2007), p. 258.

World. Indeed, Lawrence Kemys had described Guiana as a 'new found *Vtopia*' less than a decade earlier.[52]

While Hall's ferocious anti-colonial attitudes in 1605 preceded the formation of the Virginia Company in 1606, the timing of the work's English translation in 1609 certainly capitalised on the growth of state-sponsored Virginian imperialism. It seems highly likely that the unauthorised translation of the text as *The Discovery of a New World* in 1609 was occasioned in part by the hopes of publishers Edward Blount and William Barrett to capitalise on the interest that year in Hakluyt's account of American colonial progress in *Virginia richly valued*. Blount and Barrett were themselves connected to the world of the merchant companies and aware of their proceedings – only a year later, in 1610, the two men published a pamphlet entitled *A true declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia* on behalf of the Counsel of Virginia. The augmented prominence of Virginia in the cultural consciousness of London's readership by 1609 offers a new context to *Mundus* despite it being ostensibly a translation of the text written by Hall in Latin four years earlier. In fact, the English translation departs in significant, albeit subtle, ways from Hall's original Latin version. Indeed, the English translation of *Mundus* not only embedded itself deeper into this new Virginian context, but it also broadened the text's readership beyond Hall's original coterie of Latin-reading gentlemen to include some of the class of merchant-adventurers themselves, to whom the original text may not have been accessible. Hall's original *Mundus* and Healey's translation, therefore, coexist in an uneasy relationship; *The Discovery* carries across many of the satiric tropes of the original (such as the mocking feminisation of the land) while simultaneously altering the prominence of certain aspects of Hall's version. Underpinning this development of the text through its translation, Gordon McMullan has suggested that while Hall may have offered a more generalised satire of colonial venture, Healey's version 'locates the metaphoric geography of his Amazonian dystopia in the New World'.[53]

---

[52] Kemys (1596), sig. A1^{v}.
[53] Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), p. 239.

Mundus advances the literary feminising of the territories of the New World beyond the level set by Donne in his satiric verses, with Hall dedicating the entirety of Book II to the fictional Viraginia – a dystopian world divided along gender lines. Much as Hall's sixteenth-century model (More's *Utopia*) included a cartographical representation of his fictional world, so too a fictitious map of the territory was appended to the 1605 edition of *Mundus*, presenting the reader with a cartographic representation of the region of 'Viraginia' and the coastal city of 'Nova Gynia'. These places serve a double-purpose in Hall's text – offering both a thinly-veiled satire of Virginia and Guiana as well as locating them in a feminised and ultimately gynophobic context. If Hall's original connection between the world of his satire and that of colonial America was somewhat oblique, the pretence of 'Viraginia' being an imaginary place slips entirely in Healey's translation. Indeed, in the opening lines of Book II, either the translator or the compositor of the text has deliberately or accidentally rendered the name 'Viraginia' as 'Virginia'.[54] Much of the original text's subtlety is likewise eroded in Healey's heavy-handed translation of this portion of the work, with the negative feminising of the space foregrounded by the English adaptation; 'Viraginia', for example, is most often translated to 'Shee-landt', while the capital city of 'Gynaecopolin' is rendered as 'Gossipingoa'.[55]

Reprising his own sexual-planting metaphor used in the *Virgidemiarum*, *Mundus* locates Viraginia in a New World, colonial context in the opening lines. Hall's narrator Mercury notes of Viraginia how 'the soile thereof is very *fruitful* but badly *husbanded'*.[56] The 'fruitful' soil reminds us immediately of the sixteenth-century propaganda used to encourage colonial ventures to the New World; however, in Hall's satiric vision of the territory, the lack of husbandry – both agricultural and sexual – has led directly to unrestrained female dominion over the land. This is manifest in the principal cities of the territory, which, by their names, signal what many early modern writers, such as Edward Gosynhyll in his popular sixteenth-century verse-pamphlet *The Schole House of Women*, saw as one of the chief danger of

[54] Joseph Hall, *The discouery of a new world* (London, 1609), p. 96.
[55] The Latin original is found in Joseph Hall, *Mundus Alter et Idem, An old world and a new* ed. Hector J. Anderson (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1908), p. 36; the 1609 translation by Healy can be found in Hall (1609), p. 95.
[56] [my italics] Hall (1609), p. 97.

unrestrained female liberty: gossiping speech.[57] In a list of cities, augmented by Healey from those offered by Hall in the original text, we find the settlements of '*Tattlingen*', '*Scoldonna*', '*Blubberick*', '*Gigglot-angir*', '*Pratlingople*', '*Tale-borne*', '*Lyps-wagg*', '*Cockatrixia*' and '*Shrewesbourg*'.[58] While Hall's text displays rampantly misogynistic attitudes, they serve, in the context of the colonial propaganda that he is satirising, to upend the notion that the New World was a desirable female ready to prostitute herself to the merchant-adventurers who arrived on her shores. Instead of being the sexual and territorial conqueror of this New World, the narrator Mercury is assailed by 'cruell conqueresses', whose society is organised (or rather disorganised) through a 'continuall parliament' in which decisions are made 'by the numbers of voices'.[59] While Hall's anti-democratic attitude would later draw the attention of John Milton for different reasons, it serves here to satirise what the author believes will be the feminine chaos of the New World settlements resulting from the erosion of the natural order of society.[60] Upon reaching the '*Hermaphrodite Iland*', Hall complains that 'in this Ile nature hath so orderly disposed all things to one form' – order has been lost, all are equal, chaos will ensue.[61] This is not the "Utopia" of More's vision but a dystopia that causes Hall to conclude that one must 'abhorre the ordering of womankinde'.[62]

Hall's *Mundus* offers a grossly misogynistic interpretation of how the feminising of the territory of the New World could be satirised. Nevertheless, by distancing the feminine/territorial metaphor from the purely erotic, Hall constructs a more systematic critique of New World settlement. While many dramatists would continue through the seventeenth century to mock the supposed lustfulness of the merchant-adventurers, *Mundus* offers a more comprehensive criticism of the sort of society that would be established if the natural order was eroded through a levelling of hierarchical norms. That Hall expresses this erosion of order in terms of gender was in keeping with the metaphorical feminising of the Americas that had

[57] Edward Gosynhyll, *Here begynneth a lytle boke named the Schole house of women* (London, 1541, 1560, 1572)
[58] Hall (1609), p. 97.
[59] *ibid.*, pp. 98-104.
[60] Audrey Chew, "Joseph Hall and John Milton", *ELH*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Dec., 1950), pp. 274-295.
[61] Hall (1609), p. 110.
[62] *ibid*., p. 119.

started in the sixteenth century; however, his concerns are not exclusively, nor even primarily, about the potential for female rule in the New World but that a settlement in Virginia gave England's "undesirables" the chance to take on disproportionate positions of power. This is precisely the danger that Chapman, Jonson and Marston envisage in *Eastward Ho*, exemplified when Seagull informs the assembled band of rogues planning to voyage to the New World that in Virginia:

> you shall live freely there, without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers […] then for your means to advancement there, it is simple, and not preposterously mixed. You may be an alderman there, and never be scavenger; you may be a nobleman, and never be a slave; you may come to preferment enough, and never be a pander; to riches and fortune enough, and have never the more villainy, nor the less wit. (III.iii.42-59)

But, of course, this vision of an upended society is 'preposterously mixed' to the highest degree – the natural order has been turned on its head. What the playwrights of *Eastward Ho* describe is a world of 'continuall parliament' (envisaged in Hall's *Mundus*) in which even the lowest have a voice. The threat of a world in which all voices, however unqualified, might be allowed to speak and, perhaps more importantly, be heard signalled a profound, existential danger to society – one in which the law-breakers become the law-makers. This was the distorted world that both Hall and the authors of *Eastward Ho* seem to imagine will result from the colonisation of Virginia and which is expressed through a complex critique of early modern gender roles.

Gender and Early Modern Colonial Satire

In this section, I have demonstrated the ways in which the literary feminisation of colonial shores developed from the sincere representations in the late sixteenth century to the cynical and satirical representations in the early seventeenth century. The gendering of colonial shorelines – seen here to have started amongst the coterie circles of the Inns of Court where manuscript circulation and boys' company plays offered an elite audience the chance to mock middle-class merchants – will be shown to have moved by the 1620s to the wider audiences of the adult

stage. As dramatists continued their war of words with the merchant companies through the early seventeenth century, the *topos* of merchant-adventurers' lustfulness and the feminisation of colonial shorelines was reused in a variety of ways to criticise the motives of those travelling to the New World. As I will explore in the fourth section of this chapter, this satirical view of feminised, colonial shores reached its apex in the 1620s in *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*, where Fletcher combined the more serious satirical position of Joseph Hall with the established tradition of mocking merchant-adventurers' supposed lustfulness. Before examining Fletcher's two "voyage dramas", however, I want to consider the second strand of New World critique that I identified in *Eastward Ho*: that of the merchant-adventurers' greed for gold. In particular, I want to consider the ways in which Ben Jonson exposed the Virginia Company's pretence of piety in two of his dramatic works. Coming into conflict with preachers, such as William Crashaw, Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* and the induction to *Bartholomew Fair* reveal the Virginia Company's self-declared piety as a mask for its overwhelming desire for the financial profit imagined through New World coastal arrival.

III. 'THE DEUILL, PAPISTS, AND PLAYERS': QUESTIONS OF PIETY AND PROFIT IN BEN JONSON'S TREATMENT OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

So far in this chapter, I have examined the ways in which early modern colonialists feminised the New World in their literary depictions of it. Furthermore, I have examined how satirists, attuned to this geographical gendering, used this motif to mock the merchant-adventurers for their supposed lustfulness; the ambitions of imperial "planting" that I identified with Sir Walter Raleigh in Chapter One were parodically transformed into more corporeal desires. In the concluding analysis of Hall's *Mundus*, I demonstrate how this generalised feminising trope associated with New World imperialism developed into a more complex critique of a disordered colonial settlement – this is something that will be particularly significant in my later analysis of John Fletcher's "voyage dramas".

In this section, I want to consider the second strand of colonial criticism that I identified in *Eastward Ho*'s presentation of Virginian voyagers: their greed for gold. This, I argue, developed in response to the other major sixteenth-century ambition for New World colonialism – the mercantile model of settlement that I associated in Chapter One with Sir Francis Walsingham. In particular, this section will consider the ways in which seventeenth-century dramatists clashed with colonial advocates over the purposes bending the settlement of Virginia. While preachers, such as William Crashaw, insisted that the motives of the merchant-adventurers were driven by piety, playwrights, such as Ben Jonson, sought to expose such religious ambitions as a mask for financial profits. Focusing on the writing of two of the *Eastward Ho* collaborators, I will first consider the encoded critique of Virginia found in George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* before going on to consider Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* and the recently-discovered *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*.

The Allure of Virginian Gold in Chapman's Memorable Masque

On 15 February 1613, members of Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn celebrated the marriage of James I's daughter, Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick V, Elector Palatine in the Rhine, by commissioning George Chapman to write what has subsequently become known as *The Memorable Masque*. The death three months earlier of the young Prince Henry, who had initially overseen the preparations for his sister's wedding, must have tinged the occasion with a certain melancholy; nevertheless, it was perhaps fitting that the masque, presented by the gentlemen of the Inns, should feature, in Henry's absence, 'Virginian Princes'.[63] The Prince had himself been "planted" into the territories of the New World in 1611 (a year before his death) when Sir Thomas Dale founded of the "Citie of Henricus" in Virginia in honour of his patron. While the masque is, on the surface, a celebration of the Virginian ventures, Patricia Crouch detects a complex intermeshing of various lines of patronage that serve to highlight not the

[63] George Chapman, *The memorable maske of the two honourable houses or Innes of Court; the Middle Temple and Lyncolns Inn* (London, 1613), sig. A2^{v}.

unity of the colonial project in Virginia but instead 'the frustrations of the prominent Virginia colonial investors'.[64] Crouch notes, for example, how the prominence of the ostentatiously-dressed mock-baboons in Chapman's masque serve to draw attention, perhaps only to those versed in the satirical traditions of Inns of Court city comedy, to the image of the foolish gallant.[65] During the procession, the printed text of the masque describes how the baboons should be 'casting Cockle-demois about in courtesie, by way of lardges [largess]' – something Crouch identifies as a mocking parody of the same offer of worthless shells that a series of unsuccessful merchant-adventurers had palmed off on their investors in place of promised-gold.[66]

If the masque symbolically critiques the poor return on investment achieved by the merchant-adventurers by the giving away of worthless shells, then it compounds this mockery with a hyperbolic presentation of the golden riches believed by many to be found in the New World. The audience is informed by Capriccio (whom the text of the masque describes as 'a man of wit') how:

> A troupe of the noblest Virginians inhabiting; attended hether the God of Riches, all triumphantly shyning in a Mine of gould. For hearing of the most royal solemnity, of these sacred Nuptialls; they crost the Ocean in their honor, and are here arriu'd. A poore snatch at some of the goulden Ore, that the feete of riches haue turnd vp as he trod here, my poore hand hath purchast; and hope the Remainder of a greater worke, wilbe shortly extant.[67]

The Virginians have brought along 'goulden Ore' that has become stuck, unnoticed, to the soles of their shoes as they journey from the New World to be in attendance at the Princess's wedding. While T. M. Parrot has suggested that the author of the masque probably 'knew little of the real resources of Virginia', Chapman's satirical contribution *Eastward Ho* suggests that the playwright was highly attuned to the worrying lack of gold found by Englishmen in the New World. Indeed, Chapman had been amongst the earliest playwrights to satirise the Virginian

---

[64] Patricia Crouch, "Patronage and Competing Visions of Virginia in George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* (1613)", *English Literary Reniassance* Vol. 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010), p. 426.
[65] Crouch (2010), pp. 399-400.
[66] Chapman (1613), sig. A1^{v}; Crouch (2010), p. 405.
[67] Chapman (1613), sig. B3^{r}.

merchant-adventurers' delusions of gold and in this masque he offers perhaps the cruellest joke possible in response to this – the Virginians inhabitants of his masque bring more gold ore to England on the soles of their shoes than had been brought back by English merchant-adventurers in nearly forty years of expeditions.

The inability to find gold on the North American coast had caused major financial concerns for the Virginia Company by the 1610s and the company was forced to look outside its original group of investors to stay afloat. The Second Charter of Virginia, granted in 1609, sold stock in the Company for £12 10s per share for a seven-year term with a dividend as well as a parcel of land being granted in 1616 along with any additional profits earned. Whilst this raised around £10,000 on paper, the Company struggled to collect money that was owed by those who had bought their shares in the Company on instalment. In December 1609, the Company had issued *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia* in which they begged their investors to remain 'constant and patient' in the endeavour.[68] By 1612, the Virginia Company was granted a Third Charter, extending its control to the Summer Islands and also dealing, for the first time, with the state of the Company's finances. Unlike the earlier Charters, which permitted only the sale of stock, the Third Charter gave the Company 'full power and authority, free leave liberty, and licence, to set forth, erect, and publish, one or more lottery or lotteries' in order to fund future ventures.[69] Unlike the earlier ventures to the New World, whose chief investors had been aristocrats and gentlemen, the Third Charter gave the Virginia Company the ability to seek small-scale investment from London's middle-classes through the use of lotteries. The various Standing Lotteries held by the Virginia Company continued from 1612 until 1621 and represented a financial threat to the theatre companies, who were now forced to compete for such small-scale "investment". It is at this point that we see mockery of Virginian merchant-adventurers make the leap from the coterie

[68] Conseil for Virginia, *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia* (London, 1609), sig. A3^{v}.
[69] "The Third Charter of Virginia", C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes: An Historical, Legal, and Ethical Survey of their Introduction, Suppression and Re-establishment in the British Isles* (London: Heath Cranton Limited, 1932), pp. 70-72.

circles of the Inns of Court (where such critiques appeared in manuscript poems and boys' company plays) to the adult stages of London's public theatres.

Attacking Piety and Profit in Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair

The most direct dramatic confrontation with the lotteries themselves came in the induction to Ben Jonson's 1614 comedy *Bartholomew Fair*. Here, the meta-theatrical Scrivener reads out the 'Articles of Agreement, indented, between the spectators or hearers at the Hope on the Bankside, in the country of Surrey, on the one party, and the author of *Bartholomew Fair* in the said place and county, on the other party' (Ind.65-69). The legal language used here in the 'Agreement' between audience and playwright consciously apes the contractual obligations made between Virginia Company and those entering their lotteries. Where the lotteries gave punters the opportunity to pay a small-fee for a chance to win a prize, so too the play is not a risk-free investment, with the cost of admission being paid upfront before the quality of the drama can be ascertained. However, the Scrivener reminds the audience that their censure of the play can only be proportionate to their investment:

> It is further agreed that every person here have his or their free will of censure, to like or dislike at their own charge, the author having now departed with their right. It shall be lawful for any man to judge his six pen'orth, his twelve pen'orth, so to his eighteen pence, two shillings, half crown, to the value of his place, provided always his place get not above his wit. And if he pay for half a dozen, he may censure for all them too, so that he will undertake that they shall be silent. He shall put in for censure here as they do for lots at the lottery; marry, if he drop but sixpence at the door and will censure a crown's worth, it is thought there is no conscience or justice in that. (Ind.82-93)

Suzanne Gossett has speculated whether the Scrivener is over-exaggerating the price of the theatre in this speech, noting that, for the most part, attendance to the public stages in the early seventeenth century cost just one pence.[70] What is more likely, however, is that Jonson is

[70] Suzanne Gossett ed., *Bartholomew Fair* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 40n.

alluding to the lotteries themselves – the first of which, in 1612, cost 2s 6d to enter and the second, in 1614, costing 12d.[71]

If the induction to *Bartholomew Fair* alludes to the financial competition between the theatre companies and the Virginia Company, then the play itself offers some critique of the settlement in Virginia itself.[72] The comparison between Virginia and Smithfield is first drawn in the induction when the Stage-Keeper jokes that 'when't comes to the *Fair* once, you were e'en as good go to *Virginia*, for any thing there is of *Smithfield*' (Ind.10-11). Both the activities of the fair and the people who populate it are seen to have been transported to the New World; far from being an Edenic place, Virginia is simply a concentration of the same moral corruption present in Smithfield, augmented by the predominance of mercantile exchange. Throughout the play, the morally questionable activities of the fair are thus subtly suggestive of the corrupted settlement in Virginia. Jonson reminds us of this comparison on several occasions, not least towards the end of the play when Justice Overdo, who has observed the goings-on at the fair in disguise, describes his 'discoveries' (V.vi.37) and compares his journey to 'Columbus, Magellan, or our countryman Drake of later times' (V.vi.38-39). What he has discovered are 'the Straits, or the Bermudas' (II.vi.76-77) – both a reference to the geography of the New World as well as London-slang for the districts near Charing Cross known to have been frequented by thieves and prostitutes.[73] That the territories of the New World were already, by 1614, associated with moral corruption – in particular prostitution – is a reflection of the power of the early modern satirists in altering the consciousness of London's theatre-going population in regards to the exploits of merchant-adventurers and their sexual gendering of the New World.

However, perhaps the most stringent satire of the play is reserved for Rabbi Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, the hypocritical Puritan. While the main exodus of English Puritans to America occurred in the 1620s and 1630s, the residents of Jamestown had complained as early as 1609 in

[71] Ewen (1932), pp. 70-88.
[72] Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformation: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 119-121.
[73] Susan Gossett ed., *Bartholomew Fair* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 93n.

a letter to England that their minister was 'somewhat a Puritan'.[74] The audience would have been alert to Busy's Puritanical leanings before he even appears on stage from Littlewit's use of the title 'Rabbi'; Puritans were well-known to have adopted Jewish titles, believing both in the theological importance of the Torah and that the use of such monikers distanced them from Catholicism. It is significant that Quarlous describes Busy as a 'notable hypocritical vermin' (I.iii.134), decrying him for his willingness both to condemn the 'sin of the Fair' (III.vi.77) but also lusting after those who attend. The hypocrisy of religious figures was a perennial concern of Jonson, who, in regard of the Virginia Company, took particular issue with the suggestion that they were colonising Virginia primarily out of religious piety rather than mercantile profit.

This hypocrisy was evident in a lyric composed anonymously for the occasion of the Virginia Company's first lottery in 1612, *Londons lotterie with an incouragement to the furtherance thereof for the good of Virginia*. Sung 'to the tune of Lusty Gallant' (a particularly ironic musical association), the lyric noted of the Virginian venture that:

> Heere profite doth with pleasure ioyne,
> and bids each chearefull heart,
> To this high praysed enterprise,
> perform a Christian part:[75]

The suggestion that the 'enterprise' is about the performance of a 'Christian part' is somewhat disingenuous given that the lyric itself suggests elsewhere that the venture's participants are motivated by 'profite' and 'pleasure' – the pursuit of which was so repeatedly mocked by seventeenth-century satirists. Earlier in the poem, after tempting the reader with promises of 'Gold and Siluer plate', the anonymous poet likewise trots out religious platitudes that the "true" purpose of the voyage is:

> to plant a Kingdome sure,
> where sauadge people dwell:
> God will fauour Christians still,
> and like the purpose well.[76]

---

[74] Quoted in Kevin Butterfield, "Puritans and Religious Strife in the Early Chesapeake", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 109, No. 1 (2001), p. 8.
[75] Anonymous, *Londons lotterie with an incouragement to the furtherance thereof for the good of Virginia* (London, 1612), sig. A1.

The early modern English notion of the savage native (both in Virginia and Ireland) has been well-accounted by Andrew Hadfield in his study of colonial literature.[77] The savagery of the non-Christian New World, the lyric suggests, should be enough to persuade one to invest in the Virginian venture in order to bring a civilising, Christian influence to the place. In the lyric's penultimate stanza, the poet reiterates this notion by drawing comparison with England itself, noting how:

> Who knowes not *England* once was like
> a Wildernesse and sauage place,
> Till gouernment and vse of men,
> that wildnesse did deface:
> And so *Virginia* may in time,
> be made like *England* now;[78]

The lyric adopts the gendering of colonial shorelines examined earlier in the chapter, suggesting that the 'gouernment and *vse of men*' [my italics] will transform the 'Wildernnesse and sauage place' of Virginia into somewhere more habitable – somewhere more 'like England now'. We cannot know whether Jonson knew this lyric; however, he certainly appears to respond to its platitudinous suggestions. In *Bartholomew Fair*, he mocks the distinction between the savagery of the New World and the civility of the Old when Humphry Wasp describes the fairgoers as 'a kind o' civil savages' (III.iv.33); they are savages inserted into what is ostensibly a civil society. If it was the case that '*Virginia* may in time, | be made like *England* now', then Jonson's portrait of English morality in *Bartholomew Fair* indicates exactly what sort of New World would be created.

---

[76] Anonymous (1612), sig. A1.
[77] Hadfield (1998), pp. 70-133.
[78] Anonymous (1612), sig. A1.

Satirising the Merchant's Prayer in Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse

Jonson's satirical attack on the corrupting influence of mercantilism in *Bartholomew Fair* offers both a direct and indirect critique of the influence of the merchant companies in Virginia. However, the play was not the first of Jonson's dramatic output to be located at one of London's sites of mercantile exchange. Several years earlier, in 1609, he had been commissioned to write an entertainment celebrating the opening of the New Exchange on The Strand. In the recently-discovered *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*, Jonson casts a satirical eye over London's mercantile culture.[79] In commissioning the entertainment, Thomas Wilson, working on behalf of his master Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, described in detail how the performance was to progress, noting of the main character that 'when their turn comes to be spoken of, he shall unmask as a merchant that sells not *merces adulterinas*, and then make a presentment of them as the things and persons deserve'.[80] These '*merces adulterinas*' ("false merchandise") are supposed to appear on stage as 'toys' and 'trifles' that can be rejected in place of the real, high-quality goods that might be expected to be sold at the New Exchange. However, the entertainment itself does not offer such a clear distinction between the true and false goods. Indeed, after the Shop-Boy offers an array of Chinese goods ('China Chaynes, China Braceletts, China scarfes, China fannes, China girdles, China kniues, China boxes, China Cabinetts […]' etc.), the Master only compounds this list with further esoteric and ultimately suspicious goods.[81] Here Jonson seems implicitly in agreement with Samuel Daniel, who worried in the previously-discussed "Epistle to Prince Henry" that the English were developing 'Asiatique weaknes, by the trade | Of superfluities bred by their store | And our ymmoderate humours' (84-86). Jonson's Shop-Boy presents, in accordance with Wilson's commission, all the wares

[79] An account and transcription of the text can be found in James Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*", *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance*, ed. Martin Butler (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 114-151; further analysis of the manuscript can be found in Grace Ioppolo, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, authority and the playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 159-169.
[80] Thomas Wilson to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, 31 March 1609, Hatfield MSS 195/100, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, Part 21 (1609-1612)*, (1970), p. 37.
[81] James Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*", *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance*, in Butler (1999), p. 134.

available to those attending the New Exchange; however, there is an implicit criticism, encoded by Jonson into the scene through a complex nexus of allusions, that these goods are Daniel's 'superfluities' that only fuel London's 'ymmoderate humours'.

By the conclusion of the entertainment, the Master is no longer simply a salesman of exotic wares but becomes a parody of a merchant-adventurer hoping to win investment for a speculative trade-mission. The Master says of his companion:

> S*i*r ye looke like a man that would geue good handsell, If ye like this Instrume*n*te I ame goeing shortlye for Vergin*n*ia to discover the Insecta of that countrye, the kinde of Flye they haue ther, and so over land for China: to compare him for comoditie, and but see wher paradice stood [82]

The term 'handsell' used here would denote an agreement by which the investor (the Master's companion) would give money to the merchant on the promise of delivery of goods at a future date. In this case, the Master proposes to travel to 'Vergin*n*ia' in order to procure an insect there – containing some supposedly valuable property – before travelling to China to compare it with the 'comoditie' available there. The Master's attempt to extract an investment for a venture to Virginia is comical but also a lesson to the gentlemen in attendance to be wary of such speculative opportunities. In order to further confirm the ridiculousness of such a proposal, Jonson lifts the language of Virginian propaganda by describing how the voyage will also allow the Master to 'see wher paradice stood' – a reference to the fabled Edenic qualities of the virgin coasts of America.

If we were in any doubt as to whether the entertainment offers a satirical critique of merchant-adventurers, the work concludes with one final assault on the motives of those engaged in such ventures. Having proposed the Virginian deal to his companion, the Master announces:

> S*i*r if ther be any honoures or beautyes elce here, that will like and take of me, I will aske no other securitye but ther good words, and Fayre handseles, And god make me Rich, which is the sellers prayer ever was and wilbe.[83]

---

[82] James Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*", *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance*, in Butler (1999), p. 140.
[83] *ibid*., p. 140.

Once again, the Master suggests that 'Fayre handseles' will be sufficient 'securitye' for their deal even though it is *he* who is offering 'good words' in exchange for investment and not the other way around. In the final line of the entertainment, Jonson reveals the crux of what he deems to be the hypocrisy of the merchant companies: the suggestion that their ventures to the New World were motivated not by profits but by the desire to God's work there. By offering the 'sellers prayer' at the conclusion of the entertainment ('And god make me Rich'), the audience is reminded to be wary of the pious rhetoric of the merchant companies (a mask for mercantile ambitions).

If Jonson's hostile attitude towards the merchant companies appeared by 1610 to border on the personal then it is because by 1609 he had been specifically targeted by those who sought to defend the work of the Virginia Company. In a 1609 sermon offering a 'reproofe of those that traduce the honourable plantation of Virginia', the preacher Daniel Price singled out London's 'Scepticall Humorists' for their mockery of the project on stage.[84] Gavin Hollis has identified Jonson as the specific target of this attack, noting that during the 1600-1601 "War of the Theatres" both John Weever and Richard Brereton had associated the playwright with the epithet of "Humorist".[85] Delivered from the open pulpit of St Paul's Cross, Price's sermon provided London's population with an alternative, quasi-theatrical assessment of the Virginian venture – a response to the mockery that *Eastward Ho* had instigated a few years earlier only a stone's throw away at the Blackfriars theatre.

However, Price was neither the first nor the most vociferous preacher to oppose the theatres on the grounds of their antagonism towards the Virginia Company. In February 1609, the English cleric and Virginia propagandist William Crashaw delivered a sermon '*before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that*

[84] Daniel Price, *Sauls prohibition staide. Or The apprehension, and examination of Saule And the inditement of all that persecute Christ, with a reproofe of those that traduce the honourable plantation of Virginia* (London, 1609), sigs. A2^{v}, F3^{v}.
[85] Hollis (2015), pp. 40-41.

Plantation' in which he condemned the theatres, and all those involved with them, as morally bankrupt for their opposition to the colonial project in Virginia.[86] The sermon, published in 1610 under the title *A New-Yeeres Gift to Virginea*, launched a vociferous attack against what Crashaw saw as the 'three great enemies' of the Virginian venture: 'the Diuell, Papists, and Players'.[87] Of these three, Crashaw partially absolves the Devil and the Papists, noting of the former that 'who can blame him? For we goe to disherit him of his ancient freehold' and of the latter that 'wee know they approue nothing that *Protestants* vndertake'.[88] Ultimately, it is the Players who receive Crashaw's strongest opprobrium since they appear to criticise the Virginian venture out of pure, unnecessary malice. Crashaw complains of the Players' mockery of the venture that:

> nothing that is good, excellent or holy can escape them: how then can this *action?* But this may suffice, that they are *Players:* they abuse *Virginea,* but they are but *Players:* they disgrace it: true, but they are but *Players,* and they haue *played* with better things, and such as for which, if they speedily repent not, I dare say, vengeance waites for them. But let them *play* on: they make men laugh on earth, but *hee that sits in heauen laughes them to scorne;* because like the flie they so long play with the candle, till first it singe their wings, and at last burnes them altogether.[89]

By accusing the Players of acting against all that is 'holy', Crashaw transforms the mercantile and imperial arguments for colonising America into religious and moral ones. In his own estimation, the Virginian venture is 'so excellent a worke that is so much pleasing to God' since it will allow for the 'propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet liue in darknesse and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God'.[90] It is this substitution of economic profit for religious piety as the ambition driving the Virginian venture that irked Jonson and which can be seen as the butt of much of his later mercantile satire. In what was perhaps the inspiration for Jonson 'sellers prayer' in the *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*,

---

[86] William Crashaw, *A Sermon preached before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation, Feb. 21, 1609* (London, 1610), Title Page.
[87] *ibid.*, sig. G4^{v}.
[88] Crashaw (1610), sigs. H1^{v}, H2^{v}.
[89] *ibid.*, sig. H4^{r}.
[90] *ibid.*, sigs. C4^{v}-C4^{r}.

Crashaw perhaps unwittingly reveals the merchants' double-speak of piety and profit when he notes that in colonising Virginia 'God will assuredly send vs great profit'.[91]

Throughout the early seventeenth century, Jonson was strident in mocking what he deemed to be the lustfulness and greed of the merchant companies. Nevertheless, it appears that he was also willing to profit from such ventures himself. This is, as Susan Wells has noted, an inherent tension that lies at the very heart of city comedy, where a celebration of the communal aspects of the marketplace rub up against criticism of its propagation of acquisitiveness.[92] In June 1616, Jonson was commissioned by William Cockayne of the Merchant Adventurers Company to produce an entertainment to be put before members of the Company as well as their patron, James I. Ian Donaldson notes that the drama was commissioned as a final attempt to convince the King that the Company was financially viable and that Alderman Cockayne presented the King with a £1000 gold basin to encourage him to continue his support.[93] Though the play has been lost, knowing Jonson's general attitudes towards merchant-adventurers, it is highly likely that the author presented a less-than-complimentary portrait of those involved with the Company. While the exact content of the play cannot be ascertained, a brief description by news-writer George Gerrard attests to Jonson's caricaturing of merchant-adventurers, albeit of German competitors rather than the members of the Merchant Adventurers Company itself. Gerrard writes that:

> After this was presented certain Hamburgians, with great bellied doublets, all drunk, which spake such language as Ben Jonson put in their mouths, only for merriment. But this, they say, is taken so ill that the Lord Ambassador here, Sir Noel Caron, hath been with the Lords to complain of it.[94]

Though Jonson could plausibly suggest that his theatrical portrait of dissolute German merchants only demonstrated the inherent superiority of their English counterparts, the foolish

---

[91] *ibid.*, sig. G3[r].
[92] Susan Wells, "Jacobean City Comedy and the Ideology of the City", *ELH*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring, 1981), pp. 37-60.
[93] Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 241.
[94] N. W. Bawcutt, "Ben Jonson's Drunken Hamburgians: An Entertainment for King James", *Notes & Queries*, Vol. 242 (1997), pp. 92-94., citing PRO SP 14/87, item 57.

drunks he presents recall those London adventurers he put on stage just over a decade earlier in *Eastward Ho*.

Piety and Profit on the Shores of the New World

The supposed religious motive for colonising America remained a predictable argument used by the merchant companies and their supporters throughout the early seventeenth century. In the late 1610s, for example, the poet and Anglican priest George Herbert described with religious earnestness (though not without some degree of controversy) how 'Religion stands on tip-toe in our land, | Readie to passe to the *American* strand'.[95] Nevertheless, even as he extolled the religious possibilities that colonialism presented, Herbert implicitly acknowledged that the primary influence on those travelling to the New World had been the promise of gold, suggesting of the progress of the Church that:

> Then shall Religion to *America* flee:
> They have their times of Gospel, ev'n as we.
> My God, thou dost prepare for them a way
> By carrying first their gold from them away:
> For gold and grace did never yet agree:
> Religion always sides with povertie. (247-252)

The lack of gold in Virginia, though the original motive for those travelling to the New World, was, according to Herbert, a sign that God was on the side of the merchant-adventurers – removing the temptation of greed and thus allowing religion to flourish. However, while Herbert may have been excited by the lack of gold, given the abysmal returns on investment faced by both those financing the ventures and those travelling to the New World, it is highly unlikely that the majority of stakeholders in the Virginia Company shared Herbert's enthusiasm. Jonson's satirical focus against the merchant companies after *Eastward Ho* coalesced around a

[95] George Herbert, "The Church Militant", in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), ll. 235-236; the controversy surrounding these two lines is noted in Izaak Walton, *The lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1670), p. 75, where he notes that the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University refused for a time to endorse a publication of the collected poetry of the recently-deceased George Herbert if these two lines were included in "The Church Militant".

criticism of what he saw as the merchant-adventurers' hypocritical platitudes about the motivation for their ventures. While preachers such as Price and Crashaw insisted that it was piety and not profit that drove men to commit themselves to the project of colonising Virginia, Jonson continually reminded his audiences during this period of the "double-speak" of the merchant companies. As competition for "investment" from London's population intensified between the merchant and theatre companies, Jonson's dramas present the merchant-adventurers as motivated by profit and not piety. Once the motive of piety had been dispatched by Jonson, it was left only to show how poor the return would be if London's population chose to invest in the merchant companies rather than in attending one of his own plays.

IV. 'MASTER MERCHANT, STAND BACK AND GIVE YOUR BETTERS LEAVE': MOCKING MERCHANTS ON THE SHORELINES OF FLETCHER'S THE ISLAND PRINCESS AND THE SEA VOYAGE

In this final section of the chapter, I want to consider how the various satirical elements that I have identified as being associated with the ambitions of merchant-adventurers in the early seventeenth century culminated in two "voyage dramas" by John Fletcher. A reading of Fletcher's dramatic output shows that he had a long-standing fascination with Virginian ventures.[96] In this section, however, I want to focus in particular on *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage* in order to examine how Fletcher presents coastal arrival in the New World in terms that examine both mercantile greed and sexual politics. While neither of these plays is directly written about Virginia, in each I will argue that Fletcher responds to a moment of particular crisis in the Virginia Company, which was on the verge of collapsing from a combination of financial mismanagement and the Jamestown massacre of 1622. The resultant dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624 and transferring of control over the colony of Virginia to the Crown

[96] For direct references to Virginia in Fletcher's plays see for example, John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *The Noble Gentleman*, ed. L. A. Beaurline, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon* Vols. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Vol. III, Act I, scene i, lines 81-89; John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *The Loyal Subject*, ed. Fredson Bowers *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon* Vols. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Vol. V, Act III, scene ii, lines 66-74.

gave the English Monarchy its first new overseas territory since the loss of Calais under Mary I nearly seventy years earlier.

Fletcher's Satires of New World Coastal Arrival

In the early 1620s, John Fletcher produced two plays (*The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage*) that respectively confront the ambitions, expectations and realities of merchant-adventurers in the New World. Though neither play was set directly in Virginia, Gordon McMullan has rightly concluded that both plays serve to 'mock the processes and dangers of colonial venture' at a time when the Virginia Company was on the verge of collapse.[97] A report from 17 May 1620 to the Virginia Company in London summarised the difficulties faced by the colonialists in Jamestown by noting how 'the Collony beinge thus weake and the Treasury vtterly exhaust' the venture was close to failure.[98] Reports of this kind would have reminded those in London of the mass starvation that afflicted the colony during the winter of 1609-10, known ominously as the Starving Time, when the population of Jamestown was reduced from around 500 residents to 60. Given Fletcher's close association with Shakespeare, the plays have often been viewed by critics and audiences alike through the prism of *The Tempest* – particularly *The Sea Voyage*, which likewise begins with a storm at sea – and more recently *Pericles*, which features shipwrecked goods and piracy.[99] While the association with *The Tempest* has become a modern critical orthodoxy, audiences were comparing the plays as early as the seventeenth century. On 25 March 1668, for example, Samuel Pepys described in his diary a production of *The Sea*

[97] McMullan (1994), p. 198.
[98] Susan M. Kingsbury, ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office), Vol. I, p. 350.
[99] Modern critical comparison between *The Sea Voyage* and *The Tempest* include: Claire Jowitt, "'Her flesh must serve you': Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*", *Parergon* Vol. 18 (2001), pp. 93-117; McMullan (1994), pp. 197-199; Rita Banerjee, "Gold, Land, and Labor: Ideologies of Colonization and Rewriting "The Tempest" in 1622", *Studies in* Philology, Vol. 110, No. 2 (Spring, 2013), pp. 291-317; comparison between *The Island Princess* and *The Tempest* includes: Clare McManus, "Introduction", *The Island Princess* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012), pp. 10-13, 49; the association of *Pericles* with *The Sea Voyage* regarding the inclusion of piracy can be seen in Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 133, 171; regarding shipwreck, see McMullan (1994), pp. 250.

Voyage at the King's Playhouse as 'but a mean play when compared with *The Tempest*'.[100] A year earlier, in 1667, a production of *The Sea Voyage* – performed under the title *The Storm* – ran at the same time as John Dryden and William Davenant's Shakespearean adaptation *The Tempest: or, The Enchanted Isle*. Staged at playhouses on either side of the Thames, the prologue to Dryden and Davenant's adaptation explicitly acknowledged the similarities between the two when it noted how:

> The Storm which vanish'd on the Neighb'ring shore,
> Was taught by *Shakespear's* Tempest first to roar.
> That innocence and beauty which did smile
> In *Fletcher*, grew on this Enchanted Isle.
> But *Shakespear's* Magick could not copy'd be.[101]

The revived production of *The Storm* had been commercially unsuccessful – "vanishing" after a run of only three days.[102]

Despite the critical tendency to compare Fletcher and Shakespeare, both *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage* are distinct from *The Tempest* in their overriding interest in New World, mercantile ventures rather than Old World, dynastic politics. Where *The Tempest*, as argued in Chapter Three, can be seen as more concerned with presenting a vision of domestic union on an archipelagic island reminiscent of Britain, Fletcher's plays are located (both geographically and thematically) in the New rather than Old World. For the remainder of this chapter, I will examine each of these two plays in turn, demonstrating Fletcher's dramatic investment in the theatrical tropes that had developed when discussing the Virginian ventures onstage. In both play, Fletcher mocks the lustfulness and the greed of the merchant-adventurers, combining these characteristics to present an image of colonial venture that extends beyond mere comedy into a sophisticated critique of mercantilism in the New World. While Fletcher's presentation of the Virginian ventures was informed by the established tropes of dramatic

---

[100] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Harper Collins, 1971-1983), Vol. 9, p. 133.
[101] John Dryden and William Davenant, *The Tempest: or, The Enchanted Isle* (London, 1670), Prologue, ll. 15-19.
[102] Cyrus Hoy, "Introduction to *The Sea Voyage*", in Fletcher (1966-1996), Vol. IX, p. 8.

mockery of the merchant companies (lust and greed being parodic sublimation of imperial and mercantile ambitions), we will see that the playwright was also interested in responding to specific moments of colonial history. The marriage of the Londoner John Rolfe to the Native American princess Pocahontas in the 1610s as well as the financial troubles that attended the Virginia Company in the early 1620s, for example, offer context to the complex economic and gender politics that underpins Fletcher's vision of the New World.[103]

The "Noble" Motives of Merchant-Adventurers in The Island Princess

Written in 1621 and first performed by the King's Men at the Globe, *The Island Princess* is typically counted amongst Fletcher's tragicomic output. Set on the Moluccas Islands of Ternate and Tidore, the narrative focuses on the native princess Quisara and the advances of her suitors, both native and European. Though Quisara briefly indulges the native Moluccan princes in their desire to marry her, the play quickly establishes that the true conflict is between two Portuguese adventurers: Rui Dias and Armusia. While Quisara hopes to marry Rui Dias, his prospects are dashed when the newly-arrived Armusia, wearing 'habits like to merchants' (I.iii.240), fulfils his half of the princess's promise to marry any man who can save her brother, the King, from captivity. A duel between Rui Dias and Armusia, won by the latter, reconciles the two Portuguese; however, Armusia is soon thrown in jail after rebuking Quisara and refusing to convert to Islam before their marriage. This defence of Christian values wins admiration from all, and Quisara realises her love for Armusia and converts to Christianity in order to marry him. Throughout the play, the Portuguese adventurers appear motivated by a combination of financial gain, sexual/territorial conquest, and religious fervour – the three elements that this chapter suggests were at the core of the theatre's dramatic investigation of the merchant companies. The prospect, and ultimate fulfilment, of a colonial marriage in the play alludes not

[103] The context of Pocahontas in *The Sea Voyage* is explored in Heidi Hutner, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 21-44; the context of Pocahontas in *The Island Princess* is explored in McMullan (1994), pp. 222-225.

only to the established tropes of lustful merchant-adventurers but also to the specific historical context of John Rolfe's marriage to the Powhatan princess Pocahontas.

Heidi Hutner has rightly concluded that 'Pocahontas's marriage, conversion, and production of future English subjects marks the beginning of the domination of Protestant culture in North America'.[104] The significance of the union was not lost on Rolfe himself, who, in a letter justifying his undertaking, noted that the marriage was 'for the good of the Plantacon, the hono^{r} of o^{r} Countrye, for the glorye of God, for myne owne salvacon, and for the Convertinge to the true knowledge of God and Iesus Christ an vnbeleivinge Creature'.[105] However, if Rolfe thought he was marrying Pocahontas out of religious imperative, then his ostensible motivations are undone by his own use, later in the letter, of the husbandry tropes typically employed in the period to conflate territorial and sexual conquest. Rolfe suggests that his purpose is 'to labour in the Lordes vineyard there to sowe and plant, to nourishe and increase the Fruytes thereof, daylie adding with the good husband of the Gospell somewhat to the Tallent: that in the ende the Fruytes may be reaped to the Comfort of Laboer in this lyfe and in the world to come'.[106] Indeed, the political motive for an English merchant-adventurer to marry Pocahontas was far more established in the mind of the Virginian settlers than any religious one. In 1612, two years before her marriage to Rolfe, it was suggested that the colonist John Smith should wed the Powhatan princess and that by doing so 'hee woulde haue made himselfe a king'.[107] Fletcher's play, though subtle in how it deals with the prospect of conversion and marriage, nevertheless blurs the boundary between the religious, sexual, and political motives of the Portuguese adventurers. Towards the conclusion of the play, the young Portuguese gallant Pinheiro tells the Moluccan Panura (Quisara's maid) that 'if thou wilt give me leave, I'll get thee with Christian – | The best way to convert thee' (V.iv.13-15). Pinheiro's method of conversion seems a little less spiritual and a little more corporeal than Rolfe's idealised redemption of an 'vnbeleivinge Creature' – instead of introducing Panura to the body

[104] Hutner (2001), p. 24.
[105] John Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale, Bodleian MS. Ashmole 830, fol. 118^{v}.
[106] John Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale, Bodleian MS. Ashmole 830., fol. 118^{v}.
[107] John Smith, *A map of Virginia With a description of the countrey, the commodities, people, government and religion* (London, 1612), p. 103.

of Christ, he introduces her to the body of a Christian (himself) and, in so doing, hopes to impregnate her with another.

The ambitions of the adventurers in travelling to the Moluccas is established as sexual and financial (rather than religious) in the first Act of the play. Upon Armusia's arrival in the Spice Islands, Pinheiro informs him that 'new worlds disclose their riches, | Their beauties and the prides to our embraces' (I.iii.10-11). The pointed use of the word 'embraces' foregrounds the territorial/sexual conflation that underpinned the colonial propaganda of the period, while the word 'prides' is simply a punning reference to sexual organs. Armusia responds, with a knowing sense of irony, that 'these *noble* thoughts, sir, have enticed us forward' ([my italics] I.iii.13). Elucidating these 'noble thoughts' – and in so doing rehearsing the same metaphoric body/land propaganda of the Virginian ventures as well as the greed for material riches – Armusia notes of the Spice Islands how:

> The very rivers, as we float along,
> Throw up their pearls and curl their heads to court us.
> The bowels of the earth swell with the births
> Of thousands unknown gems and thousand riches.
> Nothing that bears a life but brings a treasure. (I.iii.27-31)

Having established what he believes are the material riches of the land, Armusia then proceeds to describe 'the women' (I.iii.34) who live there, noting that they are 'of delicate aspects, fair, clearly beauteous | And to that admiration, sweet and courteous' (I.iii.35-36). If Armusia's picture of the land enacted a metamorphic transformation of the island's shore into 'heads' and bowels', then his description of the women reverses this process when he describes their 'delicate aspects'. Ultimately, the audience is left quite clear as to the purpose of Armusia's arrival – his 'noble thoughts' are of the territorial and sexual conquest that he believes he will enjoy there.

The play reverberates with the hollow, acquisitive "nobility" of the Portuguese adventurers – Armusia is first introduced as possessing 'much nobleness' (I.i.127), while Rui Dias is praised by Quisara for his 'unmatcht nobleness' (I.ii.59). While the epithet may seem to be part of a self-contained, parodic misnomer within the play, Fletcher's repeated use (the word

appears thirty-six times in all its forms across the play) should draw our attention to the context established by the colonial propaganda of the seventeenth century. As early as 1602, Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, described in Robert Brereton's *A briefe and true relation of the discouerie of the north part of Virginia* how a settlement there might provide 'noble buildings', 'noble gouerment' and, in an image that itself almost strays into self-parody, a climate that will 'yield noble fruit'.[108] In 1609, Robert Gray's *A good speed to Virginia* was addressed to 'our Noble men of honourable minds, worthy knights, rich marchants, & diuerse other'; meanwhile, in 1610, William Crashaw's sermon to the Virginia company used the word twenty-one times, praising in particular the 'noble voiage' that was being undertaken.[109] Elsewhere, before the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1622, the word appeared numerous times in the Virginian propaganda of Richard Rich (1610), Robert Johnson (1609, 1612), John Smith (1612), Alexander Whitaker (1613), Ralph Hamor (1615), John Bonoeil (1620), Patrick Copland (1622), and Edward Waterhouse (1622) – not to mention the many pamphlets and proclamations made by the Council of Virginia itself during this period.[110] Fletcher's insistent use of the word "noble" to describe the activities of the Portuguese in the Moluccas Islands clearly evokes the Virginian propaganda of the seventeenth century – transposing, in the minds of the audience, the action of the play from the coastlines of the Pacific to those of the Atlantic.

Given the word's complex nexus of meaning, the concluding lines of the play, spoken by the King of Tidore, appear far more fraught than we might expect from a tragicomic conclusion. This final speech is marked with unresolved anxiety about the true motives and accomplishments of the Portuguese adventurers:

---

[108] Richard Hakluyt, lawyer, "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia", in Richard Brereton, *A briefe and true relation of the discourerie of the north part of Virginia* (London, 1602), pp. 29, 30, 33.
[109] Robert Gray, *A good speed to Virginia* (London, 1609), sig. B3^{r}; Crashaw (1610), sig. B3^{v}.
[110] Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia* (London, 1609); Richard Rich, *Newes from Virginia The lost flocke triumphant* (London, 1610); Robert Johnson, *The new life of Virginea declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation* (London, 1612); Smith, *A map of Virginia With a description of the country* (London, 1612); Alexander Whitaker, *Good newes from Virginia* (London, 1613); Ralph Hamor, *A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia* (London, 1615); John Bonoeil, *Oberuations to be followed, for the making of fit roomes, to keepe silk-wormes in as also, for the manner of planting of mulberry trees, to feed them. Published by authority for the benefit of the noble plantation in Virginia* (London, 1620); Patrick Copland, *Virginia's God be thanked* (London, 1622); Edward Waterhouse, *A declation of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622).

> Come, princes;
> Come, friends and lovers all; come noble gentlemen.
> No more guns now, nor hates, but joys and triumphs,
> And universal gladness fly about us.
> And know, however subtle men dare cast
> And promise wrack, the gods give peace at last. (V.v.89-94)

The King's determination that there shall be 'no more guns *now*' [my italics] reminds the audience, albeit obliquely, that the process of conquest was, fundamentally, backed by the threat and use of violence by the European merchant-adventurers. As Drayton announced in his "Ode to the Virginian Voyage", when considering how to conquer the New World, 'Let cannons roar | Frightening the wide heaven'. Furthermore, despite Quisara's conversion to Christianity, the final line indicates that this process is incomplete; the King suggests the 'gods' (plural) shall 'give peace at last'. Rather than concluding with a mass conversion, the play is more limited in what it imagines possible from the presence of Christian merchant-adventurers. The fact that the King refers to multiple 'gods' implicitly reveals that the religious orthodoxy of the island is not Islam (as Quisara's conversion might make us imagine) but a pagan, polytheism much like the sort of animistic beliefs found in North America at this time. Finally, the King acknowledges the mercantile nature of his guests' stay in Tidore, using the metaphoric image of a ship 'wrack' to indicate the dangers one must negotiate in life.

This metaphor is entirely in keeping with the mercantile imagery that Fletcher deploys throughout the play; indeed, characters repeatedly use descriptions of a sinking or wrecked ship to express their fears of failure.[111] At the high point of the drama's conflict between Armusia and Quisara, when the former rebukes the latter of her request for him to convert to Islam, the Portuguese adventurer cannot help but resort to the language of mercantile venture to describe the process of religious conversion:

> Shall I fall from this faith to please a woman?
> For her embraces bring my soul to ruin?
> I look'd you should have said, make me a *Christian*,
> Work that great cure, for 'tis a great one woman;
> That labor truly to perform that venture

[111] See, I.iii.201, II.i.8, II.i.132, II.vi.129, III.i.51, IV.iv.3, V.v.94.

The world of the Moluccas Islands in Fletcher's play is wrapped up in these mercantile concerns – imposed by the presence of the European merchant-adventurers. As such, far from resolving the action of the play, the King's concluding remarks expose latent anxieties about both the process of colonisation and the complications that occur when merchant-adventurers are driven primarily by a hollow "nobility" that focuses on sexual conquest and material gain with only an opportunistic reference to the Christian faith.

The sexual politics underpinning *The Island Princess* reveals Fletcher's willingness to adopt and adapt not only the established jokes about merchant-adventurers' lustfulness but also the more meaningful societal critique of the New World established in gendered territories of Hall's *Mundus*. Far from the expected easy-conquest that Armusia imagines when dealing with the Princess, he is confronted by a strong female figure who, at least initially, exercises a far-reaching degree of autonomy over whom she will marry. Quisara's initial resistance to Armusia is an obstacle to the merchant-adventurer's ambitions of sexual and territorial conquest, and it is only when she becomes submissive to Armusia's demand and converts to Christianity that he is finally able to take possession of both body and land. For those watching the play in 1621, the idea that the New World might resist the merchant-adventurers' attempts to conquer it must have seemed a remarkably apt comparison to the difficulties faced by those in Jamestown. While John Rolfe may have succeeded in consummating the first marriage of Old and New Worlds in the 1610s, by the 1620s relations between the merchant-adventurers in Jamestown and the neighbouring Powhatan tribe had become strained. With Pocahontas's death in London in 1617 and her father's passing a year later, by 1621-22 the marriage must have seemed a distant memory to those still in Virginia. Any alliance that had been formed through Rolfe and Pocahontas's union was destroyed in March 1622, when the Powhatan tribe entered Jamestown and massacred 300 of its residents. If the promise of Virginia (much as the Spice Islands in *The Island Princess*) had been fruitful soil, easy women, and mountains of gold, then the reality was quite different. Though the play concludes with a union of European and non-European peoples

through marriage, anyone in the audience aware of the recent history of Virginia must have been aware of how transient such alliances could prove to be.

Amazonian Women and Fool's Gold on the Shores of The Sea Voyage

If *The Island Princess* presents the inherent difficulties facing merchant-adventurers encountering a "resistant" New World, then *The Sea Voyage*, performed a few months later in 1622 at the Globe, continues this dramatic investigation. Instead of encountering a single, obstinate female, the play's French merchant-adventurers find themselves on a desert island assailed by a community of women 'shapt like Amazons'.[112] Though we discover later that they are 'no Amazons […] but women of *Portugall*' (V.iv.19-20), their makeshift society is organised along the gendered lines satirised in Hall's female portion of *Mundus*. However, this important encounter with what amounts to a female colony in the New World is preceded by the eponymous sea voyage itself that brings the characters to the shorelines of the island. This opening Act allows Fletcher to play with the trope of merchant-adventurers' obsession with money and, in particular, gold. Though the play was co-authored with Philip Massinger, the division of labour between the two playwrights has long been established.[113] Intriguingly, given Fletcher's apparent interest in satirising mercantile ambitions in *The Island Princess*, he is acknowledged to be the author of both Acts I and IV of *The Sea Voyage* – respectively dealing with the coastal arrival and the main encounter with the "Amazons". These two Acts display the most prominent anti-mercantile satire in the play, offering what Claire Jowitt has described as 'potent but unsettling images culled from recent English explorers' and settlers' accounts'.[114]

The storm that opens *The Sea Voyage* has, as previously noted, drawn comparison with *The Tempest*. While it is undoubtedly the case that Fletcher and Massinger had Shakespeare in

[112] John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, in Fletcher (1966-1996), Vol. IX, Act V, scene iv, line 45.
[113] Denzell S. Smith, "Beaumont & Fletcher", *The Later Jacobean and Caroline Dramatists: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Terence P. Logan and Denzell S. Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 76.
[114] Claire Jowitt, *Voyage drama and gender politics, 1589-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 193.

mind when writing the play, the opening diverges in significant respects from their dramatic model. Though it has long been suggested that *The Tempest* was in part occasioned by the news of the shipwreck of the merchant ship *Sea Venture* in Bermuda, the opening storm of Shakespeare's play introduces the drama's dynastic rather than mercantile concerns. With Alonso and his courtiers on stage and suffering the ravages of the tempestuous winds and seas, the boatswain reminds Gonzalo that 'what cares these roarers | for the name of king?' (I.i.). What follows, during the course of *The Tempest*, is an examination of monarchic power mediated through both the natural and supernatural elements of the island. This is quite unlike the equivalent opening presented in *The Sea Voyage*, where the sound of the tempest is jokingly matched by the 'howling' (I.i.54) of the 'noble *French* virgin' (F2 *dramatis personae*) Aminta. Instead, of kings and courtiers, Fletcher and Massinger use their storm-scene to introduce a pirate, a merchant, a gallant, an assortment of aspirational gentlemen, and the only female on board, Aminta, who is described uncharitably by the master of the ship as a 'sweet sin-breeder' (I.i.75). If *The Tempest* is a kind of dynastic tragicomedy, then *The Sea Voyage* should perhaps be considered an archipelagic city-comedy – set in the New World but nevertheless complete with a host of familiar, archetypical characters.

During this storm, Fletcher goes to some length to establish his hostility towards the play's usurious merchant, Lamure. The name itself – playing with the double-pun on "La mure" (blackberry) and "L'amour" (love) – immediately identifies the merchant's clichéd ambitions of possessing fruitful soil and easy women in the New World. If the name cues a certain response towards Lamure from the audience, establishing him as an archetypical merchant-adventurer to be mocked during the course of the play, then his actions confirm our expectations. While the sailors begin to throw the ship's contents overboard in an attempt to 'lighten her' (I.ii.3) and save the occupants from sinking, Lamure asks 'must *my* goods go over too?' ([my italics] I.ii.8), noting that:

> here lies all my money;
> The money I ha wrackt by usurie,
> To buy new Lands and Lordships in new Countryes,
> 'Cause I was banish from mine own.

I ha been this twenty yeers a raising it. (I.ii.9-13)

Fletcher's language highlights Lamure's ironic fate – the money that he 'wrackt' from others by usury is lost when the sailors evacuate his goods from the ship to prevent it from wrecking. Furthermore, his haughty ambitions ('to buy new Lands and Lordships in new Countryes') are likewise risible, recalling the aspirations of the would-be adventurers in *Eastward Ho*, who believe that the New World offers them the opportunity to upset the established social hierarchy in Europe. Lamure wishes to become "noble" by travelling to the New World, rather than being motivated to voyage there out of a sense of "nobility" – a deliberate reversal of the colonial propaganda of the seventeenth century that was likewise explored in Fletcher's *The Island Princess*. As the sailors continue to throw his goods overboard, Lamure ask whether they might 'save one Chest of Plate' (I.ii.19), to which the jocular Tibault responds that they should save nothing since the merchant had probably earned it 'unjustly' (I.ii.21). Though Fletcher's depiction of Lamure in this opening scene may appear little more than a grotesque parody of a seventeenth-century merchant-adventurer, the character is not inconsistent with the kinds of people who actually found themselves travelling to Virginia. In 1613, Alexander Whitaker complained that 'some of our Aduenturers in *London* haue been most miserable couetous men, sold ouer to Vsurie, Extortion and Oppression' and that 'many of the men sent hither haue bin Murtherers, Theeues, Adulterers, idle persons, and what not besides'.[115] The motley crew aboard the ship of *The Sea Voyage*, and in particular Lamure, confirm these fears.

Having evacuated the goods, the crew then abandon ship themselves, hoping to swim to the coastline of a nearby island. At this point in the play, the narrative focus shifts to the island and two castaways (Sebastian and Nicusa) trapped on its shores. Observing what Nicusa calls the 'most miserable men' (I.ii.16) swimming towards the island, the castaways reflect on the realities of their erstwhile home. In a point-by-point refutation of the colonial propaganda associated with Virginia, Sebastian describes how:

Here's nothing by rocks and barrenness,

[115] Whitaker (1613), p. 11.

> Hunger, and cold to eat; here's no Vinyards
> To cheere the heart of man, no Christall Rivers
> After his labour to refresh his body,
> If he be feeble; nothing to restore him,
> But heavenly hopes; nature that made those remedies,
> Dare not come here, nor looke on our distresses,
> For fear she turn wilde like the place and barren. (I.ii.24-31)

The aspects of the island that Sebastian describes implicitly reveal the expectations of many merchant-adventurers had when travelling to the New World. In 1622, a few months before *The Sea Voyage* was performed, John Bonoeil had written specifically on the 'planting of vines in Virginia', while a decade earlier John Smith had described the 'sweete brookes and christall springs' that were found in that land.[116] Fletcher's extracts specific details from the colonial propaganda of the Virginia ventures in order to create a dystopian inversion of that expected New World paradise in the barren island of the play. Fletcher also introduces, albeit with deft subtlety, a gendered representation of this colonial shoreline during this speech. Sebastian anthropomorphises 'nature' as a female suggesting that she should not wish to come to this place lest she turn 'wilde' and 'barren'. The island is then a 'wilde' and 'barren' woman – simultaneously untameable and unfruitful, and thus the very opposite of what the merchant-adventurers were hoping to find in the New World. By introducing this theme early in the play, Fletcher and Massinger prepare the audience for the later encounter with the "Amazonian" women, who, in a reversal of the gender roles imagined by the merchant-adventurers, display a hypersexual attitude when attempting to transform their own society from barren to fruitful.

Before their encounter with the "Amazonian" women, however, the arrival on the shoreline provides Fletcher with the opportunity to satirise the merchant-adventurers' obsessive desire for gold. Tibault wryly notes in the opening line of Act I, scene iv that 'wet come a shore my mates, we are safe at last' (I.iv.1); the play draws a joking comparison to the miraculously dry clothing of the King and courtiers in *The Tempest* as they arrived on the shores of Prospero's island. Despite Tibault's optimism, Lamure continues to lament his fortune,

---

[116] John Bonoeil, *His Maiesties gracious letter to the Earle of South-Hampton, treasurer, and to the Councell and Company of Virginia heere commanding the present setting vp of silke works, and planting of vines in Virginia.* (London, 1622), p. 56-57; Smith (1612), p. 3.

suggesting that the sailors could 'ha sav'd our goods' (I.iv.6) and believing that it was 'most maliciously done to undoe me' (I.iv.29). After further complaints from both Lamure and Franville, Tibault loses his patience, insulting the pair as 'thou Galloone gallant, and Mamon you | That build on golden mountains, thou money Maggot' (I.iv.81-82). McMullan has identified John Nicholl's Guianan narrative *An Houre Glass of Indian News* as a literary source for Fletcher's imagining of the shipwreck. Elsewhere in Nicholl's work, it is suggested that the American coast will be 'a rich and golden Counteey' and the 'chiefest place for gold Mines'.[117] If Fletcher was consciously drawing on this text as a source for the shipwreck, then it is plausible that it is also amongst sources for the play's mocking allusions to gold. Indeed, if the merchant-adventurers' desire for 'golden mountains' has so far been undone by the shipwreck, then the arrival on the shoreline offers a double-edged opportunity for them to claim a new one.

The two castaways, Sebastian and Nicusa, greet the crew with 'Gold and Jewels' (I.iv.170), promising them a large mound of treasure that lies further inland. In an over-eager scramble to recover the gold, Lamure demands his 'shares' (I.iv.173) in the treasure and suggests that his 'losses shall be made good' (I.iv.179). However, the gold and jewels were a trick to lure the crew away from their ship while Sebastian and Nicusa make their escape. If we needed any clue as to the misplaced motives of the shipwrecked crew then Fletcher offers it to us an allusive reference to *The Island Princess*. Before tricking Franville, Lamure and the others into abandoning their ship in the pursuit of gold, Sebastian addresses them as 'Noble Gentlemen' (I.iv.130) – an ironic epithet considering its use in the earlier play. Ultimately, we discover that 'Gold was the overthrow of [Sebastian's] happines' (I.iv.184) and, despite their initial desire to possess it, Franville declares 'a vengeance on these Jewels' (I.v.70) and Lamure on 'this cured Gold' (I.v.71) when they discover that it has cost them their ship.

It is clear that the play draws consciously on decades of literary representations of merchant-adventurers' desire for material gain in the New World. Likewise, it picks up on what were, by this time, well-established traditions of gendered literary reactions to New World

[117] McMullan (1994), pp. 241-242; John Nicholl, *An Houre Glass of Indian News* (London, 1607), sigs, $B3^{r}$, $B1^{v}$.

coastal arrival. However, Fletcher plays with such established notions by presenting a sexually exaggerated group of young women: the supposed "Amazons" of the play. The highly sexualised nature of the women in the play is evident immediately, and a contrast between the corresponding extremes of celibacy and hyper-sexuality takes centre stage. The women live without men and have committed by their own laws never to sleep with a man and to hunt down any they encounter. However, Renaissance audiences would have been alive to the metaphoric contradiction of such intentions, and when the women first appear armed for a "hunt", it is clear that the sexualised imagery of sixteenth-century courtly hunting poetry is to be literalised on stage. If such allusions were deemed too subtle for Fletcher's audience, then Hipopolita quickly dispels any ambiguity when she notes that:

> I was not made
> For this single life, nor do I love hunting so
> But that I had rather be the chase myself (II.ii.33-35)[118]

The women proceed to discuss Crocale's dream in which a young man 'took me in his arms and kissed me twenty times' (II.ii.58) before 'the youth | A little daunted, with a trembling hand | Heaved up the clothes –' (II.ii.62-64).

Amid the discussion of such fantasies, who should arrive on stage but the young pirate Albert, who, as the women note, has been recently 'cast o'th' shore' (II.ii.70). When Albert finally sees the bevy of beautiful women, he describes his experience in littoral terms, suggesting that 'I have passed the Stygian gulf and touch | Upon the blessed shore' (II.ii.76-77). But if Fletcher appears at first to be introducing the usual dynamic of colonial "planter" encountering an Edenic "fertile" shore (representing correspondingly promiscuous women), the audience is quickly disabused of such notions. Rosellia, the leader of this female band, interweaves a complex set of classical and contemporary imagery in a speech that serves to present her companions (and the audience) with a complete reversal of the conventional notions of a beguiling female shore and a lustful male adventurer:

[118] Hippolita shares the same name as the famous Amazon of Greek mythology. A character that Shakespeare explicitly recasts in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and through which he explores the themes of marriage, female sovereignty, and sexuality.

> Every word he speaks, a siren's note
> To drown the careless heart. Have I not taught thee
> The falsehood and the perjuries of men?
> On whom but for a woman to show pity
> Is to be cruel to herself. The sovereignty
> Proud and imperious men usurp upon us
> We confer on ourselves, and love those fetters
> We fasten to our freedom. (II.ii. 185-192)

Rosellia's words allude to Virgilian precedents, albeit ones transformed in their gendering. Albert, for example, becomes the beguiling siren of classical myth, hoping to wreck the women on the rocks of lustful desire. Furhtermore, it is in allusion to Aeneas' falsehoods that Rosellia's words draw their most potent comparison to classical myth; in particular, to early modern dramatic representations of it. The apparent 'falsehood and perjuries of men' suggested in Fletcher's play must surely evoke the 'puriurie and slaughter of a Queene' and the 'puriured papers' of marriage that Marlowe's Dido mistakenly welcomed when 'first [Aeneas] came on shoare' (V.i.298-299). Where Dido's love for the deceitful Aeneas was her downfall, Rosellia will not allow her own 'commonwealth' (II.ii.17) to fall on the same account.

Of course, it is pointed out to Rosellia that without any form of procreation 'in | A few years the whole world would be peopled | Only with beasts' (II.ii.209-210). Therein lies the play's central dilemma – how can the women maintain their sovereignty without men. It is clear that such a play would have been impossible to stage only three decades earlier, when these kinds of questions would have naturally drawn attention to the aging Elizabeth. That Rosellia's name contains both "Rose" (the Tudor dynastic symbol) and "Ellia" (a contraction of Elizabeth) only further foregrounds such a comparison. While I argue that the play is more concerned with seventeenth-century colonial ventures than sixteenth-century dynastic politics, the symbolic overlap between the two is in keeping with the porousness between what is domestic and what is foreign that I have foregrounded throughout this thesis. Ultimately, in order to stave off the destruction of her own people, Rosellia agrees that each woman:

> Shall choose a husband, and enjoy his company
> A month, but that expired you shall no more
> Come near 'em. If you prove fruitful

> The males ye shall return to them, the females
> We will reserve ourselves. (II.ii.237-241)

It would be easy to read this pronouncement as the ultimate fulfilment of the merchant-adventurers' fantasy for the New World – having arrived on shore, the men will spend an entire month attempting to "plant" their seed in the native women. However, this is more than simply an exaggerated parody of such fantasies. Ultimately, the play highlights the inherent fragility of the merchant-adventurers' ambitions. Far from being the conquerors of the New World, the men are set to become, as Albert notes, the women's 'slaves' (II.ii.219). This threat – that those arriving on the shores of the New World would be enslaved by the land rather than masters over it – was bourn out repeatedly with every hard winter and failed harvest the colonists suffered.

The play ultimately resolves in a predictable manner: the women, it is discovered, are in fact the Portuguese wives and daughters of the stranded Sebastian and Nicusa; upon reconciliation of wives and husbands, the French merchant-adventurers are freed from their bondage; and with no further need for the "Amazonian" guise, the female-dominant hierarchy is overturned and male authority restored. Much as in *The Island Princess*, the satire in *The Sea Voyage* is caustic but not fatal; Fletcher mocks the ambitions of his merchant-adventurer characters without fundamentally depriving them of the goals that they seek. Nevertheless, what we see in this play (as in *The Island Princess*) is a dramatic challenge to the uncomplicated picture of colonial conquest presented in the Virginia Company's propaganda of the seventeenth century. By presenting coastal arrival in the New World through the lens of merchant-adventurers' lust and greed, Fletcher offers a parodic sublimation of the imperial and mercantile motives that had persisted since the sixteenth century. In *The Sea Voyage*, Fletcher goes further than ever before to paint a picture of a New World that does not submit willingly to European conquests but instead, through the metaphor of sexual domination, enslaves those who land on its shores. Had the women on the island been true Amazons, then it is likely that the French merchant-adventurers would not have found such a peaceable conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have presented the literary counterpoint to the kinds of colonial discourse that I had outlined in the opening chapter of this thesis. Where early colonial propagandists encouraged ventures with the promise of fertile land and mineral riches, satirists co-opted such imagery, parodying the ambitions of merchant-adventurers by depicting them as motivated by corporeal lust and greed. As I have demonstrated, the shorelines of the New World were consciously gendered by colonial propagandists in the sixteenth century, developing a metaphorical association between agricultural and sexual "planting". John Donne's poetry was amongst the earliest examples of a literary parody of this metaphoric conflation, which continued unabated through the early seventeenth century in works such as *Eastward Ho* and *The Sea Voyage*. A more complicated critique of a feminised New World was presented in Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*. In this work, Hall brought a broader evaluation of the social disruption that was imagined by New World settlement. The cacophony of female voices in his depiction of Viraginia reflected what he considered to be the disordered social structure that many imagined for Virginia's settlements. Hall's antipathy towards parliamentary discourse (he would later clash with John Milton over this issue) was presented in such gendered terms.

At the same time as satirists were mocking the merchant-adventurers for their allegedly lustful motives for colonial settlement, so too they were challenging them for their apparent greed. This wider mercantile context evidently forms the backdrop for many city comedies of the early seventeenth century. Indeed, in Brian Gibbons' study of the theatrical subgenre of city comedy, he notes that one of the defining features of such plays is the exposing of greed through playful trickery and deception.[119] While not traditionally considered part of the city comedy subgenre (not least because they are set in the New World), I believe that Fletcher's *The Island Princess* and *The Sea Voyage* draw from that earlier tradition in their depiction of merchant-adventurers and their apparent greed. In particular, *The Sea Voyage* brings together

[119] Brian Gibbons, *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of Satiric Plays by Jonson, Marston and Middleton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), *passim*.

both aspects of colonial parody that I have identified – with the merchant-adventurers' greed being exploited to trick them from their ship and their lust outdone by the sexual domination of the female "Amazons" they encounter. The source of such a drama, I argue, can be traced to the earlier city comedies – most obviously *Eastward Ho*, a discussion of which opened this chapter. In this way, the shoreline of the New World itself becomes a kind of city-comedy archetype: that of the disguised whore. Superficially appealing, the New World coast tempts men to win her over with the promise of money and sexual gratification; however, upon arrival, the luckless adventurer discovers that far from being rich and virginal, the shore is instead impoverished and barren. Dramatised on stage, this "character-type" contributes to a humorous satirical attack on aspirational young men travelling to America; when encountered in reality, the barren shores of early American settlements claimed the lives of many who ventured there.

In Chapter One, I analysed the ways in which Richard Hakluyt, in particular, had presented coastal arrival in the New World in celebratory terms. His writing, accommodating the conflicting views of his patrons, had considered both the potential for "imperial" planting as well as the "mercantile" desire to make commercial profit. In this chapter, coastal arrival has been similarly considered but this time refracted through the prism of satire and parody. The elevated allusions to classical epic have been all but stripped away and arriving on the shores of the New World is presented in less flattering terms. Looking back on the early seventeenth century, it is easy to forget that England's ultimate conquest of North America was far from certain. From 1605 until 1623 (when the Crown took control of the Jamestown colony), settlement in Virginia looked no more likely to be successful than it had done in the 1580s and early 1590s. While twenty-first-century hindsight may have the effect of simplifying our picture of early colonialism in America – presenting merchant-adventurers as heroic pioneers – it is easy to see how coastal arrival in the New World may have prompted a more sceptical response from England's leading satirists.

Conclusions

> Now Lycidas the shepherds weep no more;
> Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore
> – John Milton[1]

Before the English traveller Thomas Coryat left for India in 1612, he gathered with his closest companions on 2 September at the Mitre Tavern in London for his final meeting with the infamous circle of literary wits: the Mermaid Club. The rough details of this assembly are captured in a comic Latin poem 'Convivium Philosophicum' found amongst John Chamberlain's papers.[2] Amongst the guests mentioned in the poem and thus probably in attendance were John Donne, Sir Henry Goodyer, and Inigo Jones. We may also suppose that Laurence Whitaker – later member of Parliament for Peterborough and addressed by Coryat in a letter dated 1615 as 'the High Seneschall of the right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sirenaical Gentlemen, that meet the first Friday of every Moneth, at the sign of the Mermaid in Bread Street in London' – was also in attendance.[3] In this letter, sent from India, Coryat thanks Whitaker for

> that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternity with general suffrage gaue me for the security of my future peregrination, concinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable artisan of sweet elegancy, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the noblest society, M. L. W.[4]

The 'safe-conduct' that Coryat describes the society as having given him was, in fact, a mock-passport – what Coryat later in the same letter describes as a 'superexcellent *Commeate*'.[5]

---

[1] John Milton, "Lycidas", *Milton: The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007), ll. 182-183.
[2] The author of the 'Convivium Philosophicum' is unknown, however it can be found in John Chamberlain's papers in State Papers 14/66/2. Discussions of this meeting and the Mermaid Club can be found in I. A. Shapiro, 'The "Mermaid Club"', *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan., 1950), pp. 6-17.
[3] Thomas Coryat to Laurence Whitaker, *Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits* (London, 1616), p. 37.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 38.
[5] *ibid.*, p. 39. Passports were known as 'safe-conducts' as early as 1293 where we find a 'Safe-conduct for Philip of Rydale, merchant of Berwick. By petition of council. Dated 10 December 1293 at Westminster.' *CPR 1292-1301*, p. 56.

The existence of this document, stamped and trimmed or, as Coryat describes it, 'concinnated' by Laurence Whitaker himself, provides us with a key to understanding the way in which the early modern traveller was forced to negotiate his itinerant desires with the controlling authority of the state.[6] By giving Coryat a mock-passport during the traveller's final meeting before his departure, the Mermaid Club jokingly acknowledged the importance of such a bureaucratic document during the early seventeenth century. Although it is improbable that the document was actually used in any legitimate boarder-crossings – it does highlight the contemporary concerns that accompanied any journey out of England. If comedy comes from recognising something true about one's society, then the mock-passport reveals to us the ingrained bureaucracy that underpinned early seventeenth century anxieties around foreign travel.

I began my research for this project by putting together a short case study on Thomas Coryat and the early modern passport. While this did not ultimately find a place in the final version of this thesis, it is appropriate that it should return in small part in this conclusion in order to explain the development of my thinking about this project. What I had sought to uncover in my research into early modern passports was the role the English state played in controlling the nature and scope of travel beyond the British Isles. I had anticipated that this research would reveal a highly organised, powerful and centralised state – a state whose use of legal bureaucracy would transform coastal departure and arrival into a largely homogenous experience. While to some extent this was true with regards to English travel to the Continent, there were moments of frisson that revealed chinks in the state's projected image of itself. Coryat's mock-passport – a burlesque device given to a clownish man – served to undermine through parody the state's claim to a monopoly on the written word's ability to unlock the experience of travel. Coryat's own literary works – both the comprehensive *Crudities*, recording his travels through Europe, and the collection of letters that make up the only record of his journey to India – are evidence of the ways in which an author might shape a counter-narrative

[6] The mock-passport is described in Michael Strachan, *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 146-148.

of travel to the one officially sanctioned by the state. In addition, Coryat's self-styled Homeric wanderings – frequently (and always jokingly) acknowledged by his peers – forced me to consider the extent to which the novel experiences of sixteenth and seventeenth-century travel were framed by classical literary precedents.

Though it did not find a place in the larger argument of this thesis, my early work on Coryat was instructive since it led me towards the two central questions that I have ultimately sought to answer in this thesis: the first, how might crossing coastlines generate a new set of literary responses in the context of England's increasing sense of itself as an imperial, island nation; the second, in what ways might classical literature inform those responses given the highly significant precedents of coastal arrival in Homer, Virgil and Ovid. Far from expecting a homogenous answer to these questions (as I had imagined before starting work on this thesis), the idiosyncratic nature of Coryat's own travel writing prepared me for what would turn out to be a complex and heterogeneous series of responses across the period that were nevertheless continually framed around certain key themes. By connecting these two questions – that of nascent imperial politics and classical precedent – my research would consider a complex and often-fraught duality in travel literature of the period: that of the new and the familiar. As I progressed through this thesis, it became clear that early modern authors' responses to moments of coastal arrival could be both highly novel and particular to their political context, as well as uncannily familiar to readers tracing each link in a chain of literary allusion. Despite the eclectic nature of my chapters, this duality – the dynamic between the new and the familiar – can be seen playing out across all of my critical readings.

Coastal Arrival and the Literary Imagination

I hope that this thesis has demonstrated that coasts were a key component of the literary imagination in early modern England. Depictions of coastal arrival were more than simply descriptions of a geographical "space" but rather of a literary "event". Such events are clearly physical on one level – an Elizabethan captain arriving on an American shoreline, a literary

character triumphing on a fictional strand – however, they can also be highly symbolic. By reading my chosen literary texts through eclectic methodological approaches, as well as moving between single-author chapters and broader survey-like chapters, I believe that this thesis has traced certain overlapping themes that expand our understanding of the ways in which authors charted literary moments of coastal arrival: firstly, the competing models of colonial trade and planting; secondly, the moral geography of Sidney and Spenser's coasts; thirdly, the gender politics of the Virgilian motif of male arrival on a (female) shoreline; and fourthly, the satires on New World arrival. For each of these themes, the coastline is metaphorically primed as a liminal space to explore the tension between opposites; arrival on the shore often entails a questioning of certain binaries: male and female, citizens and strangers, sincerity and parody, domestic and foreign, right and wrong. If the authors examined in this thesis do not always give us easy answers to such questions, it is because they too understand the inherent blurring that occurs on the coastline, where the opposition of such binaries becomes unstable.

I hope also that this thesis has demonstrated the importance of allusion to and adaptation of classical precedents of coastal arrival. Authors and explorers alike were keen to frame such moments through the lens of Homeric, Virgilian and Ovidian literary antecedents. However, the transmission of such text was far from simple. In my chapters on Spenser and the Dido and Aeneas episode, in particular, I have shown how classical allusion and adaptation was deployed strategically to consider early modern ethics and contemporary political events. That such allusion was not consistent between authors and over time reveals much about the adaptive ways in which authors approached classical models. Rather than a singular mode of reading classical literature, this thesis has sought to demonstrate the variety of ways in which early modern authors reimagined their own world through the lens of ancient texts. The blurring between classical and early modern literature is a key feature of the literary moments of coastal arrival explored in this thesis.

One of the challenges that I encountered in researching and writing this thesis was deciding which texts to include and which to exclude from my study. On the one hand, I was keen to offer close textual analysis of certain key works; while, on the other hand, I wanted to

ensure that I was able to trace important themes across a longer time frame and larger number of authors. The reason for wanting to achieve this was to be able to demonstrate both the localised details of how a specific author might treat the theme of coastal arrival as well as to understand how this fitted into to some larger political, economic and literary trends of the period. As a result, I decided that the thesis would combine both approaches: Chapters One and Two focusing more on close readings, and Chapters Three and Four on tracing larger thematic trails. While this may create unevenness between the two halves of the thesis, I hope that by telescoping in to localised detail and then out to broader themes, I have been able to demonstrate the importance of coastal arrival as both a highly particular literary interest to an author such as Spenser, as well as a larger ongoing concern in the period. If I were to expand this study beyond the strict limitations of this thesis, it would be to introduce another single-author chapter examining the theme of coastal arrival in the works of an author predominantly writing in the latter period of my study. There would, I believe, be fascinating potential to explore the nature of coastal arrival in the works of John Milton, where the travels of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, for example, are so often framed as sea-voyages to unknown shores.

Colliding with the Shore: The Literary Afterlife of Early Modern Coastal Encounter

I opened this Conclusion with a quotation from John Milton's *Lycidas* – the most significant literary contribution to the 1638 collection *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago*, dedicated to the memory of Edward King. King – an Anglo-Irish Cambridge graduate, whose father Sir John King may well have been known to Spenser from the Irish campaigns – drowned aged twenty-five when his ship collided with rocks in the coastal waters of the Irish Sea. In response, his Cambridge colleagues contributed Latin, Greek and vernacular poems to a collection that bears the young man's name. While this collection stands outside my chosen timeframe, the diverse poetic responses to King's death provide a fascinating example of the literary afterlife of the various themes surrounding coastal arrival that I have explored in this thesis.

Before we even reach Milton's poem, the contributors draw on the full range of imperial and mercantile imagery that characterised the thematic investigation of this thesis. The Latin introduction to the collection, for example, describes King as having drowned 'haud procul a littore Britannico'.[7] This language is not accidental – the description of the "British shore" immediately frames King's sea-crossing in the sort of domestic-imperial terms that had been solidifying over the previous half century. Later, the conflict between land and sea – a highly Spenserian motif – is introduced in a poem by William Hall, who notes of King's drowning that the seas:

> have usurp'd a new dominion o're
> Us, who did pride our selves their Lords before;
> And are enrich'd more by this single spoil,
> Than had they pass'd their shore t' invade our soil.[8]

Hall depicts the sea and land in perpetual conflict, each seeking to conquer the other. In this case, by taking the life of Edward King the sea has become a usurper and has imposed 'dominion' over those who dwell on the shore. The binary of sea and land – with the shore acting as a liminal point at which conflict and compromise may occur – echoes through the collection. John Cleveland notes, for example, that 'Some have affirm'd, that what on earth we find, | The sea can parallel for shape and kind'.[9] However, he suggests that this equilibrium has been fundamentally destabilised by King's death. Much like Hall's imperial metaphor, we find that 'Now the proud sea grown richer then the land | Doth strive for place, and claim the upper hand'.[10] Elsewhere, Edward King's brother, Henry, depicts the sea overcoming the land by describing how 'Here lyes one buried in a heap of sand | Whom this sea drown'd, whose death hath drown'd the land'.[11] Conquest then – with its attendant imperial implications – was a key way in which King's coastal collision and drowning was framed. However, the contributors were also highly attuned to the mercantile symbolism of the shipwreck.

---

[7] 'Not far from the British shore'; Collected Authors, *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago* (Cambridge, 1638) sig. A2^{r}.
[8] William Hall, "Pardon, blest soul, the slow pac'd Elegies", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 12.
[9] John Cleveland, "Whiles Phebus shines within our Hemisphere", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 10.
[10] *ibid*., p. 8.
[11] Henry King, "O Death! I'le not examine Gods decree" in Collected Authors (1638), p. 4.

In the same poem as he deployed imperial metaphors, Henry King also depicts his brother's death through mercantile imagery. He describes how 'now my stock is shipwrak't all, and lost, | Quite bankrupt, all my hopes and fortunes croft'.[12] In this way, Edward King is transformed into a kind of merchandise, and a precious one at that. He is repeatedly compared in the collection to 'gold' and 'pearls' – those very things that early modern merchant-adventurers hoped to discover during their own moments of coastal arrival.[13] However, any such discovery will be bitter-sweet in the context of King's death, as Thomas Norton notes when he encourages his reader to 'haste thee to the northern shore; | I' th' Irish sea one jewel lies, | Which they whole cabinet outvies'.[14] The jewel that has been lost – Edward King – is more precious than any that can be dug from the ground and is now to lie, forever unrecoverable, on the shore. Such mercantile ambition and disappointment is encapsulated in a poetic contribution by William More that recalls the very merchant's prayer of Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*:

> This was that Merchants faith, who took the seas
> At all adventures with such hopes as these.
> Which makes me think his thoughts diviner, and
> That he was bound for heaven, not Ireland.[15]

Much as I identified elsewhere in the period, the blurring of religious and mercantile motives was a perennial justification for pursuing marine travel. In this case, More refuses to accept that King could have died trying to reach Ireland and, instead, reimagines his motives as a quest for paradise itself.

Milton's own addition to the collection touches on another key theme identified in this thesis: that of allusion to and adaptation of classical precedent. *Lycidas* is a highly Virgilian pastoral that also picks up elements of the coastal imagery found in Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. That Milton should write this pastoral early in his career speaks to the ways in which the author was framing his own literary trajectory. However, what is particularly

[12] Henry King, "O Death! I'le not examine Gods decree" in Collected Authors (1638)., p. 3.
[13] *ibid*., pp. 5, 10, 12.
[14] Thomas Norton, "Then quite thine own, thou western Moore", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 19.
[15] William More, "I do not come like one affrighted, from", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 11.

interesting is the way in which the shoreline becomes a liminal space between the living and the dead. Notably Lycidas is transformed through death into 'the Genius of the shore' – he becomes a protective local deity that stands guard over 'all that wander in that perilous floud'.[16] The shoreline, once again, is imagined as a gateway between two spaces: this time not only between land and sea, but also life and death, the ancient and the early modern.

Without Milton's *Lycidas*, the *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago* collection would be unlikely to have drawn significant critical attention. Nearly four hundred years after its publication, it is, to many, a piece of interesting literary history and little more. However, treated as a kind of literary sounding to mark the ways in which a variety of authors imagined coastal arrival, the collection offers us interesting conclusions. Imperial and mercantile imagery still jostle for place in the literary imagination; classical precedents still offer some way of considering such a journey; and overwhelmingly, we leave with the sense that despite the coherency of subject matter, the experience of coastal arrival is more marked by heterogeneity than homogeneity. Perhaps wisely, John Cleveland concludes in the collection that the British coastline is ultimately 'too rough for verse'.[17] Those arriving on the shore – both literally as well as literarily – undoubtedly encountered this roughness. Coastal arrival in the period is unpredictable, complex and marked not by coherency but idiosyncrasy. Nevertheless, for a nation imagining itself as a small island intent on conquering the world's shores, understanding how early modern writers approached the topic of coastal arrival helps to reveal much about England and her nascent imperial and mercantile ambitions.

[16] John Milton, "Lycidas", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 25.
[17] John Cleveland, "Whiles Phebus shines within our Hemisphere", in Collected Authors (1638), p. 9.

Bibliography

Primary

Manuscripts

Bodleian Library, Additional ms. 5968

Bodleian Library, ms. Ashmole 830

Bodleian Library, ms. Twayne xvii, fol. 170.

Christ Church College, Oxford archives, ms. 486.

Hatfield mss. 195/100

National Archives, C 66/1244, mm. 32-4

Printed

Anonymous, *Blurt master-constable, Or The Spanish night-walke* (London, 1602)

Anonymous, *Londons lotterie with an incouragement to the furtherance thereof for the good of Virginia* (London, 1612)

Aske, James, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (London, 1588)

Aylmer, John, *An harborovve for faithfull and trevve subiectes agaynst the late blowne blaste, concerninge the gouernment of wemen* (London: 1559)

Bacon, Francis, *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1861-74), Vol. VI

Bonoeil, John, *His Maiesties gracious letter to the Earle of South-Hampton, treasurer, and to the Councell and Company of Virginia heere commanding the present setting vp of silke works, and planting of vines in Virginia.* (London, 1622)

--------- *Oberuations to be followed, for the making of fit roomes, to keepe silk-wormes in as also, for the manner of planting of mulberry trees, to feed them. Published by authority for the benefit of the noble plantation in Virginia* (London, 1620)

Botero, Giovanni, *An historicall description of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales in the worlde* (London, 1603)

Brereton, Richard, *A briefe and true relation of the discourerie of the north part of Virginia* (London, 1602)

Butler, Arthur John ed. *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Vol. 14 1579-1580*, (London, 1904)

Camden, William, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637)

Carleill, Christopher, *A breef and sommarie discourse vpon the entended voyage to the hethermoste partes of America* (London, 1583)

Cartigny, Jean de, *The voyage of the wandering knight* (London, 1581)

Castiglione, Baldassarre, *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby* (London, 1561)

Chamberlain, John, *The Letters of John Chamberlain* ed. Norman Egbert McClure 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1938), Vol. I

Chapman, George, *The memorable maske of the two honourable houses or Innes of Court; the Middle Temple and Lyncolns Inn* (London, 1613)

--------- *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman: the Comedies*, ed. T. M. Parrott, 2 vols. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1910-14)

--------- *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (London: Oxford University Press, 1941)

Chapman, George, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, ed. R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979)

Coke, Edward, *Fasciculus florum. Or A handfvll of flowers gathered out of the seuerall bookes of the Right Honorable Sir Edward Coke Knight and one of the Kings Maiesties most honorable councellours of estate* (London, 1612)

Collected Authors, *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago* (Cambridge, 1638)

Collinson, Richard, ed. *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1867)

Copland, Patrick, *Virginia's God be thanked* (London, 1622)

Coryat, Thomas, *Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits* (London, 1616)

Conseil for Virginia, *A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia* (London, 1609)

Crashaw, William, *A Sermon preached before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation, Feb. 21, 1609* (London, 1610)

Dee, John, *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect arte of nauigation* (London, 1577)

Digges, Leonard, *Pantometria* (London, 1571)

Donne, John, *The Complete Poems of John Donne* ed. Robin Robbins (Harlow: Longman, 2010)

--------- *The Sermon of John Donne*, eds. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, Vols. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), Vol. IV

--------- *The Sermon of John Donne*, eds. Evelyn M. Simpson and George R. Potter, Vols. 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), Vol. VII

Drayton, Michael, *Poems Lyrick and Pastorall* (London, 1606)

Dryden, John, and William Davenant, *The Tempest: or, The Enchanted Isle* (London, 1670)

Eden, Richard, *Arte of Navigation* (London, 1561)

--------- *The decades of the newe worlde* (London, 1555)

Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: collected works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000)

Fitzgeoffrey, Charles, *Francis Drake, His honourable life's commendation, and his Tragical Deathes Lamentation* (Oxford, 1596)

Fletcher, John, *The Island Princess*, ed. Clare McManus, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012)

Fletcher, John, and Francis Beaumont, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. L. A. Beaurline, Vols. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-1996), Vol. III

--------- *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. Fredson Bowers, Vols. 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-1996) Vol. IX

Foxe, John, *The Acts and Monuments* (London, 1583)

Gager, William, *William Gager: The Complete Works* ed. Dana F. Sutton (London: Garland Publishing, 1994), Vol. 3

Gosynhyll Edward, *Here begynneth a lytle boke named the Schole house of women* (London, 1572)

Gray, Robert, *A good speed to Virginia* (London, 1609)

Greene, Robert, "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", *Robert Greene* ed. Thomas H. Dickinson (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1869)

Hakluyt, Richard, *A discourse on western planting* ed. Charles Deane (Cambridge, Mass.: Press of J. Wilson and Sons, 1877)

--------- *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes vnto Florida* (London, 1587)

--------- *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America* (London, 1582)

--------- *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* ed. E. G. R. Taylor, 2 Vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), Vol. 1

--------- *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* ed. E. G. R. Taylor, 2 Vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), Vol. 2

--------- *The principall nauigations, voiages and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer land* (London, 1589)

--------- *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation made by sea or ouer-land* (London, 1599-1600) Vols. 1-3

Hall, Joseph, *Mundus Alter et Idem, An old world and a new* ed. Hector J. Anderson (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1908)

--------- *The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich*, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949)

--------- *The discouery of a new world* (London, 1609)

Hamor, Ralph, *A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia* (London, 1615)

Harriot, Thomas, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1590)

Herbert, George, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Hessels, Johannes H., ed. *Abrahami Ortelii et viroruum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum espistulae* (Cambridge, 1887)

J. F. *King Iames his welcome to London With Elizaes tombe and epitaph, and our Kings triumph and epitome* (London, 1603)

Johnson, Robert, *Nova Britannia offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia* (London, 1609)

--------- *The new life of Virginea declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation* (London, 1612)

Jonson, Ben, *Bartholomew Fair* ed. Susan Gossett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

--------- *Ben Jonson*, eds. Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, 11 Vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), Vol. 7

Kemys, Lawrence, *A relation of the second voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596)

Kingsbury, Susan M., ed., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office), Vol. I

Marlowe, Christopher, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* ed. Roma Gill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)

Milton, John, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644)

--------- *Milton: The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007)

More, Thomas, *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson* (London, 1551)

Nashe, Thomas, *Strange Newes, of the intercepting certaine Letters* (London, 1592)

Nicholl, John, *An Houre Glass of Indian News* (London, 1607)

Nichols, Philip, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London, 1626)

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Harper Collins, 1971-1983), Vol. 9

Phaer, Thomas, *The whole .xii. bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill* (London, 1573)

Price, Daniel, *Sauls prohibition staide. Or The apprehension, and examination of Saule And the inditement of all that persecute Christ, with a reproofe of those that traduce the honourable plantation of Virginia* (London, 1609)

Purchas, Samuel, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrims* (London, 1625)

Raleigh, Walter, *History of the World* (London, 1614)

--------- *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtiful Empire of Gviana* (London, 1596)

--------- *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1829) Vol. VIII

Rastell, John, *A new iunterlude and a mery of the nature of the .iiii. element* (London, 1520)

Rich, Barnabe, *A New Description of Ireland* (London, 1610)

Rich, Richard, *Newes from Virginia The lost flocke triumphant* (London, 1610)

Rosier, James, *A TRVE RELATION of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captaine* George Waymouth*, in the Discouery of the land of* Virginia (London, 1605)

Shakespeare, William, *Cymbeline*, ed. Valarie Wayne (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017)

--------- *Henry V*, ed. T. W. Craik (London: Routledge, 1995)

---------- *King Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1999)

--------- *Pericles*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004)

--------- *Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002)

---------- *The Tempest* ed. Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

--------- *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010)

Shakespeare, William, Antony Munday and Henry Chettle, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011)

Sidney, Philip, *An apologie for poetrie* (London, 1595)

--------- *The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), Vol. III

--------- *The correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet : now first collected and translated from the Latin with notes and a memoir of Sidney*, ed. by Steuart Adolphus Pears (London: W. Pickering, 1971)

--------- *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590)

--------- *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (The New Arcadia)*, ed. by Victor Skretkowicz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)

Smith, John, *A map of Virginia With a description of the countrey, the commodities, people, government and religion* (London, 1612)

--------- *The generall historie of Virginia* (London, 1624)

Spenser, Edmund, *A View of the State of Ireland*, eds. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997)

--------- *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007)

--------- *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe, (London: Penguin, 1999)

--------- *The Works of Edmund Spenser: a variorum edition*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw 11 vols. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1932-57)

Stanyhurst, Richard, *Thee first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst, wyth oother poëtical diuises theretoo annexed* (London, 1582)

Stow, John, *Survey of London* (London, 1598), Vol. I

Surrey, (Earl of) *The fourth boke of Virgill, intreating of the loue betweene Aeneas and Dido* (London, 1554)

Tasso, Torquato, *Godfrey of Boulogne: or The recouerie of Ierusalem. Done into English heroicall verse, by Edward Fairefax Gent* (London, 1600)

Tawney, R. H., and Eileen Power eds. *Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1935), Vol. 1

The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament, (Geneva, 1560)

Thronborough, John, *A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie union of the two famous kingdoms of England and Scotland* (London, 1604)

Walton, Izaak, *The lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (London, 1670)

Waterhouse, Edward, *A declation of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622)

Webbe, William, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (London, 1586)

Whitaker, Alexander, *Good newes from Virginia* (London, 1613)

Secondary

Acheson, Arthur, *Shakespeare and the rival poet: displaying Shakespeare as a satirist and proving the identity of the patron and rival of the sonnets* (London: John Lane, 1903)

Adams, Joseph Quincy, "Michael Drayton's to the Virginia Voyage", *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 33, No. 7 (Nov., 1918), pp. 405-408.

Adamson, J. H., and H. F. Folland, *The Shepheard of the Ocean: An Account of Sir Walter Ralegh and his Times* (London: The Bodley Head, 1969)

Adelman, Janet, *The Common Liar: An Essay on* Antony and Cleopatra (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973)

Akrigg, G. P. V., *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968)

Anderson, Perry, *English Questions* (London: Verso, 1992)

Andrews, K. R., "The Aims of Drake's Expedition of 1577-1580", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (Feb., 1968), pp. 724-741.

Armitage, David, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Bach, Rebecca Ann, *Colonial Transformation: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000)

Baker, David J., *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997)

Banerjee, Rita, "Gold, Land, and Labor: Ideologies of Colonization and Rewriting "The Tempest" in 1622", *Studies in* Philology, Vol. 110, No. 2 (Spring, 2013), pp. 291-317.

Bartels, Emily C., *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)

Bawcutt, N. W., "Ben Jonson's Drunken Hamburgians: An Entertainment for King James", *Notes & Queries*, Vol. 242 (1997), pp. 92-94.

Beer, George Louis, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, 1578-1660 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1908)

Beier, A. L., and Roger Finlay eds. *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1987)

Bellamy, Elizabeth Jane, *Dire Straits: The Perils of Writing the Early Modern English Coastline from Leland to Milton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013)

Bennett, Josephine Waters, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942)

--------- "The Allegory of Sir Artegall in *F.Q.* V, xi-xii", *Studies in Philology* Vol. 37 (1940), pp. 177-200

Bono, Barabara J., *Literary Transvaluation: From Vergilian Epic to Shakespearean Tragicomedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

Bradshaw, Brendan, Andrew Hadfield, and Willey Maley eds. *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Brammall, Sheldon, "'Sound this angrie message in thine eares": Sympathy and the Translation of the *Aeneid* in Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 65, No. 270 (2013), pp. 383-402.

--------- *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015)

Brink, Jean R., *Michael Drayton Revisited* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990)

Brown, Georgia, *Redefining Elizabethan Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Burlinson, Christopher, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006)

Burrow, Colin, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

--------- *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Butler, Martin ed. "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*", *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999)

Butterfield, Kevin, "Puritans and Religious Strife in the Early Chesapeake", *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 109, No. 1 (2001), pp. 5-36.

Calabi, Donatella, and Stephen Turk Christensen eds. *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume Two: Cities and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-7)

Canny, Nicholas P., "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America", *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd series) XXX, no. 4 (1973), pp. 575-598.

Carey, Daniel, and Claire Jowitt eds. *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012)

Chew, Audrey, "Joseph Hall and John Milton", *ELH*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Dec., 1950), pp. 274-295.

Christian, Margaret, "'Waves of weary wretchednesse': Florimell and the Sea", *Spenser Studies* Vol. XIV (2000), pp. 133-161.

Crawley, R. R., "Drayton and the voyagers", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVIII (1923), pp. 530-556.

--------- "Shakespeare's use of the voyagers in *The Tempest*", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XLI (1926), pp. 688-726.

--------- *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1938)

--------- *Unpathed waters studies in the influence of the voyagers on Elizabethan literature* (Princeton, 1940)

--------- "Warner and the voyagers", *Modern Philology*, xx (1922), pp. 113-147.

Crouch, Patricia, "Patronage and Competing Visions of Virginia in George Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* (1613)", *English Literary Reniassance* Vol. 40, Issue 3 (Autumn 2010), pp. 393-426.

Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy eds. *Negotiated Empires: Centres and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820* (London: Routledge, 2002)

DeMoss, W. F., "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues "According to Aristotle"", *Modern Philology* Vol. 16, No. 1 (May, 1918), pp. 23-38.

Dickens, A. G., *The English reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964)

Doerksen, Daniel W., "Recharting the *Via Media* of Spenser and Herbert", in *Renaissance and Reformation*. Vol. 20 (New Series Vol. 8), No 3 (1984), pp. 215-225.

Dollimore, Jonathan, and Alan Sinfield eds. *Political Shakespeare: Essays in cultural materialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985)

Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Durant, David N., *Ralegh's lost colony* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981)

Dutton, Richard, *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000)

Edwards, Philip, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Journey, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997)

Erickson, Wayne, *Mapping* The Faerie Queene*: Quest Structures and the World of the Poem* (London: Garland Publishing, 1996)

Erskin-Hill, Howard, and Ricahrd A. McCabe eds. *Presenting Poetry: Composition, Publication, Reception, Essays in Honour of Ian Jack* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Ewen, C. L'Estrange, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes: An Historical, Legal, and Ethical Survey of their Introduction, Suppression and Re-establishment in the British Isles* (London: Heath Cranton Limited, 1932)

Ferguson, Margaret W., *Dido's Daughters: Literary, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Fitzpatrick, Joan, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the contours of Britain: reshaping the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hatfield: University of Hereford Press, 2004)

Fletcher, Angus, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (London: Cornell University Press, 1970)

Floyd-Wilson, Mary, and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. eds. *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Foss, Michael, *Undreamed Shores: England's Wasted Empire in America* (London: Harrap, 1974)

Freeman, Arthur, "Marlowe, Kyd, and the Dutch Church Libel", *ELR* 3 (1973), pp. 44-52.

Friedrich, Gerhard, 'The Genesis of Michael Drayton's Ode "To the Virginian Voyage"', *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 72, No. 6 (June., 1957), pp. 401-406.

Froude, J. A., "England's Forgotten Worthies", *Short Studies on Great Subjects* 3 Vols. (London, 1871), Vol. 1

Fuller, Mary C., "Writing the Long-Distance Voyage: Hakluyt's Circumnavigators", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (March 2007), pp. 37-60.

Gibbons, Brian, *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of Satiric Plays by Jonson, Marston and Middleton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968)

Gilbert, A. H., "Virginia and Eastward Ho", *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII (1918), pp. 183-184.

Gillies, John, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980)

--------- *Shakespearean negotiations: the circulation of social energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Greene, Thomas M., *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)

Guilmartin, John F., *Gunpowder and Galleys: changing technology and Mediterranean warfare at sea in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)

Hadfield, Andrew, *Amazons, Savages & Machiavels: Travel & Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2001)

--------- *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

--------- *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: Wilde Fruit and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

--------- *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

--------- *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

Hamilton, A. C. ed. *Spenser Encyclopedia* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1997)

Harrison, T. P., "Shakespeare and Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*", *The University of Texas Studies in English* Vol. 35 (1956), pp. 57-63.

Harvey, Elizabeth D., *Ventriloquized Voices: Feminist theory and English renaissance texts* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Haynes, Alan, *Walsingham: Elizabeth spymaster & statesman* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004)

Helgerson, Richard, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)

Henley, Pauline, *Spenser in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1928)

Herron, Thomas, "Early Modern Ireland and the New English Epic: Connecting Edmund Spenser and Sir George Carew", *The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, Vol. 1 (2006), pp. 27-52.

Highley, Christopher, *Shakespeare, Spenser and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Hollis, Gavin, *The Absence of America: the London stage, 1576-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Honan, Park, *Christopher Marlowe: poet & spy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Hopkins, David, and Charles Martindale, eds. *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, 5 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), Vol. 2

Hopkins, Lisa, "'And shall I die, and this unconquered?': Marlowe's Inverted Colonialism", *Early Modern Literary Studies* Volume 2, Issue 2 (1992), pp. 1-23.

--------- "We were the Trojans: British national identities in 1633", *Renaissance Studies* Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2002), pp. 36-51.

Houston, Chloe, ed., *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham: Routledge, 2010)

Hutner, Heidi, *Colonial Women: Race and Culture in Stuart Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Hutson, Lorna, "Chivalry for Merchants; or, Knights of Temperance in the Realms of Gold", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* Vol. 26 (1996), pp. 26-59.

Ioppolo, Grace, *Dramatists and their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Middleton and Heywood: Authorship, authority and the playhouse* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Ingledew, Jr., J. E., "The Date of Composition of Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*", *RES* 12 (1961), pp. 144-159.

Iser, Wolfgang, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1993)

Jackson, MacDonald P., "Francis Meres and the Cultural Contexts of Shakespeare's Rival Poet Sonnets", *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 56, No. 224 (Apr., 2005), pp. 224-246.

Jacobson, Miriam Emma, *Barbarous antiquity: reorienting the past in the poetry of early modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2014)

James, Heather, *Shakespeare's Troy: Drama, politics, and the translation of empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Jones, H. S. V., "Spenser's Defence of Lord Grey", *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1919), pp. 7-75.

Jones, Phil, *Ralegh's pirate colony in America: the lost settlement of Roanoke 1584-1590* (Charleston: Tempus, 2001)

Jowitt, Claire, "'Her flesh must serve you': Gender, Commerce and the New World in Fletcher's and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage* and Massinger's *The City Madam*", *Parergon* Vol. 18 (2001), pp. 93-117.

--------- *Voyage drama and gender politics, 1589-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)

--------- *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Jusserand, J. J., "Spenser's "Twelve Private Morall Vertues as Aristotle Hath Devised"", *Modern Philology*, Vol. 3 No. 3 (Jan., 1906), pp. 373-383.

Kahn, Coppélia, *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, wounds and women* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Kallendorf, Craig, "Representing the Other: Ercilla's "La Araucana", Virgil's "Aeneid", and the New World Encounter", *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. 40 No. 4 (2003), pp. 394-414.

Kelsey, Harry, *Sir Francis Drake: the Queen's Pirate* (London: Yale University Press, 1998)

Kermode, Lloyd, *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Kerrigan, John, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Knapp, Jeffrey, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1992)

Korte, Barbara, and Ralf Schneider, eds. *War and the cultural construction of identities in Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002)

Kott, Jan, "*The Aeneid* and *The Tempest*", *Arion: A Journal of the Humanities and the Classics* New Series Vol. 3, No. 4 (1976), pp. 424-451.

Kupperman, Karen, *Roanoke: the abandoned colony* (Totowa: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984)

Latour, Bruno, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993)

Levine, Nina, *Practicing the City: Early Modern London on Stage* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016)

Lewis, C. S., *Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936)

Lloyd, T. O., *The British Empire, 1558-1983* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984)

Loades, D. M., *England's maritime empire: seapower, commerce and policy, 1490-1690* (Harlow: Longman, 2000)

Logan, Terence P., and Denzell S. Smith ed. *The Later Jacobean and Caroline Dramatists: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978)

--------- *The New Intellectuals: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977)

--------- *The Popular School: A Survey and Bibliography of Recent Studies in English Renaissance Drama,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1975)

Loughlin, Marie H., *Hymeneutics: interpreting virginity on the early modern stage* (London: Associated University Press, 1997)

MacDonald, Jocye Green, "Antony's Body", *Early Modern Literary Studies*, Special Issue 19 (2009), pp. 1-23.

MacInnes, Ian, ""Some Gothicq barbarous hand"; Poetry and foreign policy in Samuel Daniel's Epistle to Prince Henry", *Appositions* (May, 2009) [accessed online]

Maguire, Laurie, and Emma Smith, "What is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read his Marlowe", *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 68 (Shakespeare, Origins and Originality), pp. 15-31.

Maley, Willy, *Nation, State and Empire in English Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare to Milton* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

Maley, Willy, and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton eds. *This England, That Shakespeare: New Angles on Englishness and the Bard* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Mancall, Peter C., *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)

Marshall, Tristan, "The Tempest and the British Imperium in 1611"*, The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), pp. 375-400.

Martindale, Charles, and A. B. Taylor eds. *Shakespeare and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

McCabe, Richard A., "Edmund Spenser, Poet of Exile", *Proceedings of the British Academy* Vol. 80 (1992), pp. 73-103.

--------- *Joseph Hall: A Study in Satire and Meditation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)

--------- *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

McDermott, James, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

McGowan, Matthew M., *Ovid In Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009)

McMullan, Gordon, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1994)

Merchant, Carolyn, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (London: Wildwood House, 1980)

Miller, John F., and Carole E. Newlands eds. *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014)

Miller, Lee, *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000)

Miller, Shannon, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998)

Montrose, Louis, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery", *Representations* No. 33, Special Issue: The New World (Winter, 1991), pp. 1-41.

Moran, Michael G., *Inventing Virginia: Sir Walter Raleigh and the rhetoric of colonization, 1585-1590* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007)

Neff, M. L., "Spenser's Allegory of the Toll-Bridge", *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 13 (1933), pp. 159-167.

Nicholls, Mark, *Sir Walter Raleigh: In Life and Legend* (London: Continuum, 2011)

Nohrnberg, James, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976)

Nosworthy J. M., "The Narrative Sources of *The Tempest*", *Review of English Studies* Vol. 24 (1948), pp. 281-294.

Osborn, James M., *Young Philip Sidney, 1572-77* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972)

Padelford, Frederick Morgan, "The Virtue of Temperance in the Faerie Queene", *Studies in Philology* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jul., 1921), pp. 334-346.

Parker, Patricia, *Inescapable romance: studies in the poetics of a mode* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979)

Parks, George Bruner, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928)

Parry, J. H., *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450-1650* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973)

Paster, Gail Kern, "Montaigne, Dido, and *The Tempest*: 'How came that widow in?'", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 91-94.

--------- *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993)

Pettegree, Andrew, *Foreign Protestant communities in sixteenth-century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)

Pitcher, John, *Samuel Daniel: The Brotherton Manuscript, A Study in Authorship* (Leeds: Leeds Texts and Monographs [New Series No. 7], 1981)

Pocock, J. G. A., "British History: a Plea for a New Subject", *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 47 (1975), pp. 601-621.

--------- "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject", *American Historical Review* Vol. 87 (1982), pp. 311-336.

Pugh, Syrinth, *Spenser and Ovid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Quinn, David B., *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947)

--------- *The Hakluyt Handbook* 2 Vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), Vol. 1

--------- *The Roanoke voyages, 1584-1590: documents to illustrate the English voyages to North American under the patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* 2 Vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955)

Quint, David, *Epic and Empire: politics and generic form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993),

Quintero, Ruben ed. *A Companion to Satire Ancient and Modern* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)

Raffield, Paul, *Images and cultures of law in early modern England: justice and political power, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Rappaport, Steve, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Read, Conyers, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* 3 Vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925)

Read, David, *Temperate Conquests: Spenser and the Spanish New World* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2000)

Riggs, David, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber, 2004)

Schwyzer, Philip, and Simon Mealor, eds. *Archipelagic identities: literature and identity in the Atlantic Archipelago, 1550-1800*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Scodel, Joshua, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern Literature* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002)

Selwood, Jacob, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Shapiro, I. A., "The 'Mermaid Club'", *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan., 1950), pp. 58-63.

Sherman, William H., *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995)

Sherwood, Terry, *Fulfilling the Circle: A Study of John Donne's Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984)

Sinfield, Alan, *Shakespeare, Authority, Sexuality: Unfinished Business in Cultural Materialism* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Skura, Meredith Anne, "Discourse and the Individual: the Case of Colonialism in *The Tempest*", *Shakespeare Quarterly* Vol. 40 (1989), pp. 42-69.

Smith, Anthony D., *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Stanivukovic Goran, ed. *Ovid and the Renaissance Body* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2001)

--------- *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Steane, J. B., *Marlowe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964)

Steers, J. A., *The Coastline of England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964)

Steers, J. A., *The English Coast and the Coast of Wales* (London: Collins, 1966)

Strachan, Michael, *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962)

Sullivan, Garrett, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)

Taylor, E. G. R., *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934)

--------- "More Light on Drake: 1577-1580", *The Mariner's Mirror* Vol. 16, Issue. 3 (1930), pp. 134-151.

Thompson, Elbert N. S., "Milton's knowledge of geography", *Studies in Philology*, XVI (1919), pp. 148-171.

Thrower, Norman J. W., ed. *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580: 1577-1580: essays commemorating the quadricentennial of Drake's circumnavigation of the earth* (London: University of California Press, 1984)

Van Es, Bart, *Shakespeare in Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

--------- *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Vaughan, Virginia Mason, and Alden T. Vaughan eds. *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's 'The Tempest'* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1998), pp. 96-97.

Wallace, Willard Mosher, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959)

Wands, John Millar, "The Early Printing History of Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* Vol. 74, No. 1 (First Quarter, 1980), pp. 1-12.

Watkins, John, *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)

Wells, Susan, "Jacobean City Comedy and the Ideology of the City", *ELH*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring, 1981), pp. 37-60.

West, Michael D., "Drayton's 'To the Virginian Voyage': From Heroic Pastoral to Mock-Heroic", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Winter, 1971), pp. 501-506.

Whitney, Lois, "Did Shakespeare know *Leo Africanus*?", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVII (1922), pp. 470-483.

--------- "The literature of travel in the *Faerie Queene*", *Modern Philology*, XIX (1921), pp. 143-162.

Wiggins, Martin, "When did Marlowe write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?", *The Review of English Studies* New Series, Vol. 59, No. 241 (Sep., 2008), pp. 521-541.

Williams, Deanne, "Dido, Queen of England", *ELH*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (Spring, 2006)

Wilson, Derek, *Sir Francis Walsingham: A Courtier in the Age of Terror* (London: Constable, 2007)

Wilson-Okamura, David Scott, *Spenser's International Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Winton, John, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975)

Wofford, Susanne, "Britomart's Petrarchan Lament: Allegory and Narrative in the Faerie Queene III, iv", *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Winter, 1987), pp. 28-57.

Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses. : An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford. To which are added the fasti, or annals of the said university* 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), Vol. 2

Worden, Blair, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (London: Yale University Press, 1996)

Wormersley, David, "Sir Henry Savile's Translation of Tacitus and the Political Interpretation of Elizabethan Texts", *Review of English Studies* (1991) XLII (192), pp. 313-342.

Wymer, Rowland, *Suicide and despair in the Jacobean drama* (Brighton: Harvester, 1986)

Young, R. V., "'O My America, My New-Found-Land': Pornography and Imperial Politics in Donne's "Elegies"", *South Central Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, John Donne (Summer, 1987), pp. 35-48.

Yungblut, Laura Hunt, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions an the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Zucker, Adam, *The Places of wit in early modern English comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Zurcher, Andrew, *Edmund Spenser's* The Faerie Queene*: A Reader's Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

--------- *Spenser's Legal Language: Law and Poetry in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007)