

Unpathed Waters

Studies in the Influence of the
Voyages on Elizabethan Literature

Robert Ralston Cawley



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on Elizabethan Literature

BY ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY

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TO MY WIFE

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PREFACE

THE following studies are based to a considerable extent upon the evidence presented in a former volume, *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama*, published by the Modern Language Association in 1938. In that work I showed the impact of the voyaging influence on the drama of the period; in this, I draw some of the conclusions and inferences for which the proof is to be found in the earlier publication. From the beginning, therefore, the two were designed as companion volumes. Since *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* from its very nature had to be so heavily documented, I have tried in this book, of which the purpose is completely different, to use references only where quite essential.

My aim here is to study special phases of the subject. It has seemed important to consider first what the Ancient World and Middle Ages bequeathed to Renaissance literature in the way of voyaging traditions. As a corollary, a study of the maps, early and later, was necessary. And then it was essential to devote one large section to the spirit which informed the whole great movement, as that spirit is revealed to us through the literature of the time. The mariner himself, together with his element, clearly required a separate study. Finally, it was obvious that the studies should culminate in an attempt to estimate just how the rich material so abundantly provided by the voyagers was utilized by some of the characteristic literary figures. Though my intention had originally been to restrict myself to the drama, I soon discovered that my conclusions

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would lack the proper soundness unless I examined a large part of the non-dramatic literature as well.

In this work, as in the last, I have used as my principal authority for the drama Professor Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama* and for the voyagers, G. B. Parks' Bibliography (to be published in the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature), which he was kind enough to lend me in galley proof. I wish to express my thanks to Dean Eisenhart and his committee of award on graduate funds for their ready and generous assistance. While the book was being composed, the officials in the British Museum were consistently helpful, especially that great friend of Americans, Mr. A. I. Ellis. My friend and colleague, Professor R. G. Albion, was good enough to read the third and fourth sections and to make suggestions which resulted in improvement. Finally, I acknowledge here my deep indebtedness to my wife, who kindly read the complete proof (except for that part on "The Spirit of the Voyagers").

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June 10, 1940

ROBERT R. CAWLEY

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“Because that opinion of the Rednes of the shore in some places, has bin most received, and is confirmed even to this day by some Travellers, and sounds most poetically, I allude to it here, whether it be true or not.”

—COWLEY

*The Heritage of the
Middle Ages*

*“Of dire Chimera’s and enchanted Iles,
And rifted Rocks whose entrance leads to hell,
For such there be, but unbelief is blind.”*

—MILTON

“Lastly, Poets and Poetical Writers have in this point exceeded others, trimly advancing the Aegyptian notions of Harpies, Phoenix, Gryphins, and many more. Now however to make use of Fictions, Apologues, and Fables, be not unwarrantable, and the intent of these inventions might point at laudable ends; yet do they afford our junior capacities a frequent occasion of error, setting impressions in our tender memories, which our advanced judgments generally neglect to expunge.”

—SIR THOMAS BROWNE

I

THE FORTUNATE ISLANDS

W E of this age shall never fully know the part played by mythical lands in early discoveries. St. Brandan's Isle, Ophir, the Austral Continent, Terrestrial Paradise, the Lost Atlantis, and Fortunate Islands, all these lay somewhere over mysterious oceans, mute, enigmatic challenges to adventurers of the period. Even in voyages where the principal objective was gain we can never overlook the element of pure venturesomeness which lured men to sea. Tradition was strong, imagination lively, and the very awareness of Fortunate Islands only existing to be discovered was enough.

The *Insulae Fortunatae* partook of other mythical places; in them one can discern bits of the Elysian Fields, Isles of the Blest, and Earthly Paradise. And this is due to their history. In old Greek myth there were islands resting far out at the edge of a western ocean where lived, not the dead, but certain favored mortals upon whom the benignant gods had conferred immortality. And Homer's Plain¹ is really not different, for life is easy there, no snow or rain beats down, no heat oppresses, "but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men." Here dwelt the lucky heroes under the happy rule of Rhadamanthus. It is noteworthy that the Elysium of Hesiod and Pindar is likewise in the western ocean, on the For-

¹ *Odyssey*, IV, 563.

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tunate Islands. Both Plutarch and Ptolemy² have their bits to add to this fascinating legend.

The tendency to rationalize being always strong, men sought early to identify these happy regions with some particular terrestrial spot. And the favored site was the Canaries. In 1600 John Pory³ wrote "of the Canaries: For so the isles named of old *Insulae fortunatae* (which ever since the decay of the Romaine empire, till within these two hundred yeeres, lay undiscovered) are at this present called." Since Hanno had doubtless sailed to Sierra Leone,⁴ the Carthaginian navigators had probably sighted the Islands as early as 500 B.C. Years later the elder Pliny records for us an account by the Mauritanian King Juba, who tells of an expedition around 40 B.C. and mentions "Canaria, so called from the multitude of dogs of great size," a piece of superb etymology repeated by Eden.⁵ Pliny goes on to speak, with better reason, of "Nivaria, taking its name from perpetual snow, and covered with clouds," a probable allusion to Teneriffe. Thereafter the Canaries sink from sight not to rise again, except for a twelfth-thirteenth century visit by Arabs and some sporadic and chance descents, until Béthencourt with La Salle made his notable expedition in 1402. The fifteenth century then saw wrangling for the Islands' possession, which was all too characteristic of the age, mainly of course between Portuguese and Spaniards, until the Treaty of Alcaçova finally gave sovereignty to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1479. Europeans were sufficiently impressed with the Canaries' equable

² He speaks of islands off the west coast of Africa as "Incognitam terram qui communi vocabulo Hesperii appellantur Ethiopes." The Ancients did not know the Cape Verde Islands.

³ Leo's *Hist. and Descrip. of Africa*, I, 99.

⁴ Galvano (*Discoveries of the World*, p. 11) thought that he discovered not merely the Canaries but the Cape Verdes as well.

⁵ *First Three English Books on America*, p. 41.

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climate to identify them with the Fortunate Islands of antiquity. And the impression seems to have been confirmed by an interesting mingling of the old tradition with a popular medieval one.

Around 565 the Irish Saint Brandan⁶ set forth in search of the island of his vision which, according to legend, was the "fayrest countree eestwarde that ony man myght se, and was so clere and bryght that it was an hevenly syght to beholde; and all the trees were charged with rype fruyte and herbes full of flowres. . . ; and the londe attemperate ne to hotte ne to colde." Whatever the overlay of marvelous and colorful circumstances wrought by the Celtic imagination, he probably did come on some islands which were to him a refuge. What ones, nobody knows, scholars variously placing them all the way from the North Atlantic to the Equator. The early map-makers are, however, somewhat more consistent. The Hereford Map⁷ (of about 1275) records: "Fortunate Insule: sex sunt: insule Sancti Brandani." And the inscription appears about where we might expect the Canaries. If the Dulcert portolan map of 1339, if, still later, Pareto and Benincasa equate the Fortunate Isles of St. Brandan with the Madeiras, they are at least confining themselves to the same general region. The Madeiras were, indeed, a likely substitute since their reputation from early times had been similar to the Canaries, their balminess, gorgeous flowers, and exquisite beauty. Perhaps the great Strabo was thinking of them when he wrote of "the golden apples of the Hesperides, the Islands of the Blessed . . .

⁶ Beazley refers to M. J. de Goeje's *La Légende de Saint Brandan* as by far the most important book on the subject up to his time (1897).

⁷ Bevan and Phillott, *Medieval Geography*, p. 106. It is quite possible that Edrisi was partially rationalizing when he wrote during the previous century: "The Fortunate Islands are two in number and are in the Sea of Darkness." Conceivably he had in mind Lanzarote and Fuerteventura.

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which we know are still pointed out to us not far distant from the extremities of Maurusia, and opposite to Gades." Further details were to be furnished by a contemporary, Diodorus, who around 50 B.C. may well have described the Madeiras in his reference to a "great island of very mild and healthful climate" which was "in great part mountainous but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part of all the rest," an island on to which the commercial-minded Phoenicians were driven after the founding of Cadiz.⁸

The so-called Age of Discovery was inclined to reinstate the Canaries in their original rights. In this particular it is of interest to learn from an able observer near the beginning of that great period just what the state of knowledge was. Soon after 1500 Peter Martyr⁹ wrote:

"The Fortunate Isles, or, as the Spaniards call them, the Canaries, were long since discovered in the middle of the ocean. . . . In ancient times these islands were called Fortunate, because of the mild temperature they enjoyed. The islanders suffered neither from the heat of summer nor the rigours of winter: some authors consider that the real Fortunate Isles correspond to the archipelago which the Portuguese have named Cape Verde. If they are at present called the Canaries, it is because they are inhabited by men who are naked and have no religion."

It looks as though Martyr's etymological sense was not appreciably finer than Pliny's. That he was, however, more in agreement with his time in the identification with the Canaries rather than Cape Verde Islands is made abundantly clear through other references. Thus he speaks¹⁰ in one place significantly of "Fortunate Isles, vulgarly called

⁸ Babcock's *Legendary Islands*, pp. 42-43. ⁹ *De Orbe Novo*, I, 58
¹⁰ *ibid.*, II, 167; I, 158-159; II, 152; I, 391; II, 398.

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the Canaries." Elsewhere he writes: "Pinzon coasted along the Fortunate Isles, and first laid his course for the Hesperides, otherwise called the islands of Cape Verde, or still better, the Medusian Gorgons." In still another passage, describing Magellan's circumnavigation, Martyr says: "The fleet first touched at the Fortunate Isles and afterwards sighted the archipelago of the Gorgades, which their actual lord, the King of Portugal, calls the Cape Verde Islands." Once he refers to Palma as "one of the Fortunate Isles," and again to his faithful Mendegurra's having written him from Gomera, which was likewise "one of the Fortunate Islands."

Here then was the story of what Cowley calls "the Muse-discovered World of Islands Fortunate" as it came down to Elizabethan poets. And they would be sure to use it. What is of special interest is that remnants from the Ancients should so persistently have clung to the tradition. Not merely does Richard Brathwaite¹¹ designate Hesiod's version but the details of his description breathe the spirit of the classics:

"Hesiod relates seven fortunate reposes,
Ilands, which Fortune favors for their seate,
Adorn'd with fruitfull plants sent-chafing roses;
Where there breaths ever a soile-cherishing heate,
By which the plants receive their budding power,
And needs no other dew, no other shower.
These fruitfull Ilands which this Poet shewes,
Were seated farre within the Ocean,
And never warr'd as other Ilands use,
Being in peacefull league with every man."

Clearly in Brathwaite's mind elements of the Lost Atlantis and Terrestrial Paradise have intruded. The classical

¹¹ *Natures Embassie*, pp. 139-140.

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identification of the Hesperides with the Fortunate Isles, made for instance by Dionysius, persisted although, as has been seen above, Strabo may rather have been thinking of the Madeiras. The Ancients were inclined to call islands and other regions to the west under titles associated with Hesperus; and this accounts perhaps for Martyr's liberty in having moved them out to the Cape Verdes. Even the accurate Jonson¹² seems to differentiate for Fastidious Brisk, commending highly the life at court, asserts that the aspirant "shall behold all the delights of the Hesperides, the Insulae Fortunatae, Adonis' Gardens, Tempe, or what else." In Beaumont and Fletcher,¹³ on the other hand, the Hesperides are clearly restored to their original site since "apples from the happy Isles" occur in a list of products including Lusitanian figs, Candian oil, and wine from Lesbos. Just as clearly the gold motif that Anthony Munday¹⁴ gives to his "goodly Island, styled *Insula beata*, or the land of Hapynes" which contains "a golden Feild or Garden, imagined of the nature of the *Hesperides*, where all the Trees and Fruites are of pure golde" makes the association complete.

Possibly the passage on which the classical tradition has left its firmest stamp is one in *Timon*¹⁵ (not Shakespeare's); Pseudocheus says to Gelasimus, "a cittie heyre":

"Who e're he be, be he more ffortunate
Than they that live in the Isles Fortunate,
Or in the flourishing Elizian feilds;
May he drinck nectar, eate ambrosia!"

The mention together of the two regions, the specification of nectar and ambrosia which presumably are attributed to both, are clear indications of the Ancients' spell.

¹² *Works*, II, 161.

¹⁴ *Campbell*, fol. B 1.

¹³ *Works*, VI, 90.

¹⁵ p. 13.

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Jonson works under the same spell in the passage cited above for Fastidious Brisk promises the novice that at court he will behold as well immortal beauties, hear harmonious voices, discourse with ambrosial spirits whose wits are as "humourous as nectar." When, much later, Jonson wrote his masque, *The Fortunate Isles* (1624),¹⁶ to celebrate the betrothal of Prince Charles to Henrietta Maria, his conception was a different one. In that performance one can discern vestiges of the Lost Atlantis. There is no war "nor envy of state, Nor least ambition in the Magistrate." The soil is fertile, the winds sweet and gentle, the flowers have a pervasive fragrance, sickness and hunger are not known. It is an interesting amalgam of all that man's yearning heart most earnestly desires and that bluff old Ben had found so eminently lacking in Jacobean London. It is as though he were saying, "This, Charles, is what you can do something towards making the country into—if you will." Something of the contrast Jonson attains between his masque and anti-masque Thomas Dekker¹⁷ reaches at the end of his *Newes from Hell*. After indulging himself to the full in typical Dekkerian diatribe, he promises to release his mangled victim to go riding "uppon one of the Divels Hackneyes . . . about his other worldly businesse." And to compensate the reader for the muck he has been dragged through he volunteers to take him a journey into a kind of ideal land:

"Let mee carrie you uppe into those *Insulae fortunatae*, which are imbraced about with waters sweete, redolent, and Cristoline: the Teares of the Vine are not so precious, the Nectar of the Gods nothing so sweete and delicious. If you walke into the Groaves, you shall see all sortes of Birdes melodiously singing, Shepheardes Swaines deftly

¹⁶ fol. C 2—C 2 verso.

¹⁷ *Non-Dram. Wks.*, II, 152-153.

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It is possible even that they had in mind the case of Béthen-court's nephew, who played both ends against the middle, deceiving first the Portuguese and then the Spanish.¹⁹

In the same way Thomas Randolph²⁰ has progressed beyond ancient theories, thinking of the Islands as a perfectly definite geographical spot. Merchants, he says, "will dream of nothing but new Americas, drink the Canaries, snort out *terra incognitas*, nose the Bermudas, ravish Virginia, talk of the Fortunate Islands, or choke us up with Terra del Fuegos." And somehow we feel ourselves on solid ground with Massinger²¹ too because the context indicates that he is speaking realistically:

"Men may talk
Of three crops in a year in the Fortunate Islands,
Or profit made by wool."

Such allusions can, however, be said to be exceptional, and when the *Insulae Fortunatae* are used more prominently as a background for any piece, the Canaries or Madeiras do not materially intrude themselves. In Jonson's *Masque*, for instance, the happy spirits are represented as living there, the winds are sweet, virgin violets bloom, every plant yields pleasing fragrance, there is no sickness, no old age, grief, or hunger. These are familiar details to us, every one of them, and they belong, not to some terrestrial location but to a land of the imagination which man conjures in order to make more endurable the world in which he must live. Munday²² too lays his scene "in a goodly Island, styled *Insula beata*." Like others he conjoins

¹⁹ A more conventional view is given by the dramatists in their *Island Princess* (*Works*, VIII, 99); on his arrival among the eastern islands Armusia comments on the perfumed air, the rich spices, and luxuriant growth: "each Tree as if it envied the old Paradise."

²⁰ *Poet. and Dram. Wks.*, II, 480. *Hey for Honesty*.

²¹ *Plays*, III, 6.

²² *Campbell*, fol. B 1.

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with its elements from the Hesperides since he includes Majesty and its golden trappings. The matter is still further complicated by the introduction of a pun. Munday wrote the piece, *Campbell*, on the installation of the gentleman of that name as Lord Mayor October 29, 1609. The "Fair Field" which his name suggested may indeed have been what put the Fortunate Islands in Munday's mind in the first place. At any rate, though "this whole relation, and circumstances thereto belonging, is but a morall type or figure of his Majesties most happie and gracious government," the pageant itself is composed of a rare jumble of elements from the *insula beata*, Hesperides, and floating island. The only other play which need be mentioned here is Barten Holiday's academic Morality, *Technogamia*. But the "Scene: *Insula Fortunata*" was to Holiday a mere convenience for his allegorical satire, and there are no details to indicate what his conception may have been.

While other authors do not lay their whole scene in the Islands there are many who, like Jonson and Munday, make the natural transfer of attributes to England. This was sure to be true in an age where feeling for country at least ostensibly ran high, where poets felt that one road to favor was an exaggerated nationalism. According to one extravagant statement Neptune himself had dubbed the country "Insula beata" and, according to another, Elizabeth was "Incomparable Empress of the Fortunate Island."²³ Jonson himself specifically makes the identification twice, once in the epilogue to *Every Man Out* and again in *Penates*. And Brathwaite concludes the eloquent descriptive lines quoted above with the significant couplet:

²³ *Londons Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (1610), p. 10; Nichols' *Eliz.*, II, "Items for Knighthood," p. 22.

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“Confer now these together, and then see
If this blest Iland be not Brittannie.”

England was thus rather normally equated with the happy regions. The reasons she deserved this honor were, however, various. Burton²⁴ considered that she merited being raised to that eminence because of her expert seamen, her laborious discoveries, her rank in the art of navigation, and her great merchants, “without all fear, saith Boterus, furrowing the ocean winter and summer, and two of their captains, with no less valour than fortune, have sailed round about the world.” Others like Burton eloquently admired the heroism of Cavendish and Drake. And perhaps it was this very admiration which caused them poignantly to regret the passing of the Great Age. One of the most sensitive to the decay was William Browne,²⁵ who so feelingly deplored what he took to be the weakening of morale, the listless sailors and the rotting ships. Britain, he writes sadly, was at one time known as one of the Fortunate Islands and, as if once were not enough to emphasize the point,

“Britain was whilom known, by more than fame,
To be one of the islands fortunate.”

Writers naturally did not restrict so pregnant a term to an analogy with their country; it could be extended so easily to apply to a variety of matters. Nashe, for example, refers to the *Insulae fortunatae* of God's favor, and Beaumont and Fletcher to the happy Islands of obedience. In *The Gamester* Shirley²⁶ represents his character inflated with his imagination “like a tall ship, bound for the Fortunate Islands” with its sails proudly bellying to the wind. Shirley illustrates too a tendency to use the expression for

²⁴ *Anat. of Mel.*, I, 97.

²⁵ *Poems*, I, 146; II, 276.

²⁶ *Dram. Wks.*, III, 233; I, 334 (Fowler in *The Witty Fair One*).

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not such innocent purposes. Thus in one case he has a gentleman arranging to make advances to a certain lady and saying that he has now arrived where he must take shipping for the summer isles: "if she keep touch, I will call them Fortunate, and once a week make a love voyage to them." It will be remembered that Donne in his poem, *Loves Progress*, compares his loved one's body with various parts of a map; in the course of this description our Islands appear. Phineas Fletcher²⁷ keeps them in mind for an entirely different purpose. With him man is conceived of as a kind of floating island which is not content to abide where its happiness is to be found but must be forever wandering and, by this constant motion, bringing on itself the wretchedness it deserves. Fletcher's underlying conception is intentionally vague, as suits allegory; there are suggestions of a host of elements:

"Witnesse this glorious Isle, which not content
To be confin'd in bounds of happinesse,
Would trie what e're is in the continent;
And seek out ill, and search for wretchednesse.

.
That old slie Serpent, (slie, but spitefull more)
Vext with the glory of this happy Isle,
Allures it subt'ly from the peacefull shore,
And with fair painted lies, and colour'd guile
Drench'd in dead seas; . . ."

There are some indications that the prolonged search for the famous islands was still going on. Thus the pirate Albert in the Fletcher-Massinger play, *The Sea Voyage*,²⁸ speaking of course figuratively, mentions being sent on a "discovery of some most fortunate continent, yet un-

²⁷ *Poet. Wks.*, II, 23-24. *The Purple Island*.

²⁸ Act II, i.

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known." And Robert Burton²⁹ alludes, similarly implying the perennial quest, to "one of the Fortunate Isles, for who knows yet where or which they are." One reason why the St. Brandan legend had originally been associated with the Canaries was that the Saint had described his land as lying off in the mists. And islanders had often been deceived into thinking that they beheld the fairy regions to the west as the mists lifted. Particularly in the 1500's expeditions set forth from Gran Canaria, and only in the eighteenth century was the vision explained as a mirage.³⁰

II

FLOATING ISLANDS

NOTICEABLE among the foregoing allusions is the fact that so often they involve conceptions of floating islands. Certainly these wandering plots did not begin to affect the imaginations of voyagers as did the Fortunate Isles. At the same time they did enter the consciousness of those voyagers, even if only to stimulate their curiosity and make them wish to solve a mystery old as the Greeks. Chiefly there were two strands of tradition: as the Argonauts passed through the narrow entrance to the Euxine Sea, the Symplegades clashed together behind

²⁹ *Anat. of Mel.*, I, 110.

³⁰ Voyagers had no difficulty in running across islands of the opposite character. Martyr (*De Orbe Novo*, II, 157) describes Magellan's circumnavigators as having come to two islands, possibly of the Tahiti group: "These they named the Unfortunate Isles, because they were deserted and sterile."

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them;¹ and Delos was thought of as moving through the Aegean until fixed by Zeus for the hapless Latona, pregnant with Apollo and Artemis. From that time wandering islands were turning up all over the known world. Pliny² has a section on the phenomena, assigning them among other places to Lydia where apparently in the Mithridatic War the citizens saved themselves by using poles and pushing themselves about. In more modern times they probably had some connection with the Sargasso Sea, that great mass of drifting seaweed in the Atlantic. Burton³ for one bridged the old and new when he wrote of "one of those floating Islands in Mare del Zur, which, like the Cyanean Isles in the Euxine Sea, alter their place, and are accessible only at set times, and to some few persons."

Such wandering islands constitute just the type of material that would prove popular in folk-lore, with the result that authors are rather constantly noting their appearance in a variety of places. Hakluyt⁴ has one in Ireland floating in a huge lake, and near Guinea he finds "certaine flitting Ilands" which slide easily off into the sea as men approach. Fuller⁵ remarks that Giraldus Cambrensis places another in the Snowdon hills. And both Drummond and the dramatist of *Sophister* identify the phenomena with Scotland, the former noting that Loch Lomond

¹ "So by the Bosphor straits in Euxine seas,
Not farre from old Byzantium, closely stand
Two neighbour Islands, call'd Symplegades,
Which sometime seem but one combined land:
For often meeting on the watrie plain,
And parting oft, tost by the boist'rous main,
They now are joyn'd in one, and now disjoyn'd again."

Phineas Fletcher's *Poet. Wks.*, II, 43.

² *Nat. Hist.*, I, 122-123.

³ *Anat. of Mel.*, I, 109-110.

⁴ Vol. IV, III; X, 13.

⁵ *Worthies*, III, 526. Selden (note to *Polyolbion*, IX, 162) also refers to Giraldus' mention.

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was renowned for their existence. Spenser⁶ seems to have been especially impressed with the legend. It will be remembered that Acrasia's dwelling is "within a wandring Island." And when Guyon, under the careful guidance of Palmer, passes safely by the Rock of Reproach he comes upon the stragglng plots which are "wandring Islands." To Spenser they have become a snare and a delusion, existing for the purpose of deceiving unwary travellers by their display of delectably green grass and white-red blossoms. Once tried, they fasten implacably upon the visitor in a way that reminds us of early stories about the Sargasso Sea. Inevitably Spenser would think of the analogy with old Delos and Latona's *accouchement*. Finally, the island waste and void to which Phaedria brought Cymochles "floted in the midst of that great lake." It is, of course, impossible to infer with any assurance what a writer believes from his mention of the Island. Thus Greene⁷ may be combining the classical with a more modern conception in his mention of "Northwest Ilands that flote with every gale." Lyly,⁸ on the other hand, may be implying the rareness but still the possibility in his allusion to "a fleeting Ile" with milk-white squirrels and pearled streams; and Marlowe⁹ may be acknowledging the existence of some floating islands in saying that England will never "fleet upon the ocean, and wander to the unfrequented Inde." Who knows? There does seem to be a difference in the temper of Jonson's references¹⁰ when into *The Masque of Beauty* he introduces an island "that floated in the main" and when in

⁶ *F.Q.*, II, i, 51, 5; II, xii, 9, 9; II, xii, 11 and 13; II, vi, 11, 4. See Lois Whitney, *Mod. Philol.*, XIX, 156-157. Drayton (*Works*, II, 499) like Spenser associated evil in the guise of woman (a witch) with the floating island.

⁷ *Works*, IX, 84-85.

⁸ *Complete Wks.*, III, 282.

⁹ *Edward II*, I, iv, 49-50.

¹⁰ *Works*, VII, 28, 171.

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Prince Henry's Barriers he speaks extravagantly of whole islands breaking loose and swimming.

There are four passages in literature where the combination of elements previously alluded to is best illustrated. The first occurs in the pageant, *Campbell*, in which Munday conceives figuratively of the whole island and tower of sovereign Majesty as floating upon the calm sea of discrete and loyal affections. In Jonson's *Fortunate Isles*,¹¹ to this picture of nationalism and floating land is added the Blessed Isle:

“That point of Revolution being come
When all the Fortunate Islands should be joyn'd,
Macaria, one, and thought a Principall,
That hetherto hath floted, as uncertaine
Where she would fix her blessings, is to night
Instructed to adhere to your Britannia:
That where the happie spirits live, hereafter
Might be no question made.”

With Randolph,¹² on the other hand, the situation is reversed, England being represented as guided through the waters to the port of happiness:

“Or that the rudder of Great Brittainy
Is put into your hands, that you may steer
Our floating Delos, till she be arriv'd
At the bless'd port of happiness; and surnam'd
The Fortunate Isle.”

In much the same way Giles Fletcher¹³ thinks of his native country as being a blessed wandering island. And finally there is Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*¹⁴ wherein are to

¹¹ *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, fol. C 1 verso-C 2.

¹² Collier, IX, 183. *Muses' Looking Glass*.

¹³ *Christ's Triumph Over Death*.

¹⁴ *Poet. Wks.*, II, 22.

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be found combined many of the elements about which we have been speaking. God there created man to resemble a floating island, to have the power of motion :

“Then plact it in the calm pacifick seas,
And bid nor waves, nor troublous windes offend it ;

.
Nor made he this like other Isles ; but gave it
Vigour, sence, reason, and a perfect motion,
To move it self whither it self would have it.
So once the Cradle of that double light,
Whereof one rules the night, the other day,
(Till sad Latona flying Juno’s spite
Her double burthen there did safely lay)
Nor rooted yet, in every sea was roving,
With every wave, and every wind removing,
But since to those fair Twins hath left her ever-
moving.”

Strode’s well-known play, *The Floating Island*, was written to entertain Charles I and his Queen when they visited Oxford in 1636. The title signifies a kingdom without anchor, distracted by civil strife, conditions with which England was at that very time too familiar. Prudentius [Charles] strives in all fairness to maintain his rule against the conspirators, Audax, Trato, Desperato, Sir Amorous, and Hilario. Temporarily losing, he retires but is recalled when it is found that the reign of Queen Fancy has involved the island in hopeless difficulties. Strode’s advice¹⁸ is, in brief, that the country must placidly follow

¹⁸ *Poet. Wks.*, p. 240. Sometimes associated was the legend of the disappearing islands (whale), which were connected with the St. Brandan story and reappeared in later voyagers, to find such notable use by Milton.