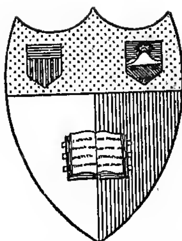
SHAKESPEARE
...AND...
AMERICA.

BY

FRANK M. BRISTOL

PR
3014
B86



Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

FROM THE
BENNO LOEWY LIBRARY

COLLECTED BY
BENNO LOEWY
1854-1919

BEQUEATHED TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY

The date shows when this volume was taken.

HOME USE RULES

All books subject to recall

All borrowers must register in the library to borrow books for home use.

All books must be returned at end of college year for inspection and repairs.

Limited books must be returned within the four week limit and not renewed.

Students must return all books before leaving town. Officers should arrange for the return of books wanted during their absence from town.

Volumes of periodicals and of pamphlets are held in the library as much as possible. For special purposes they are given out for a limited time.

Borrowers should not use their library privileges for the benefit of other persons.

Books of special value and gift books, when the giver wishes it, are not allowed to circulate.

Readers are asked to report all cases of books marked or mutilated.

MAY 0 0 1994

JUN 8 1997

Do not deface books by marks and writing.

Cornell University Library
PR 3014.B86

Shakespeare and America,

3 1924 013 163 096 olin

Cornell University Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924013163096

F. M. Bristol,

Washington, D.C.

June 10. 1898

SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare
AND
America

BY

FRANK M. BRISTOL

CHICAGO
1898

A. 61326g

Copyright 1898, by Frank M. Bristol

Press of Wm. C. Hollister & Bro.
Chicago

NEW WORLD DISCOVERIES.

The "New World" was the dominant thought in the secular mind of England from the time of Henry VII. to that of James I. The explorations and discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot, following the voyages of Columbus and Vespucius, created a spirit of adventure and colonization which all the religious controversies of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. could not allay.

The old explorers had filled the world with their renown and had opened doors of opportunity, to enter which a whole generation of brave, ambitious men sprang forth in the glorious age of Elizabeth.

The thought uppermost throughout Europe in that epoch of progressive ideas was "America."

The adventurer spoke the word with awe; the financier conjured with it until fortunes rose from the depths of his excited imagination; colonists planned settlements and their development; religionists saw new fields open for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen; statesmen reckoned on conquests and territorial acquisition, while Kings on their thrones dreamed of vaster empires.

The press was teeming with the literature of the all-important subject. "Voyages," "Travels," "Discoveries," new maps of the world, and descriptions of new-found countries were filling the old world with excitement and speculation. The intellectual, political and financial atmosphere was saturated with "America."

While William Shakespeare was at the grammar school of Stratford-on-Avon, learning his

Small Latin and less Greek,

Drake was circumnavigating the globe; Frobisher was seeking a northwest passage; Gilbert was voyaging to Newfoundland, having through Raleigh obtained from Elizabeth a grant to make settlements in the northern regions.

From this time on, one great enterprise followed fast upon the heels of another. Virginia was discovered in 1584 by expeditions which Raleigh had organized and sent out, and the new country was named in honor of the Virgin Queen. Cavendish in 1586, following the lead of Drake, started to circumnavigate the globe, and successfully completed his voyage in 1588. Davis discovered the Straits which bear his name in 1585. The Spanish Armada was destroyed in 1588, and, as a consequence, England gained that naval control of the seas which secured her commercial supremacy and determined the character of the colonization of the North American Continent, which was destined thereby to become Anglo-Saxonized. Raleigh made his voyage to South America in 1592. Hudson, in 1610, dis-

covered the Bay which took his name. Baffin found Baffin's Bay in 1612. Henry May discovered the Bermudas, where he was shipwrecked, in 1591; and Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somars, on their way to Virginia with colonists from England, were driven upon this island by a storm, in 1609.

The books which were eagerly read at that time, and which stimulated the spirit of adventure, were such as Eden's "Collection of Voyages;" "The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies;" Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation;" Linschoten's "Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indes;" "Purchase, His Pilgrimage;" Gilbert's "Discourse of A Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia;" Hariot's "Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia;" Jourdan's "Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Devils;" Raleigh's "Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtiful Empire of Guiana."

In these collections of Voyages and Travels may be found gathered together, and, where necessary, translated, or "done into Englyshe," such important works as Peter Martyr's Decades, the voyages of Columbus, Cabot, Vespucius, Magellan, Balboa, Cartier, Frobisher, Verrazzano, Gilbert, and all the illustrious Spanish, Italian, Dutch, French and English explorers of the western world from the earliest times.

In Shakespeare's day the two most important branches of literature, those most eagerly sought

for and read, were the plays of the dramatists and the voyages and travels of the American explorers. The latter had an influence on the former. Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Green and Marlowe must have felt the influence of Drake, Frobisher, Cavendish, Hawkins, Gilbert, Davis, Hudson, Baffin, and Raleigh, the voyagers and explorers of their own age and country.

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

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

A "new world," with its revelations, its marvels, its riches, its promises and possibilities, helped to Shakespearize English thought and language, helped to give them imagination, poetry, dramatic character. A more interesting and exciting epoch in the history of English exploration and discovery cannot be mentioned than that

which includes the time from Shakespeare's birth in 1564 to his death in 1616.

If, as Hazlitt remarks, Shakespeare shook hands with Nature and the circumstances of his time, then must he have been familiar with and profoundly interested in the uppermost theme at that time agitating the public mind, and his literary work must have been somewhat colored by the prevailing "new world" ideas. That he was acquainted and even intimate with Raleigh would seem to admit of no doubt. Two men of such transcendant ability, living in the same city or country, could not have been ignorant each of the other, nor is it possible that they could have had no interest in each other. Shakespeare moved in the highest literary circles of his time, in friendly relations with Drayton, Jonson, Chapman, Fletcher, Beaumont and Marlowe; he was also patronized by the Earl of Southampton, if not by Essex and the Cecils, while he recited his own poetical compositions in the presence of the appreciative Queen Elizabeth and of King James I. If it is not probable that he was personally acquainted with Sir Philip Sidney, who fell at Zutphen when Shakespeare was 22, it is more than probable that he knew Edmund Spenser, who was eleven years his senior and who was in London in 1589 and there published the first three books of "Faerie Queene", in 1590. It is equally probable that Shakespeare was acquainted with Sir Walter Raleigh the traveler, poet, historian, soldier and courtier, one of the most conspicuous men of his age.

Whatever Sir Walter said or wrote on any subject must have commanded the attention of the literary men of the time no less than of the statesmen, merchants, and scientists. Shakespeare could not have been indifferent to the achievements of a man so influential with chart and compass, sword and pen. What Raleigh had to say on American subjects must have been eagerly read by the poet. It is evident from his plays that Shakespeare was awake to the stirring events of his time, and that he was very greatly interested in the discoveries which the English voyagers were making in all the western world. Indeed, he seems unable to shake off these American influences when he sits down to write. He often unconsciously lets slip a word or sentence, a simile, or metaphor which reveals to what an extent his mind has been infected with the all-engrossing theme. In these new world expressions he is often guilty of his most ludicrous anachronisms, even having Thersites in the time of Troy mention the potato, a vegetable that was not known to civilization until Raleigh introduced it from America into Munster, in 1584.

In no less than twelve plays does Shakespeare use expressions which were inspired by America and by the results of its discovery. If it is instructive to gather out of his plays the medical, classical, legal, botanical, entomological, scriptural, military and nautical terms and references which abound therein, it is no less instructive to study those expressions which may be called the "Americanisms" of Shakespeare's works.

As the plots of these plays are mostly cast in times anterior to the discovery of America, any allusions which are suggested by the New World can be used in them only by poetic license which disregards the dramatic unities. It must be acknowledged, however, that our Shakespeare has been remarkably careful in this matter. Nearly all his references to America, and the larger number of those figures which are suggested to the poet in the New World discoveries, are to be found in his comedies, in which the date of the plot is of much less consequence than in historical plays, and in which anachronisms are less objectionable even than in tragedies. Manifestly, there should be no references to America, or to anything which the discovery of America made familiar to the age of Shakespeare in such plays as "Julius Cæsar", "Anthony and Cleopatra", "Timon of Athens", "Coriolanus", "Titus Andronicus", "Pericles", "Troilus and Cressida." The same may be said of plays founded on early English history, at least of those which dramatize the reigns of English Kings up to the time of Henry VIII. Shakespeare himself must have felt this, and he must have carefully guarded against making use of figures in his historical plays, which would even indicate that the writer knew anything whatever of the existence of America. In this he succeeded most admirably, so that we are able to catch him in only a few trifling instances. In the comedies, however, he takes greater liberties, and scatters his anachronisms broadcast. Many of his references to Amer-

ica are out of time, as when the New World is known to some of his dramatic characters before it is known to Columbus, Vespucius, Magellan or Balboa!

AMERICA.

The name of the new world as "America" occurs but once in the writings of Shakespeare. It is used in "The Comedy of Errors", Act III., Scene 2. In describing a certain "Kitchen-wench", Dromio of Syracuse says:

"She is spherical like a globe; I could find out countries in her.

Ant. S. In what part of her body stands Ireland?

Dro. S. Marry, sir, in her buttocks: I found it out by the bogs.

Ant. S. Where Scotland?

Dro. S. I found it by the barrenness; hard in the palm of the hand.

Ant. S. Where France?

Dro. S. In her forehead; armed and reverted, making war against her hair.

Ant. S. Where England?

Dro. S. I looked for the chalky cliffs, but I could find no whiteness in them; but I guess it stood in her chin, by the salt rheum that ran between France and it.

Ant. S. Where Spain?

Dro. S. Faith, I saw it not; but I felt it hot in her breath.

Ant. S. Where America, the Indies?

Dro. S. O, sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole armadas of carracks to be ballast at her nose."

This comparison of a human form to the map of the world was doubtless borrowed from Rabe-

lais, but the reference to America is Shakespeare's, although it is quite possible that the entire comparison was original with the English poet, and was suggested by his knowledge of globes. Nell's spherical form was suggestive of the spherical shape of the earth as illustrated in the globes which were coming into use in Shakespeare's time. The sphericity of the earth, which had been theoretically demonstrated before the time of Strabo and Erathosthenes, had been experimentally proven by the circumnavigations of the surviving companions of Magellan, and later by the voyages of Drake and Cavendish. New maps were now accompanied with globes in which the positions of the countries of the earth were indicated. Martin Behaim invented the globe in 1492 while Columbus was on his voyage of Discovery. Nordenskiöld claims that Behaim's globe was the most important invention since the Ptolemy Atlas of 150 A. D. Victor Hugo gives a description of this globe and pays a just tribute to its inventor, in his "William Shakespeare." "In Nuremberg, near the Aegidienflatz, in a room on the second floor of a house facing the church of St. Aegidius, there lies upon an iron tripod a wooden globe, twenty inches in diameter, covered with a dingy vellum, streaked with lines which were once red and yellow and green. Upon this globe is a sketch of the earth's divisions as they could be conceived in the fifteenth century. At the twenty-fourth degree of latitude, under the sign cancer, there is vaguely indicated a kind of island called 'Antilia' which

attracted one day the attention of two men. The one who had made the globe and drawn Antilia, showed this island to the other, laid his finger upon it and said: 'There it is'. The man looking on was Christopher Columbus; the man who said, 'There it is', was Martin Behaim; Antilia was America. Of Fernando Cortez, who ravaged America, history speaks, but not of Martin Behaim, who guessed its existence."*

In a letter to the Duke of Milan, Raimondus conveys intelligence of the discoveries made by John Cabot, and writes, "This Master John has a description of the world in a chart, and also in a solid globe, which he has made". The use of the globe had become very common by Shakespeare's time, and the idea of the earth's sphericity, associated with the important discoveries in all the world, may have suggested the name of one of the theatres in which Shakespeare was interested, "The Globe". When "The Comedy of Errors" was written, the name of the New World as "America" was conspicuous on the maps and globes. But as yet the name "Indes" seemed to be in more common use than "America", hence Antipholus of Syracuse asks:

> Where America, the Indes?

Antipholus seems to add, "the Indes" by way of definition or explanation, indicating that if Dromio does not know where "America" is he certainly knows where to find "the Indes".

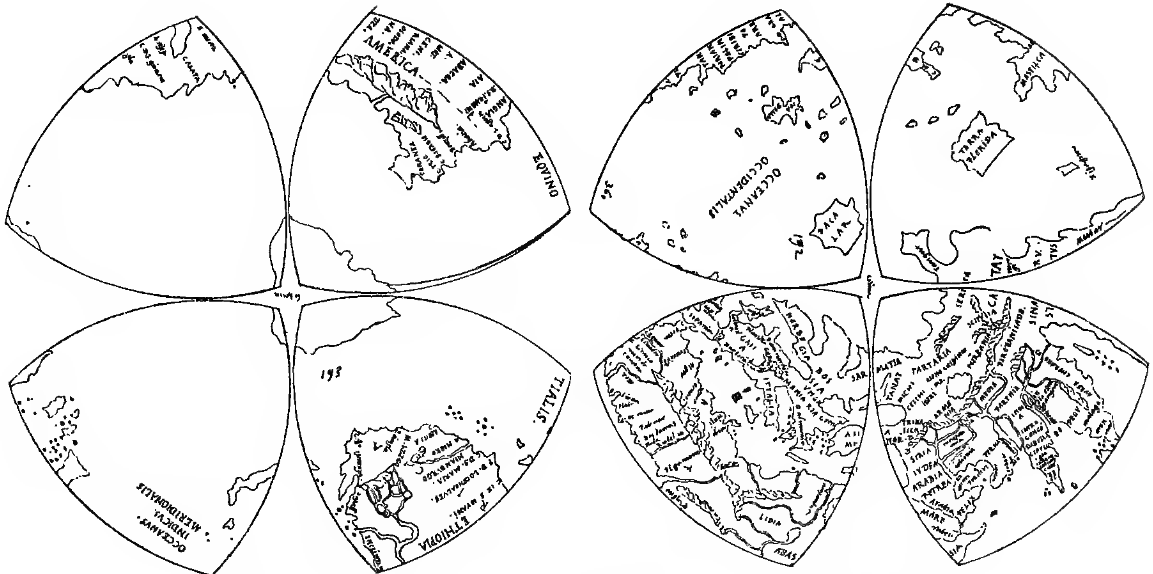
This, however, is one of Shakespeare's most

---

* Melville B. Anderson's translation.

glaring anachronisms. The scene of the comedy is cast in "the ancient city of Ephesus", before the time of Plautus, or more than seventeen hundred years before Columbus discovered America. The name "America" had been in use a little more than eighty years when Shakespeare wrote the play in which it occurs. This name for the new world was first suggested by Martin Waldseemüller in his Cosmographic Introductio, 1507. Although Columbus had called the new world, "Indes", and Vespucius had given it the name, "New World", Waldseemüller argued that it was due to Vespucius to name the new world "America" after the explorer's own name, Amerigo.

The first appearance of the name "America" on a map was in 1512-1515; this is found on a manuscript attributed to Leonardo Da Vinci. On this map the name "America" is given to the South American continent. At about the same time, 1515, the Schöner map appeared with "America" on the South American region. This is perhaps the most authentic first printed map bearing the name. The globe known as the Tross Gores appeared almost simultaneously with the Schöner map and bore the name "America" on the same southern region. These were followed by the Apian map in 1520, the Phrysius in 1522, and the map of Munster in 1532, all with "America" on the southern continent. Mercator's map, or Gores for a globe, was the first to represent "America" covering both the northern and southern hemispheres. This map was published in 1541, only twenty-three years before Shakespeare



MAP BY LEONARDO DA VINCI, 1514. THE FIRST BEARING THE NAME OF AMERICA.

was born. The name "America", however, does not seem to have been in common use when Shakespeare wrote the play in which it is mentioned. "The Indes" was still the more familiar name.

This "Kitchen-wench", Nell, fat and buxum, is "spherical like a globe", and Antipholus, who boasts that he can "find out countries in her", imagines her nose to resemble America. Evidently this has no reference to America's shape or outline on the globe, but rather to her fabulous products.

The common impression which the new world had made on the public mind is well preserved in this dialogue between Antipholus and Dromio. America was regarded as a land of fabulous riches, a world abounding in gold, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, pearls and all manner of precious stones. Even Spain's enterprise in sending "whole armadas" to fetch cargoes of riches from this new country is turned into a figure for a jest, and the Kitchen-wench's nose, as the result of deep drinking, if not of high living, is ablaze, as if adorned, with the rich treasures of America!

THE INDIES.

The new world was named "The Indies" by Columbus, and for a century thereafter this was its most familiar name in the literature of exploration and discovery. By "The Indies" was meant the "West Indies". When the East Indies and West Indies are mentioned together, the former refers to India of the Orient. When the expression "The Indies" is used it almost invariably means America, the new world. In Shakespeare's time, although the East India Company was organized in 1600, "The Indies", or "West Indies", were attracting more attention than old India. The discoveries, conquests and colonizations by the Europeans, and especially by the English, were directed to the new world, the West Indies, while the attention given to Asia, or East India, was almost entirely commercial. Although the name "America" occurs but once in Shakespeare's writings, "The Indies", or "West Indies", are mentioned in five or six of his plays, indicating, it would seem, that even in the age of Elizabeth and James this was the most common, general name for the new world. In "Henry VIII." Shakespeare uses a metaphor which may indicate not only the desire which prevailed in his own time among the English people to possess the Indies, but may, without incongruity, show that such an ambition existed in the time of Henry.

In Act IV., Scene I., Queen Katherine passes in procession along a street in Westminster. In the order of procession, the seventh is,

> A canopy borne by four of the Cinqueports; under it, the Queen in her robe; in her hair, richly adorned with pearl, crowned. On each side of her, the Bishops of London and Winchester.

Two gentlemen meet and exchange remarks on the procession and on the distinguished personages as they advance. The Queen appears.

2. Gen. (Looking on the Queen.) Heaven bless thee! Thou hast the sweetest face I ever looked on.—Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel: Our king has all the Indies in his arms, and more and richer, when he strains that lady: I cannot blame his conscience.

The sentiment seems to be this, the greatest fortune that can befall a king is to possess "the Indies". If in Shakespeare's time England had a large portion of the Indies, or, of the whole world, in her arms as the result of the work of Drake, Raleigh, Hudson, Clifford and other discoverers, in the time of Henry VIII., she could not boast of such extended possessions. Nevertheless, England's eyes were upon the Indies even then with an ambition to embrace "all the Indies" in her arms.

In "The Merchant of Venice" Shakespeare touches upon the commercial relations which had been established between the old world and the new.

Act I., Scene 3:

Shy. Oh, no, no, no, no;—my meaning, in saying he is a good man, is to have you understand me, that he

is sufficient. Yet his means are in supposition: He hath an argosy bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies.

On the Rialto, then, "the Indies" has a commercial importance and becomes a theme of conversation "where merchants most do congregate".

Our poet puts a metaphor into the mouth of Falstaff, which is a bold anachronism, as "Merry Wives of Windsor" is cast in the time of Henry IV.

Falstaff is determined to win the love of both Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page, to whom he writes gushing letters, expressing his passion. Meeting Host, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, and Robin at the Garter Inn, he tells them of his letters and gives his estimate of the women:

Act I., Scene 3:

Falstaff: I will be cheater to them both, and they shall be exchequers to me: they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both. Go, bear thou this letter to Mistress Page; and thou this to Mistress Ford. We will thrive, lads, we will thrive.

It is remarkable that Jack Falstaff should have known of the "West Indies" before Columbus or Vespucius, or Cabot, but it is not so remarkable that Shakespeare's mind should have had an exalted notion of the wealth of the West Indies and of the good fortune of possessing them, nor is it remarkable that he should have used them in simile and metaphor as the highest possible standard of imaginary value.

In the comedy of "As You Like It", Shakespeare again lets slip an Americanism. Orlando writes poetically to Rosalind, and fastens the paper, bearing his lines, to a tree in the forest.

> Hang there, my verse, in witness of my love.

When Rosalind finds the poem, in Act III., Scene 2, she reads:

> From the east to western Ind,
> No jewel is like Rosalind.
> Her worth being mounted on the wind,
> Through all the world bears Rosalind.
> All the pictures, fairest lin'd,
> Are but black to Rosalind.
> Let no face be kept in mind,
> But the fair of Rosalind.

There may be no anachronism in this reference to "Western Ind", as the plot of this comedy is cast in the time of Louis XII., which included the period of the discovery of America. As in the reference to America in "The Comedy of Errors", so here, the new world, "Western Ind", seems to have made the impression on Shakespeare's mind, and on the public mind, generally, that it abounded in gold, pearls and precious stones, and that those products above all other considerations, constituted her desirability and value in the eyes of the old world.

One of the most interesting references to the Indies made by Shakespeare is to be found in "Twelfth Night". The time of the action of this comedy may be fixed in the poet's own age, and only a slight anachronism, if any, is committed by

the simile introducing the Indies. In Act III., Scene 2, Maria, describing Malvolio, says:

He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies.

Opinions differ as to which map is here intended by "the new map with the augmentation of the Indies". Knight and Steevens claim that it was the map published with the English edition of Linschotan's Voyages in 1598. Quaritch argues for the Mollineaux map engraved for Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations", 1599-1600. Henry Stevens thinks the map referred to by Shakespeare was one of the nineteen maps found in Wytfliet's Descriptionis Ptolenaicae, 1597-1598. The comedy was acted for the first time in 1602. So far as the date is concerned, therefore, any one of these maps would answer the description, but by a glance at their peculiarities one must be convinced that the Mollineaux map in particular gives us the meaning of Maria's description of Malvolio's face when in a smile. The Mollineaux map was never widely circulated and could not have become as familiar to the ordinary reader as the Linschoten map, although it was a famous map with the navigators. It was widely advertised, however, as a great map and as the "new map" of the world. Only three copies of this map, in the original state, are now known to exist. As it was not ready for Hakluyt's Navigations when the book issued from the press, but was furnished to subscribers at a later date, it is now wanting in many copies of the book. Although the Lin-

"THE NEW MAP WITH TH

ON OF THE INDIES."

schoten map was never so scarce, it was never so famous, nor does it so accurately illustrate Maria's witticism as the Mollineaux map. The felicity of the poet's simile is apparent when we look upon this great map of many lines. This reference to the latest map "with the augmentation of the Indies" reveals how well Shakespeare kept himself informed on all the new-world happenings and how thoroughly acquainted he was with the latest literature of the subject.

The love of adventure and discovery which permeated all ranks of society, and the good repute in which explorers were held in Shakespeare's day evidently suggested a well-known line in "Two Gentlemen of Verona." The period of the action of this play must be placed between 1525 and 1535 or in the time of Francis I. and Charles V.

Shakespeare was justified in supposing that the discoverer was then looked upon with admiration. The names of Columbus, Vespucius, Magellan, Balboa, Verrazzano, Corterial, Ponce de Leon, Vasco de Gama, Marco Polo and Cabot were on every tongue. Several of these heroes of adventure were still living in the time of Francis I., others had then but recently passed away, leaving an immortal fame. Their achievements placed the voyager and discoverer on a footing of equal dignity and distinction with the scholar and the soldier, hence the lines in "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act I., Scene 3:

> Pant. He wonder'd that your lordship
> Would suffer him to spend his youth at home;
> While other men, of slender reputation,

Put forth their sons to seek preferment out;
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there;
Some to discover islands far away;
Some to the studious universities,
For any, or for all these exercises,
He said that Proteus your son was meet;
And did request me to importune you
To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age,
In having known no travel in his youth.

Thus, any one of three courses was worthy the ambition of noble youth.

The discoveries which had brought a new world to light had made it seem as worthy of one's ambition to "discover islands far away" as to seek the field of battle or retire to the classic shades of the University. This was doubtless the opinion of Shakespeare himself, and he was open-eyed enough and sufficiently quick of hearing to know that men like Raleigh, Gilbert, Cavendish and Drake, were as highly honored for their discoveries as were Bacon, Jonson, Spenser and himself, for their writings. It is difficult to resist the conviction that Shakespeare had many an ambitious impulse to emulate the deeds of the great discoverers. Had he not been a poet he surely would have been an adventurer. Nay, as the adventurer must be in a sense a poet, as he must have a splendid imagination, the poetic genius of "Sweetest, Shakespeare, Fancy's Child", fitted him the better to "discover islands far away" had he emulated a Columbus or a Cabot. These "islands far away" were suggested by the Indies, or the outlying islands of the new world.

GUIANA.

In Sir John Falstaff's conversation with Pistol and others in the Garter Inn, already referred to, he characterizes Mrs. Page in a metaphor which shows how Shakespeare's mind had been impressed by a recent event when he wrote the "Merry Wives of Windsor". Act I., Scene 3:

> Fal. O, she did so course o'er my exteriors with such a greedy intention, that the appetite of her eye did seem to scorch me up like a burning-glass! Here's another letter to her; she bears the purse too; she is a region in Guiana, all gold and bounty.

In the year 1596 an interesting book was published, bearing the following title, "The Discoverie of the large, rich and bewtiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado)—Performed in the yeare 1595, by Sir W. Raleigh". "The Merry Wives of Windsor" was first published in 1602 and was probably written in 1601. Although we must again accuse Shakespeare of anachronism in putting the word "Guiana" into the mouth of Falstaff, we can not fail to notice the interest which the poet seems to take in every event connected with discoveries in America, and it is again manifest that he keeps well read up in the latest literature on western exploration. He had certainly read Raleigh's book

and the reading doubtless suggested the comparison of Mrs. Page to "a region in Guiana" and to the "West Indies", and also inspired the beautiful figure used by Falstaff:

Fal. (To Robin). Hold, sirrah, bear you these letters tightly:
Sail like my pinnace to these golden shores.—

MEXICO.

One of the most important events, or series of events, that followed the discovery of America was the conquest of Mexico by Cortez. This conquest resulted in opening the country to European commercial adventurers. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Holland and England had their greedy, speculative eyes on the land of the Montezumas. Shakespeare was sufficiently well acquainted with Mexico's attraction to the merchants of the old world to represent her as lying in full view of the speculative considerations of the Rialto, which was the Bourse or Board of Trade of Venice. Shylock knows all about Mexico, and has cunningly weighed the probabilities of successful commerce with the distant country, while Antonio risks a fortune in commercial ventures in various countries, including Mexico. Shylock refers to Antonio's ventures rather deprecatingly.

"The Merchant of Venice", Act I., Scene 3:

Shylock: I understand, moreover, upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England,—and other ventures he hath, squandered abroad.

These ventures scattered abroad proved to be quite as questionable in financial policy as Shylock had intimated, and their unsuccessful issue brought Antonio to such straits, that but for the

wit and wisdom of Portia he might have been compelled to forfeit to Shylock a pound of his own flesh.

Act III., Scene 2:

> Bassanio. But is it true Salanio?
> Hath all his ventures failed? What, not one hit?
> From Tripolis, from Mexico, and England,
> From Lisbon, Barbary, and India?
> And not one vessel 'scape the dreadful touch
> Of merchant-marring rocks?
> Salan. Not one, my lord.

Thus the fictitious argosy of the poet's fancy, bound for Mexico, met with disaster, as possibly many a real business venture to that country proved a failure in Shakespeare's time, to his own knowledge.

VIRGINIA.

The name "Virginia" is not found in any of Shakespeare's writings, but the commentators have found in "Henry VIII." a reference to the new country which was discovered in the reign of Elizabeth and named in honor of the Virgin Queen. In 1606 a charter of colonization was granted to Virginia and in 1607 Jamestown was founded and named in honor of King James I. Whether the play was written in Elizabeth's time, or in the time of James and as late as 1613, has no bearing on the subject in hand. The reference to America, and specifically to Virginia, is so evident that no scholar has cared to question it. In Cranmar's prophecy, Shakespeare apparently eulogizes the virtues of Elizabeth and the glories of her reign while he praises the continuance of prosperity and happiness experienced by the nation during the reign of King James.

"Henry VIII.", Act V., Scene 4:

Cranmar: She shall be lov'd and fear'd: her own shall
bless her;
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow: good
grows with her:
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbors:
God shall be truly known; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,

And by those claim their greatness, not by
blood.
Nor shall this peace sleep with her; but as
when
The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
Her ashes new create another heir
As great in admiration as herself;
So shall she leave her blessedness to one,
(When heaven shall call her from this cloud of
darkness,)
Who, from the sacred ashes of her honour,
Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
And so stand fix'd: peace, plenty, love, truth,
terror,
That were the servants to this chosen infant,
Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him:
Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
His honour and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations: he shall
flourish,
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
To all the plains about him.

It is very probable that the founding of Virginia suggested the line which refers to the making of "new nations" which Shakespeare put into the prophecy of Cranmar.

THE SOUTH SEA.

In the comedy "As You Like It", the poet makes use of a figure which shows his familiarity with another part of the New World.

Act III., Scene 2:

Ros. Good my complexion! dost thou think, though I am caparison'd like a man, I have a doublet and hose in my disposition? One inch of delay more is a South-sea of discovery.

Rosalind's meaning here is somewhat vague. "A South-sea of discovery" may mean a very wide, boundless world in which one might sail in vain in quest of the truth and be lost or wrecked in a limitless sea of mere speculation. Another accepted reading changes the figure and the meaning contained in the language of Rosalind:

One inch of delay more is a South-sea off discovery.

The meaning here would seem to be one inch of delay more will put the discovery as far off as the South-sea, to the end of the world, and make it a hopeless task. In order, therefore, that the possibility of discovering who this man (Orlando) is may not be put as far off as the South Sea, Rosalind further cries:

I pr'ythee, tell me who is it quickly, and speak apace. I would thou couldst stammer, that thou might'st pour this concealed man out of thy mouth, as wine comes

out of a narrow-mouth'd bottle—either too much at once, or none at all. I pr'ythee, take the cork out of thy mouth, that I may drink thy tidings.

It is Shakespeare's reference to this South Sea, however, that we are interested in, and either reading makes that reference equally important with the other as further showing the poet's familiarity with the geographical features of the new world.

The discovery of the South Sea by Balboa in 1513 was one of the most important steps toward the circumnavigation of the globe, which was achieved by the companions of Magellan in 1522, and twice again in Shakespeare's own time by Drake and Cavendish. As the great body of water, discovered by Balboa, washed the south shore of the Isthmus of Panama, from which it was first seen by the explorer, it was named, "the South Sea". It did not receive another name until Magellan discovered and sailed through the straits which bear his name and which connect it with the Atlantic Ocean. Sailing out upon the calm waters of this great sea after his ship had struggled through the turbulent waters of the Atlantic and of the Straits, Magellan called it "the Pacific Ocean". The first name which it received from its discoverer, however, was used more familiarly up to the time of Shakespeare than the name which is now given it in common parlance. On the Hakluyt map of 1599 it is given the original name, "South Sea." Nor did that name go out of use until the close of the last century. The South Sea Company was organized in 1711 to

control the Spanish South American trade; the financial policy of this notorious company proved to be a fraud and failure which involved the ruin of many English speculators and gave to the visionary scheme the name of "The South Sea Bubble". From that time the name "South Sea" lost its popularity, fell into disrepute, and gradually gave way to the present name, "Pacific Ocean". In Shakespeare's time such terms as "America", "Mexico", "Guiana", "The Indies", were not more familiar than "The South Sea". Drake and Cavendish had explored it, plundered the countries along its shores, crossed it in their circumnavigations of the globe and had returned to England to be received with highest honors. When Drake returned, in 1580, he was knighted on board his ship by Queen Elizabeth in person, to whom a magnificent banquet was given. These stirring events gave the name "South Sea" both glamour and popularity, and when Shakespeare wrote "As You Like It", in 1600, this name had then but recently again been made prominent by Raleigh's travels and by the publications of Hakluyt, Linschotan, and Eden.

The use of the name "South Sea", which Shakespeare makes in the language of Rosalind, would indicate that the distant region was commonly talked about and was familiar to the thought of the people in the poet's time.

THE ANTIPODES.

The inhabitants of America, or the new world, were called the Antipodes. In Hakluyt's voyages the marginal reading runs: "The Indians are antipodes to the Spanyards". As this is a gloss on Peter Martyr's statements, we may conclude that had the historian been referring to English explorations and discoveries the gloss would have indicated that the Indians were antipodes to the English. This expression was at first used to designate a people rather than a locality. The circumnavigation of the globe had brought every country into communication with its antipodes, hence the common use of the term after the western discoveries. The manufacture and use of globes had also brought the word into familiar parlance, at least in a pedantic fashion. It is claimed that Behaim's globe "is the first which adopts unreservedly the existence of antipodes", the existence of lands and peoples on the opposite side of the globe. Shakespeare used the word several times, having been impressed with the importance of the discoveries which proved Behaim to be correct and which also realized the dreams of Pulci and Petrarch, and proved Seneca to be a seer.

The word "Antipodes" is used by Shakespeare to designate the peoples, the Indians, on the other

side of the world, rather than the countries. In this sense the word is used by Hakluyt in his First Decade of Peter Martyr, "Therefore doubtlesse Spayne hath deserved great prayse in these our dayes, in that it hath made knowen unto us so many thousandes of Antipodes which lay hid before, and unknowen to our forefathers".

In another passage reference is made to the "Portugales". "They sayle yeerly to the inhabitants of the south pole, being in maner Antipodes to the people called Hyperborei under the North pole, and exercise merchandize with them. And here have I named Antipodes, forasmuch as I am not ignorant that there hath bin men of singular witte and great learning, which have denyed that there is Antipodes, that is, such as walke feete to feete. But it is certayne, that it is not given to any one manne to knowe all things, for even they also were men, whose propertie is to erre, and be deceived in many thinges".

The felicity of the term "Antipodes" was apparent to Shakespeare, and he used it several times with fine effect. In the Third Part of "King Henry VI.", Act I., Scene 4, York says to Queen Margaret,

> Thou art as opposite to every good,
> As the Antipodes are unto us.

In "A Midsummer Night's Dream", Act III., Scene 2, Hermia, speaking to Demetrius of Lysander, says:

> If thou hast slain Lysander in his sleep,
> Being o'er shoes in blood, plunge in the deep,

And kill me too.
The sun was not so true unto the day,
As he to me: would he have stol'n away
From sleeping Hermia? I'll believe as soon,
This whole earth may be bor'd; and that the moon
May through the centre creep, and so displease
Her brother's noon-tide with th' Antipodes.

Bassanio, in Act V., Scene 1, of "The Merchant of Venice", flatteringly says to Portia:

Bass. We should hold day with the Antipodes,
If you would walk in absence of the sun.

King Richard II. makes use of words which came into the common language only with the discovery of America, and with the circumnavigations of the globe following that discovery, more than a century after the time of Richard.

"Richard II.", Act III., Scene 2:

K. Rich. Discomfortable cousin! know'st thou not,
That when the searching eye of heaven is hid
Behind the globe, and lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen,
In murders and in outrage, boldly here;
But when, from under this terrestrial ball,
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines,
And darts his light through every guilty hole,
Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,
The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs,
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?
So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,—
Who all this while hath revell'd in the night,
Whilst we were wandering with the antipodes,—
Shall see us rising in our throne, the east,
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day.
But, self-affrighted, tremble at his sin.

All such expressions as "the globe", "the lower world", "terrestrial ball", and "the antipodes", belong to post-Columbian parlance, but Shakespeare forgets that Richard could not have used them, nevertheless this very forgetfulness shows how the poet appropriated the new ideas which the American discoverers had introduced to the literature of his own time. The civilized world was manifesting a great interest in "the Antipodes". This term was a general designation of the new-found races of men, and more particularly those discovered by Columbus, Cabot, Ponce de Leon, Cortez, and their successors, and included the people called Indians, Mexicans, Peruvians, Cannibals, and Savages.

INDIANS.

The frequent mention of Indians in the plays of Shakespeare indicates that the poet had seen specimens of the new-world inhabitants as they were brought into England by Frobisher and Raleigh, as Columbus had taken them to Spain. It shows that in his reading on American subjects he had been impressed with the appearance and characteristics of these new-found peoples. Showmen had them on exhibition with freaks and monsters, and great curiosity was excited by the illustrated curtains on which were portrayed the serpents, Mermaids, birds, wild beasts, and Indians from America.

The Indians mentioned in the literature of Shakespeare's time were the aborigines of the new world, American Indians. On the supposition that Columbus had found India the inhabitants were at an early period called Indians, and from that time on, and especially from Drake's, Frobisher's and Raleigh's first voyages, "Indians" meant almost exclusively the savages of America, as distinguished even from the inhabitants of India of the Orient. The published descriptions of the western world included interesting descriptions of the new-found nations, or races, dwelling in the West Indies, in Mexico, Guiana, Florida, Virginia and other regions of America. The learned world, England in par-

ticular, was manifesting a deep interest in these strange and savage beings. In Hakluyt's Peter Martyr we find several pages devoted to a disquisition on the color of Indians and on the origin of their name.

"Some thinke that the people of the new world were called Indians, because they are of the colour of the East Indians. And although (as it seemeth to me) they differ much in colour and fashions, yet it is true, that of India they were called Indians."

"One of the marveylous things that God useth in the composition of man, is colour; which doubtlesse cannot bee considered without great admiration, in holding one to be white, and another blacke, being colours utterly contrary; some likewise to be yelow, which is betweene blacke and white; and other of other colours, as it were of divers liveries. And as these colours are to be marveyled at, even so is it to be considered, howe they differ one from another, as it were by degrees, forasmuch as some men are white after divers sorts of whitenesse, yelowe after divers manners of yelow, & blacke after divers sorts of blacknesse & howe from white they goe to yelowe by discolouring to browne and redde, and to blacke by ashe colour, and murry, somewhat lighter than blacke, and tawny like unto the West Indians, whiche are altogether in generall either purple or tawny, like unto sodd Quinces, or of the colour of Chesnuttes or Olives, whiche colour is to them naturall; and not by their going naked,

as many have thought; albeit their nakednesse have somewhat helped thereunto."

Thus in Martyr's Decades, and in the many "travels" and "voyages" published in English during Shakespeare's time, the appearance, habits, domestic, governmental, and warlike customs, and the religious notions, rites and ceremonies of the various Indian nations of America were extensively described. This must have been good reading to so omnivorous a reader as Shakespeare, who does not seem to have let any branch of literature or any book of importance escape his notice. It is not remarkable therefore that so interesting a being as the Indian should find a place in the plays of the dramatist even if it be in the majority of cases only by way of reference, simile, or metaphor.

In "A Midsummer Night's Dream" mention is made of an Indian boy, the son of an Indian King. From the description given of the mother of this boy, we are inclined to take him for an American Indian.

It was not unusual for adventurers to the New World to steal Indian boys and take them as curiosities to Spain or England. Raleigh acknowledges that he did this. Seeing one of these kidnapped Indian boys from the wilds of America may have given Shakespeare his conception of the character as found in the comedy.

Act II., Scene 1:

> Puck. The king doth keep his revels here tonight;
> Take heed the queen come not within his sight;
> For Oberon is passing fell and wrath,

Because that she, as her attendant, hath
A lovely boy, stol'n from an Indian king;
She never had so sweet a changeling:
And jealous Oberon would have the child
Knight of his train, to trace the forests wild;
But she, perforce, withholds the loved boy,
Crowns him with flowers, and makes him all her joy;
And now they never meet in grove or green,
By fountain clear, or spangled star-light sheen,
But they do square; that all their elves, for fear,
Creep into acorn cups, and hide them there.

Act III., Scene 2:

Whiles I in this affair do thee employ,
I'll to my queen, and beg her Indian boy;

It is not likely that this "lovely boy" had been stolen from an East Indian King. Moreover, the fact that Oberon "would have the child Knight of his train, to trace the forests wild", indicates that the Indian boy was from the wild forests of America.

Act II., Scene 2:

Obe. Do you amend it, then; it lies in you:
Why should Titania cross her Oberon?
I do but beg a little changeling boy,
To be my henchman.
Tita. Set your heart at rest;
The fairy land buys not the child of me.
His mother was a votaress of my order;
And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,
Full often hath she gossip'd by my side;
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
Marking the embarked traders on the flood;
When we have laugh'd to see the sails conceive,
And grow big-bellied, with the wanton wind;
Which she, with pretty and with swimming gait

Following (her womb then rich with my young squire).
Would imitate and sail upon the land,
To fetch me trifles, and return again,
As from a voyage, rich with merchandize.
But she, being mortal, of that boy did die;
And for her sake I do rear up her boy;
And for her sake I will not part with him.

This description of the mother of the Indian Boy is certainly not a description of an East Indian woman, but rather of an American Indian. She was a votaress of Titania's order and belonged to the forests. References to

the embarked traders on the flood,

and to the sailing ships, and returning

As from a voyage, rich with merchandize,

would all seem to indicate that this Indian mother was interested in the unusual appearance of the ships which had begun to sail the waters of the new world. The freedom of this child of Nature, this daughter of the forest and the wilderness, comports more exactly with the character, customs and actions of the simple, untutored American Indian woman than with those of a woman of East India.

Never, since the English have known them, have the women of the Orient been of such a character as Titania here describes.

Doubtless a line in Act II., Scene 2, has led some readers to suppose this Indian boy was of East India. Titania says to Oberon:

Why art thou here,
Come from the farthest steep of India?
But that forsooth, the bouncing Amazon,
Your buskin'd mistress, and your warrior love,
To Theseus must be wedded; and you come
To give their bed joy and prosperity.

Undoubtedly, Shakespeare refers to the classical legend of the possession by Theseus of Antiope, queen of the Amazons. Nevertheless the "bouncing Amazon" may have been suggested anew to the poet's mind and the ancient legend revived by the descriptions of the Amazons of America which were to be read in every book of western travels. Shakespeare had read Hakluyt's "Voyages" and found therein this interesting passage:

"By the way, there appeared from the north a great Iland which the captives that were taken in Hispaniola, called Madanino, or Matinino, affirming it to be inhabited only with women, to whom the Canibales have accesse at certain times of the year, as in old time the Thracians hadde to the Amazones in the Island of Lesbos. * * * They have great and strong caves or dennes in the grounde, to which they flee for safeguard if any men resort unto them at any other time than is appoynted, and there defende themselves with bowes and arrowes, against the violence of such as attempt to invade them."

Whether such descriptions suggested the old Greek legend to Shakespeare's mind or not, there seems no incongruity in supposing that "the farthest steep of India" refers to West India; but

even if it does not, there can be no argument in it against the theory that the "lovely boy, stol'n from an Indian King", was an American Indian boy.

Several commentators think "The Midsummer Night's Dream" was written to celebrate the marriage of Shakespeare's friend and patron, the Earl of Southampton. The German critic, Elze, argues that it was written in honor of the wedding of the Earl of Essex. If either were the case it would seem quite appropriate for the poet to make some allusion to the new world in the colonization of which Southampton and Essex had taken great interest.

In "Love's Labor Lost" the appellation "Savage" is given to the "man of Inde", which indicates that Shakespeare was thinking of the American Indian and meant no other by the language put into the mouth of Biron.

Act IV., Scene 3:

King. What, did these rent lines show some love of thine?
Biron. Did they, quoth you? Who sees the heavenly Rosaline,
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,
At the first opening of the gorgeous east,
Bows not his vassal head; and, stricken blind,
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast?
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,
That is not blinded by her majesty?

The East Indians could hardly have been called "rude and savage", but these terms were very appropriately applied to the Indians of America.

Act V., Scene 2:

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

These "savages" are represented as Sun-worshipers. Of the East Indians proper, this could not have been said in the time of Shakespeare, but the writers of his time on American discoveries and explorations described many of the West Indian tribes or nations as sun-worshipers. In Hakluyt's Peter Martyr it is written of the Indians of Guadalupea, "they know none other God then the Sunne and moone, although they make certaine images of gossampine cotton to the Similitude of such phantasies as they say appeare to them in the night". The Peruvians and Floridians were worshipers of the sun, as were other new-world Indians.

This same custom of the American Indians is referred to by Shakespeare in "All's Well That Ends Well".

Act I., Scene 3:

Helena. Then, I confess,
Here on my knee, before high heaven and you,
That before you, and next unto high heaven,
I love your son:—
My friends were poor, but honest; so's my love:
Be not offended; for it hurts not him,
That he is lov'd of me; I follow him not
By any token of presumptuous suit;
Nor would I have him till I do deserve him,
Yet never know how that desert should be.

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

There can be no doubt that the American Indian was in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote the lines for the Porter in Henry VIII., Act V., Scene 3:

Port. What should you do, but knock them down by the dozens? Is this Moorfields to muster in? or have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us?

The "strange Indian with the great tool" is a wild American Indian with his weapon of warfare. "Tool", in Chaucer's time, and in Shakespeare's time as well, was used as the synonym for "weapon", although the term with that meaning is now obsolete. It was not unusual in those days for travelers to America to bring back with them and present to the Court splendid specimens of Indians accoutred in the fantastic ornaments and the "great weapons" of savagery. Evidently on such occasions the curiosity of the women was greatly excited and they turned out in large numbers to catch a sight of the half-naked, feather-crowned, painted and curiously armed Indian. Scenes of this description probably suggested the Porter's question.

The stories told in the "voyages" and "travels" of the day about the small value which the In-

dians of America placed on gold, pearls and precious stones, giving them in great abundance for the cheap trinkets of the Spaniards and Englishmen, gave Shakespeare the suggestion for a well-known line in "Othello".

Act V., Scene 2:

Oth. Soft you; a word or two, before you go,
I have done the state some service, and they know it;—
No more of that.—I pray you, in your letters,
When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice: then, must you speak
Of one that lov'd, not wisely, but too well;
Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,
Perplex'd in the extreme; of one, whose hand,
Like the base Indian, threw a pearl away,
Richer than all his tribe;

If we substitute the word "Judean" for "Indian", this passage has no bearing upon the subject in hand. Such a substitution is in harmony with the first folio, but not with the first quarto, which has it, "Indian". Malone's argument that the word "tribe" in this passage has a Jewish meaning which would favor the substituting of "Judean" for "Indian", has no force in view of the fact that the word "tribe" is used to designate a community of American Indians. Coleridge favors the use of "Indian", saying, "Indian—means American, a savage in genere". Richard Grant White, who at one time favored "Judean", changed his mind on maturer judgment, and thinks the American Indian's ignorance of the value of gold, pearls, and precious stones is referred to by Othello. Knight, who accepts "In-

dian", quotes from the poems of Habington and Howard, in which the same idea is set forth.

In the "Castara" by Habington are these lines:

> So the unskilful Indian those bright gems
> Which might add majesty to diadems
> 'Mong the waves scatters."

Howard, in "The Woman's Conquest", writes:

> Behold my queen—
> Who with no more concern I'll cast away
> Than Indians do a pearl, that ne'er did know
> Its value.

Shakespeare's reading of Hakluyt's voyages made him familiar with the remarkable indifference of American Indians toward gems and gold, so highly prized by the new-world discoverers. In Martyr's First Decade it is recorded, "while hee (the admiral) was building, the inhabitantes beeing desirous of hawkes belles, and other of our thinges, resorted daily thither, to whom the Admirall declared, that if they would bring golde, they should have whatsoever they woulde aske. Forthwith turning their backes, and turning to the shore of the next river, they returned in a shorte time, bringing with them their handes full of golde. Amongst all other, there came an olde man, bringing with him two pibble stones of golde, weighing an ounce, desiring them to give him a bell for the same; who when hee sawe our men marvele at the bignesse thereof, he made signs that they were but small and of no value in respecte of some that he had seene, and taking in his hande foure stones, the least whereof was as

bigge as a Walnut, and the biggest as bigge as an Orange, hee sayd that there was founde peaces of gold as bigge in his country. * * * Beside this old man, there came also divers other, bringing with them pybble stones, of golde, weighing X or XII drammes, & feared not to confesse, that in the place where they gathered that golde, there were found sometime stones of golde as bigge as the head of a Child".

Of the Indians on the Island of Hispaniola, Peter Martyr writes:

"A great multitude of them came running to the shore to behold this new nation whom they thought to have descended from heaven. They cast themselves by heaps into the sea and came swimming to the shippes, bringing gold with them, which they changed with our men for earthen pottes, drinking glasses, poyntes, pinnes, hawkes bels, looking glasses, & such other trifles".

Again, writing of the voyage of Petrus Alphonsus, this author says concerning Curiana:

"He brought with him at this time, many haukes belles, pynnes, needles, braselettes, cheynes, garlandes, and rynges, with counterfet stones and glasses, and such other trifelles, the which within the moment of an houre, he had exchanged for fifteene ounces of pearls, which they wore aboute their neckes and armes. Then they yet more earnestly desired him to sayle to their coastes, promising him that he should there have as many pearles as he would desire. * * * These swarmed therefore to the ship as faste as they might, bringing withe them great plenty of

pearles (which they call Tenaros) exchanging the same for our merchandise".

"When they departed from Curiana—to returne to Spayne, they had threescore an XVI. pounds weight after VIII. unces to the pound of pearls, which they bought for exchange of our thinges amounting to the value of five shillinges. * * * At the length they came home so laden with pearles, that they were with every mariner, in maner as common as chaffe. * * * Many of these pearles were as bigge as hasell nuttes and as oriente (as we call it) as they be of the East partes".

Of another island it is written:

"In the sea neere about this Ilande sea muscles are engendred, of such quantitie, that many of them are as brode as bucklers. In these are pearles founde oftentimes as bigge as beanes, sometimes bigger than Olives and such as sumptuous Cleopatra might have desired."

Writing of King Tennaccus, Peter Martyr further says:

"After that hee knewe that our menne desired golde and pearles, hee sent for six hundred and fourteene Pesos of golde, and two hundred and fourtie of the byggest and fayrest pearles, besides a great number of the small sort."

Of another King, Teaocha, the historian writes:

"He gave Vaschus twentie pounds waight of wrought golde, after eight ounces to the pounde; also two hundred bigge pearles".

Another "base Indian" "brought foorth a basket of curious workmanship, and full of pearles, which hee gave them. The summe of these pearles amounted to the weight of a hundred & ten pounds. * * * They say that these pearles were marvelous precious, faire, orient, & exceeding big: Insomuch that they brought many with them bigger than hasell nuttes. Of what pryse & value they may be I consider by one pearle the whiche Paulus predecessour to your holines, bought at the second hand of a marchant of Venice for foure & fourtie thousand ducats. Yet among those which were brought from this Iland, there was one bought even in Dariena, for a thousand & two hundred Castellans of gold this was almost as big as a meane walnut, & came at the length to the handes of Petrus Aries the governor, who gave it to that noble and faithfull woman his wife. * * * We must then needes thinke that this was very precious, which was bought so deare among such a multitude of pearles, where they were not bought by one at once, but by poundes."

Was Shakespeare thinking of this pearl from Darien which a base Indian threw away with hundreds of others in exchange for the worthless trinkets of the Spaniards? Whether this be the pearl or not, it was probably from stories like these that Shakespeare found many illustrations of "the base Indian" that "threw a pearl away, Richer than all his tribe".

In "The Tempest" two or three unmistakable references to the American Indian are made.

Act II., Scene 2:

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

Of the exhibition of Indians made by showmen in London, mention has been made. Steevens thinks Shakespeare found his suggestion for the reference to the "dead Indian" in the probability that one of the Indians brought home to England by Frobisher, and who died, was brought to London for burial and was there exhibited. One of Raleigh's Indians also died in England, and so great a curiosity was an Indian at that time, either alive or dead, it is possible a showman would not have scrupled to make gain by the exhibition of a dead Indian. Possibly an Indian died on the showman's hands at about the time of the play, and was exhibited after his death. This may have caused comment and criticism, hence the significance of Shakespeare's reference.

Act II., Scene 2:

Ste. What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon us with savages, and men of Inde?

The appearance of Caliban suggests a combination of forms, human and animal, among them the Indian, and particularly the Cannibal Indian or Anthropophagi.

There can be no doubt that Shakespeare had in his mind the American Indian when he conceived

the character of Caliban, but the Indian element is so mixed up with elements of monstrosity as to be lost. In his defense of Darwin's theory of evolution, Daniel Wilson, LL. D., instances Caliban as the missing link. Stephano thought of "devils", "savages", "men of Inde", when he first caught sight of the "freckled whelp", which to Trinculo seemed a combination of "fish", "monster" and "Indian".

Of Caliban more will be said in our treatment of "The Tempest", which play has an entirely American basis and character.

ANTHROPOPHAGI.

Shakespeare in several instances refers to the Cannibals or Anthropophagi which travelers had described as inhabiting certain regions in America.

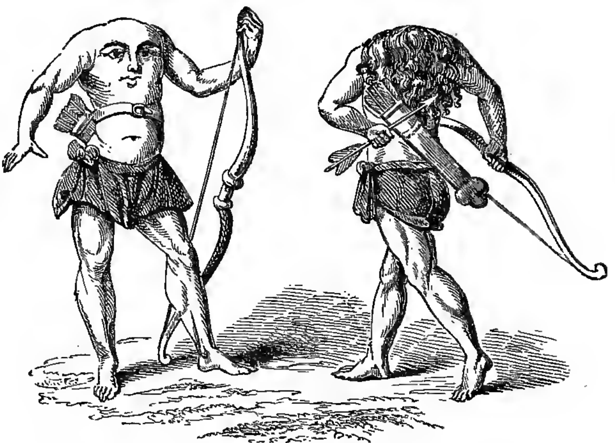
"Othello", Act I., Scene 3:

> Othello. And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders.

"The Tempest", Act III., Scene 3:

> "Gon. Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
> Who would believe that there were mountaineers
> Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them
> Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men,
> Whose heads stood in their breasts? which now we find,
> Each putter-out of five for one, will bring us
> Good warrant of."

Reference is here made to the relations of adventurers who insured themselves against their living rather than, as in life insurance, against their death. That is to say, they were to be paid if they survived, and the chances taken were as five to one. This is evidently a fling at the travelers and adventurers who told incredible stories. Certain commentators, and Hunter in particular, think this a satire on Raleigh. Shakespeare had



ANTHROPOPHAGI. "MEN WHOSE HEADS DO GROW BENEATH THEIR SHOULDERS."

unquestionably read Raleigh's description of the Cannibals of the new world, he had also doubtless read Peter Martyr's description as found in Hakluyt's voyages before he wrote "Othello" or "The Tempest". Raleigh's book on "The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana", 1596, contains the following credulous description of these remarkable creatures:

"Next unto Arni there are two rivers Atoica and Caova and on that braunch which is called Caova are a nation of people, whose heades appeare not above their shoulders, which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne parte I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same; they are called Ewaipanoma; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of haire groweth backward between their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with mee into England tolde mee that they are the most mightie men of all the lands, and use bowes, arrowes and clubs thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi and that one of the Inarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the years before our arrivall there, and brought him into the borders of Arramaia his father's country; and farther when I seemed to doubt it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slaine manie hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their

neighbors, but it was not my chaunce to heare of them til I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt."

Raleigh evidently writes seriously, but he certainly manifests a credulity which Shakespeare seems to ridicule in "The Tempest". Peter Martyr was by no means so credulous. His account of these Indians does not represent them as

> Men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders.

They are, however, of sufficiently savage aspect, and are man-eating Indians, or Cannibals. Martyr tells us: "There is no man able to behold them, but he shall feele his bowels grate with a certayne horrour, nature hath endued them with so terrible menacing and cruell aspect."

"Or ever you can come thither, you muste passe over the mountaynes inhabited of the cruell Canibales, a fierce kinde of men, devourers of mans fleshe, lyving without lawes, wandering and without Empire."

Writing of the island called Hispaniola and of its inhabitants, Martyr says:

"The wilde and mischievous people called Canibales or Caribes, which were accustomed to eate mans flesh (and called of the old writers, Anthropophagi) molest them exceedingly, invading their countrey, taking them captive, killing & eating them."

It is more probable that Shakespeare was influenced by Raleigh, Hakluyt, Eden and other authors of his own time than by Pliny or Sir John Maundevil, who had also described this "folk of foule stature, and of cursed kynde."

"Merry Wives of Windsor", Act IV., Scene 5:

Sim. Marry, sir, I come to speak with Sir John Falstaff from Master Slender.

Host. There's his chamber, his house, his castle. his standing bed and truckle bed, 'tis painted about with the story of the prodigal, fresh and new. Go, knock and call, he'll speak like an Anthropophaginian unto thee, knock I say.

Here again Shakespeare reveals the American ideas which are in his mind, and we are almost certain that we know what authors suggested the idea that Falstaff will "speake like an Anthropophaginian".

Pigafetta, a companion of Magellan, describes the cannibals or Anthropophagi. In Eden's collection of voyages it runs: "They found a great ryver of fresshe water and certain canibales. Of these they sawe one out of theyr shyppes, of stature as bigge as a giante, havynge a voyce lyke a bul".

Of some of these giant cannibals, taken captive and put in chains, this author says: "When they sawe how they were deceaved they rored lyke bulles". When Shakespeare has Host affirm that Falstaff will "speak like an Anthropophaginian unto thee", he means that he has "a voyce lyke a bul", he will resemble the Cannibals who "rored lyke bulles".

POTATOES.

One vegetable, at least, mentioned by Shakespeare is of American origin and the poet's metaphorical use of this now very common product shows again the influence of the new-world discoveries upon his imagination.

"Merry Wives of Windsor", Act V., Scene 5:

Fal. My doe with the black scut!—Let the sky rain Potatoes. Let it thunder to the tune of Green Sleeves, hail Kissing-comfits, and snow eringoes.

"Troilus and Cressida", Act V., Scene 2:

Ther. How the devil luxury, with his fat rump and potato finger, tickles these together!

The potato was discovered by the Spaniards in South America, where it was cultivated by the natives. It was introduced into England according to some authorities, by John Hawkins about 1563. Others give the credit for its introduction to Sir Francis Drake. This, however, must have been the sweet potato, a native of Brazil. The common potato was introduced from Virginia into Ireland and first cultivated there by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584. Gerard's Herbal, which was published in 1597, gives the first English description and the first engraved illustration of the potato. In this book we read: "It groweth naturally in America, where it was first discovered". Thus we find that the potato was introduced into

England in Shakespeare's own time. Falstaff's language seems to indicate that the vegetable was considered a delicious luxury to be classed with choice confections, "kissing-comfits" and "eringoes". Gerard writes of it as "A foode as also a meate for pleasure equall in goodnesse and wholesomenesse unto the same, being either roasted in the embers, or boiled and eaten with oile, vinager and pepper, or dressed any other way by the hand of some cunning in cookerie".

Of course Falstaff never ate a potato. In the time of Henry IV. it was not known in Europe; as yet only the unknown Indians of undiscovered America cultivated the succulent bulb. But doubtless Shakespeare had tried the new vegetable and found it to be fit for the most civilized palate, and, although he never makes mention of tobacco, which was also introduced into England during his life time, he twice speaks of potatoes, in each instance committing an outrageous anachronism. Think of Falstaff imagining a shower of potatoes in his day! Think of Thersites in the time of Troilus and Cressida of Ancient Greece speaking of "potato-finger"! In this figure reference is probably made to the shape of the elongated sweet potato, but how could Thersites know the shape of an American sweet potato? Shakespeare had seen it, and it suggested the bloated "potato-finger" of "devil luxury".

THE WEST.

The discovery of America, the opening up of the western world, and the consequent circumnavigation of the globe in Shakespeare's time must have suggested to the poet's fancy one of the fine passages in "A Mid-summer Night's Dream".

Act II., Scene 2:

Obe. That very time I saw (but thou couldst not)
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd; a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west;
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on
In maiden meditation, fancy free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower.—
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound—
And maidens call it, love-in-idleness.
Fetch me that flower; the herb I show'd thee once
The juice of it on sleeping eyelids laid,
Will make or man or woman madly dote
Upon the next live creature that it sees.
Fetch me this herb; and be thou here again,
Ere the leviathan can swim a league.
Puck. I'll put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes. [Exit.]

Puck must go into the west and fetch "a little western flower". This may require the girdling

of the earth. Does it not mean that he must visit the new western world, America, and in her wilds find the "little western flower" of occult influence? A more evident reference to the new world, however, is found in "The Tempest". The scene of this comedy is laid in America.

THE BERMUDAS.

"The Tempest", Act I., Scene 2:

> Ariel. Safely in harbour
> Is the king's ship; in the deep nook, where once
> Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
> From the still-vex'd Bermoothes, there she's hid;

Shakespeare's interest in America is quite clearly manifest in his comedy of "The Tempest", which was very probably inspired by the shipwreck of a company of Virginia colonists on the Bermudas in 1609. It would strike one as most remarkable if none of the many stirring events connected with the discovery, exploration and colonization of America had engaged Shakespeare's pen or furnished materials for at least one of his immortal compositions. Toward the close of the poet's career one event excited the public mind to such a degree that Shakespeare was moved to take advantage of its truly dramatic features and write a comedy based upon its general outlines. If we could agree with Campbell in looking upon "The Tempest" as the last child of the poet's brain we might have additional inspiration to rhapsody in the thought that Shakespeare's last dramatic dream was of America!

The Bermuda Islands were discovered by John Bermudez in 1522. This is the inaccurate state-

PETER MARTYR MAP, 1511. THE FIRST UPON WHICH LA BERMUDA APPEARS.

ment of nearly all the historians. Various spellings and pronunciations are given to this "still-vex'd" locality, such as Bermudas, Bermuda, Belmuda, Barmuda, Bermude, Belmudo, and Bermoothes, as Shakespeare pronounces it in phoneticizing the Spanish. Henry May, the first Englishman to visit the island, was shipwrecked off the northwest shore Dec. 17, 1591. He declares that he found there the wrecks of Spanish, Dutch and French ships. The island came by its name, acording to May, from a Spanish ship called Bermudez, which was carrying hogs to the West Indies and was wrecked there. Ogilby says the Bermudes were "probably so term'd from certain black hogs, by the Spaniards call'd Bermudas". Pilkington likewise tells us that Bermudas in the old Spanish tongue signified black hog.

The record in "Purchase, His Pilgrimage" is as follows: "It was called Bermuda as Oviedo saith, of John Bermudez which first discovered it, and Garza of the Shippes name wherein he sailed". On Mercator's map of 1541 it is printed "Barmuda Sive Garca".

Oviedo, as translated in Eden's History of Travylye, says: "A thousand fyve hundreth fiftene, I sayled above the Island Bermuda otherwyse cauled Garza, beyinge the furtheste of all the Ilandes that are found at this daye in the worlde". Oviedo wrote this in 1526, but he tells us he sailed "above the island Bermuda" in 1515. This was seven years before John Bermudez is said to have discovered it. The maps also con-

tradict the statement that the above-named voyager discovered the island and gave it his own name in 1522. Not only was Oviedo acquainted with the island in 1515, but Peter Martyr knew it much earlier and it appears on his map, published in 1511. How it came by its name and who really discovered the island remain debatable questions.

The Bermudas seem to have had a history quite in keeping with Shakespeare's description. The poet had doubtless read Eden, May, Jourdan, Purchase, Raleigh and other authorities on the historic or traditional characteristics of this dangerous region in the new world.

May, who it will be remembered suffered shipwreck there in 1591, says it was called "Isle of Devils for the number of black hogs that all men did shun as hell and perdition".

Purchase says: "It is also called the Island of Devils which they suppose inhabette there and the inchanted island, but these are inchanted conceits."

Captain John Smith, in his History of Virginia, says: "It hath been to the Spaniards more fearful than an utopean pergatory, and to all seamen no less terrable than an enchanted den of furies and devils, the most dangerous, unfortunate and forlorne place in the world."

Sir Walter Raleigh gave the place this bad reputation: "The rest of the Indies are calmes and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightening and stormes. This verie yeare there were seventeen

sayle of Spanish shipps lost in the channell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to have sunke at the Bermudas was put back to Saint Juan de puerto rico."

This part of the new world kept up its reputation when in 1609 Sir Thomas Gates was sent out from England to assume the governorship of Virginia. Five hundred colonists went with him. The fleet consisted of eight ships exclusive of the Admiral's ship, The Sea Venture.

There accompanied Gates, in the Admiral's ship, Sir George Somers, Admiral, and Captain Newport, vice-admiral, besides one hundred and fifty souls. A tempest scattered the fleet; the Admiral's ship was driven upon the Bermudas and the rest of the fleet made Virginia in safety, although certain writers claim that several of the ships returned to England. The news of the disaster soon reached England, and, as five hundred persons had gone out from English homes to Virginia with this fleet, the storm and shipwreck were the talk and sensation of the day with the anxious friends at home in England. The earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend and patron, was a promoter of the colonization of Virginia, as were Raleigh and members of the leading families of England, so that it may reasonably be supposed that Shakespeare himself was interested in the outcome of the venture and in the news of the tempest and shipwreck.

The news of the disaster was followed by published details in pamphlet form which were eagerly read by the people.

Certain critics and enemies of the Virginia enterprise tried to fasten the blame for the shipwreck on Sir Thomas Gates, and an investigation was evidently suggested which brought out a pamphlet vindicating Gates. Shakespeare probably read this pamphlet and upon the account given therein of the storm and shipwreck off the Bermudas he quite as probably founded his comedy of "The Tempest".

From Malone's time, the commentators generally have attributed the inspiration of the comedy to Sylvester Jourdan's pamphlet, "A Discovery of the Bermudes, otherwise called the Isle of Devils. 1610". This tract appeared again in 1613 with additions, as "A Plaine Description of the Barmudas, now called Sommers Ilands, with the manner of their discoverie, Anno 1609, by shipwrack and admirable deliverance of Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers". In his chronology of the plays of Shakespeare, Chalmers fixes upon the year 1613 as the date of the appearance of "The Tempest", thus giving the poet the advantage of both the Jourdan tracts. Mr. Malone, however, dates the play, 1611, nearer the time of the shipwreck and very soon after the publication of the first Jourdan pamphlet, hence the supposition that the play was inspired by the news and account of the Bermuda tempest and shipwreck.

The Jourdan pamphlet contains the following account:

"I being in ship called the sea-venture, with Sir Thomas Gates our Governor, Sir George

Sommers & Captain Newport, three most worthy honoured gentlemen, bound for Virginia, in height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts: We were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme upon the five and twentieth day of July, Anno 1609, which did not onely separate us from the residue of our fleet (which were eight in number) but with the violent working of the seas our ship became so shaken, torn and leaked, that shee received so much water as covered two tire of hogsheads above the ballast; that our men stood up to the middles, with buckets, baricos and kettles, to baile out the water and continually pumped three dayes and three nights together without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase than to diminish; in so much that all our men, being utterly spent, tyred and disabled for longer labour, were even resolved, without any hope of their lives, to shut up the hatches, and to have committed themselves to the mercie of the sea. It pleased God to worke so strongly as the water was staid for that little time and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within half an English mile of that land that Sir George Sommers had not long before descried, which were the Islands of the Barmudas. And there neither did our shippe sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune fell in between two rockes where shee was fast lodged and locked for further budging; whereby we gained not only sufficient time with the present help of our boate and skiffe safelye to set and

convey our men ashore, but afterwards had time and leasure to save some good part of our goods and provisions, &c."

This published account appeared first in 1610. "The Tempest", although it did not appear in print until 1623, in the first folio, was acted in 1611.

We cannot admit, as Campbell with much sentiment would have us, that "The Tempest" was Shakespeare's last work, much less can it be maintained, as Hunter argues, that it was one of the poet's earliest compositions. Malone, and following him, Collier, Hallewell-Phillips, Gervinus, Staunton and Furness believe "The Tempest" was in existence in 1611, but not earlier. As to the locality of the action, Capel, Malone, Chalmers, Gervinus, Thomas Moore, Washington Irving, Mrs. Jameson, Lady Brassey and others agree on the Bermudas. Hunter favors Lampedusa in the Mediterranean, while Knight thinks Shakespeare had no particular spot in mind.

If the poet had in thought any definite locality for the scene of "The Tempest" the evidences are multiplied times greater in favor of the Bermudas than of any other place in the world, while it is difficult to resist the conviction that the shipwreck of Sir Thomas Gates inspired the comedy.

I venture to suggest, however, that Shakespeare depended less upon the Jourdan tract than upon another tract of considerable importance which was published in 1610, and now, to quote

from Huth's Catalogue, "A tract of the utmost rarity". This was:

"A True Declaration of The Estate of the Colonie in Virginia. With confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthie an enterprise. Published by advise and direction of the Councell of Virginia."

This was an official document, as the title-page shows. "Published by advise and direction of the Councell of Virginia."

In this tract Sir Thomas Gates is defended against the charge of having been responsible for the shipwreck on the Bermudas, &c.

Although Malone quotes from this tract, he does not give it the prominence of the Jourdan tract, while the other commentators seem to have almost ignored it.

From this rare pamphlet Shakespeare may have taken the "The Tempest".

It is interesting to observe how closely the account of Sir Thomas Gates' shipwreck agrees with Henry May's account of his own shipwreck in The Bermudas in 1591, and published in Hakluyt's voyages ten years before the Jourdan tract. If Shakespeare read May's graphic account he certainly found as good material therein for the invention of such a play as "The Tempest" as the later tracts and the disaster which they describe could possibly have furnished him. The two shipwrecks of English vessels on The Bermudas in Shakespeare's time, and the several accounts of them which were soon published probably suggested the play. The Gates disaster and the

pamphlets of 1610 were the more immediate sources of Shakespeare's inspiration.

Although the details of the shipwreck are not as full in the "True Declaration" as they are in "A Discovery of the Bermudas" they are more tersely and forcibly written.

"When Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and Captain Newport were in the height of 27, and the 24, of July, 1609, there arose such a storme, as if Jonas had been flying unto Tarshish; the heavens were obscured and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror; the women lamented; the hearts of the passengers failed; the experience of the sea Captains was amazed; the skill of the marriners was confounded; the ship most violently leaked. * * * But God that heard Jonas crying out of the belly of hell, he pittied the distresses of his servants; For behold, in the last period of necestitie, Sir George Summers descryed land. * * * The Islands on which they fell were the Bermudos, a place hardly accessable through the environing rocks and dangers; notwithstanding they were forced to runne their ship on shoare, which through God's providence fell betwixt two rockes, that caused her to stande firme and not immediately to be broken, God continuing his mercie unto them, that with their long Boats they transported to land before night, all their company, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and fiftie, they carryed to shoare all the provisions of unspent and unspoyled victules, all their furniture and tackling of the ship, leaving nothing

but bared ribs, as a pray unto the ocean. These Islands of the Bermudos, have ever beene accounted as an inchanted pile of rockes, and a desert inhabitation for Divels; but all the Faries of the rocks were but flocks of birds, and all the Divels that haunted the woods were but heards of swine."

After giving these and other details of hardship and dangers through which the Virginia colonists had struggled the pamphlet contains the following very striking question which must have caught the eye of Shakespeare as he read it: "What is there in all this tragical Comaedie that should discourage us with impossibilities of the enterprise?" Did not the very words, "tragical Comaedie" suggest to Shakespeare's mind "The Tempest"? Did not the dramatist see rising before the fine eye of his imagination all the essential elements of a "tragical Comaedie"

Whatever dramatic material for his plot he may have found in literature, the title of the play, with its opening incident of storm and shipwreck, the place of action, many of the minor elements, at least one character prominent in the play, and another mentioned, were very probably suggested by new-world happenings, by the Gates shipwreck on the Bermudas and by descriptions of the new world found in the current literature of Shakespeare's age and country.

When we compare the play with the history of the Gates shipwreck these parallels appear: In the history, as in the play, there is a Tempest, accompanied with thunder and lightning such as

the Bermudas are noted for; the Tempest scatters the fleet of Sir George Somers and also the fleet of King Alonzo; one ship of each fleet is driven upon an uninhabited, rock-bound, almost inaccessible island; in each case this is the ship of the Commander of the fleet; in the history, as in the play, the ship finally lodges in a nook or between the rocks and is not wholly wrecked; no lives are lost in either shipwreck, all get safely to land, "and for the rest o' the fleet, they all have met again". The island in the play is like the island described in the history of the Gates shipwreck, uninhabited, fertile in spots and in other parts barren, with pits, springs, caves, trees, coral reefs, &c. Again, the Bermudas, "the still-vex'd Bermoothes", is represented as an enchanted island. In the play, it is subject to Prospero's power of enchantment, and fairies, furies, monsters and devils inhabit the place. In obedience to Prospero's command, Ariel raised the storm of lightning and thunder.

Act I., Scene 2:

Pros. Approach, my Ariel, come.
[Enter Ariel.]
Ari. All hail, great master! grave sir, hail! I come
To answer thy best pleasure; be't to fly
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curl'd clouds, to thy strong bidding task
Ariel and all his quality.
Pros. Hast thou, spirit,
Perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee?
Ari. To every article.
I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,

I flamed amazement: sometime I'll divide,
And burn in many places; on the topmast,
The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet and join. Jove's lightnings, the precursors
O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary
And sight-outrunning were not: the fire and cracks
Of sulphurous roaring the most mighty Neptune
Seem to besiege, and make his bold waves tremble,
Yea, his dread trident shake.

The fearful meteoric display accompanying the tempest filled the shipwrecked men with such alarm that they imagined the region was under demoniacal enchantment.

Ariel. The King's son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring,—then like reeds, not hair,—
Was the first man that leap'd; cried, "Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here."

The conception of the demoniacal enchantment of the island was suggested to Shakespeare by Jourdan's tract, in which he speaks of the Bermudas as "a habitation of Divells".

"Who did not thinke till within these foure years, but that those Ilands had beene rather a habitation of Divells, then fit for men to dwell in? who did not hate the name when hee was on Land, and shunne the place when he was on the Seas? But behold the misprision and misconceits of the world! For true and large experience hath told us, it is one of the sweetest Paradises that be upon the earth. * * * Oh happie men who there find God and angels, where the world thought had been nothing, but the Devill and his swine into which he entered."

"The Iland of the Barmudas, as every man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were never inhabited by any Christian or Heathen people, but ever esteemed, and reputed, a most prodigious and inchanted place, affoording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather; which made every Navigator and Mariner to avoide them, as Scylla and Charibdis; or as they would shun the Devill himselfe."

Captain John Smith gives us to understand that it was considered "an enchanted den of furies and devils".

May, as we have noticed, says it was called, "Isle of Devils for the number of black hogs, &c." Sir Walter Raleigh called it "hellish".

Stow says the Bermudas were "said and supposed to be inchanted and inhabited with witches and devils, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storme, and tempest".

The impression which Caliban made upon his discoverers was that he had the form of a devil. So Trinculo and Stephano regarded him, and Prospero called him a "demi-devil".

This frequent use of the name "devil" or "devils" suggests the traditions current about the devil-enchanted Bermudas and convinces us that Shakespeare had these traditions in mind when he wrote "The Tempest".

Act II., Scene I:

Adr. Though this island seem to be desert,—
Seb. Ha, ha, ha!—So, you're paid.
Adr. Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible,—

Here there is hardly room for doubt that Shakespeare is unconsciously or consciously repeating almost the very words of "A True Declaration", mentioned above. "The Island on which they fell were the Bermudos, a place hardly accessible * * * a desert inhabitation". In the Jourdan tract of 1613 we read: "If any had said seven yeares agoe, the Barmuda Ilands are not only accessible but habitable how loudly would he have been laught at and hist out of most mens companies."

Act I., Scene 2:

Cal. Thou strokedst me, and madest much of me; wouldst give me
Water with berries in 't;

Act II., Scene 2:

Cal. I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;

The Bermudas abounded in berries; according to those early tracts, there were "great plenty of Mulberries white and red". Jourdan also writes: "There is a tree called a Palmito tree which hath a very sweet berry."

> "There are an infinite number of Cedar trees, and these bring forth a verie sweete berrie, and wholesome to eat."

Act. II., Scene 2:

Cal. I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

Again we read from "A True Declaration": "They found the berries of Cedar, the Palmeto tree, the prickle peare, sufficient fish. * * *

They found diversity of wood. * * * If there had not been fuell, they had perished by want of fire, &c."

Jourdan says: "Fish is there as abundant that if a man steppe into the water they will come round about him."

This writer represents Sir George Somers as going out, and in a very short time making a big catch.

Caliban gathers wood, catches fish, picks berries, does, in fine, just what those English Colonists to Virginia did when cast on the Bermudas. Moreover, the very trees mentioned in "The Tempest" are found in this island, especially "Many tall and goodly Cedars", as Smith writes.

Ogilby says, "The Bermudas produce Cedars, the like of which are not to be found in the whole world".

Caliban in Act I., Scene 2, speaks of all the "qualities o' th' isle,
"The Fresh springs, brine-pits, barren place and fertile", and of "toads, beetles, bats".

Sebastian in Act II., Scene 1, says:

> We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.

Here we are reminded of Pinkerton's statement that in the Bermudas bats are very common, and we also recall the reference which Ogilby makes to "The Pits and wells" of the island. It is probable, moreover, that these pits, "brine pits", were used by the ship-wrecked English in 1609, as in Jourdan's tract we read:

"Having powdered some store of Hogges flesh for provision thither, but were compelled to make salt for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoiled."

Act II., Scene 2:

Cal. I prithee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;
Show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
To snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee
To clustering filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee
Young scamels from the rock. Wilt thou go with
me?

This passage is a most remarkable illustration of the Bermudan theory of "The Tempest". The "crabs" mentioned are not crab-apples, as some have supposed, but marine crustacea, and these abounded in Bermudan waters. They are called cray-fish, craw-fish, or crabs, and are mentioned by nearly every old writer who has described the Bermudas. If the ground-nut, or "pig-nut", did not grow there, there was doubtless some root or nut indigenous to the soil which furnished food for the hogs for which the island was famous, or infamous, and was therefore called "pig-nut".

The early writers also mentioned the great variety and tameness of the birds of the Bermudas. "A jay's nest" was easily found in that island and the bird was doubtless identical with the well-known Florida jay.

"The nimble mormoset" was a small South American monkey, not far out of its habitat when in the Bermudas.

"Clustering filberts" describe our American hazel-nuts which grow wild in clusters on bushes or shrubs from two to five feet in height.

"Young scamels from the rocks" have given the commentators much perplexity. Steevens identifies them as "sea-mels", what Sir Joseph Banks classified as gulls.

The bird which Caliban had in mind, and the bird Shakespeare had in mind, was very probably the very bird which Captain John Smith describes in the manuscript published by Lefroy; it is called the Cahow and found in the Bermudas.

This fowl, says Smith, "all the daye long lies hidd in holes of the rocks, whence both themselves and their young are in great numbers extracted with ease, and prove (especially the young) so pleaseinge in a dish, as ashamed I am to tell, how many dosen of them have bin devoured by some one of our northern stomacks, even at one only meale".

Were not these the "young scamels from the rock" which Caliban proposed to get for Trinculo and Stephano?

Act IV., Scene 1:

Ariel. So I charm'd their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd through
Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
Which enter'd their frail shins.

Here Ariel describes to Prospero the influence which he had over the shipwrecked persons on the island, Alonzo, Gonzalo, Sebastian and others.

The peculiar reference to "briars" and "thorns" calls to mind the references which many of the writers on the Bermudas have made to the prickly-pear which grows so abundantly in that island. In "A True Declaration" it is called "the prickle peare". Ogilby mentions "the Plant Neichtly, which bears speckled Pears". Pinkerton calls it the "Prettle peare" and says it "grows like a shrub by the ground, with broad thick leaves, all over around, with long and sharpe dangerous thornes". It was doubtless through this growth that Ariel's enchantment caused the shipwrecked arrivals to follow his "lowing" and with which they wounded their "frail shins". It is not reasonable to suppose that even these trifling allusions to the fauna and flora of the enchanted island are accidental or simply co-incidental when they are so true to the authentic descriptions of the Bermudas which were given by writers in Shakespeare's time and have since been corroborated by later authorities.

Act IV., Scene 1:

> Ceres. Earth's increase, foison plenty,
> Barns and garners never empty;
> Vines with clustering bunches growing;
> Plants with goodly burthen bowing;
> Spring come to you at the farthest
> In the very end of harvest?
> Scarcity and want shall shun you;
> Ceres' blessing so is on you.

The bearing of Ceres' song upon the discussion of the Bermudan locality of "The Tempest" is manifest when we keep in mind the fact that the

Bermudas are so situated that the favored island enjoys two seasons of growth, one tropical and the other temperate; one producing the vegetation of the Indies, the other the vegetation of England.

Pinkerton tells us that the Bermudes enjoy "perpetual spring". Ogilby says: "Their harvest is twice a year; for that which they sowe in March is ripe and gathered in June; then what they sowe again in August they gather in January". Thus Ceres describes most accurately the succession of the two harvests of the Bermudas when she sings:

> Spring come to you at the farthest
> In the very end of harvest!

Act II., Scene 1:

Adr. It must needs be of subtle, tender and delicate temperance.
Ant. Temperance was a delicate wench.
Seb. Ay, and a subtle; as he most learnedly delivered.
Adr. The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.
Seb. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.
Ant. Or as 'twere perfumed by a fen.
Gom. Here is everything advantageous to life.
Ant. True; save means to live.
Seb. Of that there's none, or little.
Gon. How lush and lusty the grass looks! how green!
Ant. The ground, indeed, is tawny.
Seb. With an eye of green in't.

In this scene, and in this very dialogue, it will be remembered Adrian has just spoken of the island as "desert", "uninhabitable", and "inaccessible", the very description of the Bermudas

which is found in "A True Declaration". The Jourdan tract, "A discovery of the Bermudes", contains descriptions and even verbal expressions which must have been the inspiration of the conversation between Adrian and his companions. The peculiar play on the word "temperance" immediately suggests a passage in Jourdan's tract on the Bermudas: "Yet did we finde there the ayre was temperete and the country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preservation of man's life, that notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine months we were not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but out of the aboundance thereof provided us some reasonable quantity and proportion of provision to carry us for Virginia, and to maintain ourselves and that company we found there."

The "subtle, tender and delicate temperance" of the atmosphere which Adrian notices, is noticed by Jourdan in the Bermudas where "we finde the ayre so temperate". Ogilby also uses this expression in speaking of the Bermudas: "The air is of a good temper". Where did Shakespeare find his expression, "temperance"? Not in Ogilby, but in the earlier works where doubtless Ogilby himself found his own expression, "good temper", and most probably in Jourdan's tract, which speaks of "the ayre so temperate".

Again, the line which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Gonzales was most probably suggested by a line from Jourdan.

Gonzales says:

> Here is everything advantageous to life.

Jourdan speaks of the Bermudas as a "country aboundantly fruitfull of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preservation of man's life". Shakespeare seems to have simply thrown Jourdan's statements about the temperate air and the fruitfulness necessary to sustain life into dialogue and poetic form.

Act I., Scene 2, Ariel sings:

> Full fathom five thy father lies;
> Of his bones are coral made;
> Those are pearls that were his eyes;
> Nothing of him doth fade,
> But doth suffer a sea-change
> Into something rich and strange.
> Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell;
> Burthen: Ding-dong.

The Bermudas are coral islands, and are surrounded by extensive coral reefs. The early descriptions of the island also mention the abundance and fine quality of pearls to be found in the waters.

In "A discovery of the Bermudes" Jourdan says: "There is a greate store of Pearls and some of them very faire, round and oriental". Ogilby says: "The sea produces some quantity of pearls". May writes: "In this island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies". With these facts Shakespeare must have been familiar, and the song of Ariel is quite appropriate on the Bermudas.

Act I., Scene II. Enter Caliban:

Cal. As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather from unwholsome fen
Drop on you both! a south-west blow on ye
And blister you all o'er!

Caliban's mention of the "dew" recalls the lines which Shakespeare put into the mouth of Ariel:

"Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vex'd Bermoothes."

But there is greater significance in the words

A south-west blow on ye and blister you all o'er!

The two prevailing winds of the Bermudas were and are the north-east and the south-west. When this south-west trade wind prevails the heat is intense, producing the tropical vegetation which flourishes during one season of the year on the island. With the heavy dews falling and the blistering south-west blowing in this locality, Shakespeare found suggestion here for the language of Caliban.

Several of the names which Shakespeare gives to the Dramatis Personæ of "The Tempest" are very familiar to readers of early American voyages and explorations. "Gonzalo" suggests Gonzales Cemenes; "Anthonio" suggests Anthonio Bereo; "Alonzo" suggests Alonzo, Chief Governor of Grand Canaria; and "Ferdinand" suggests Ferdinand de Soto. Malone thinks all the principal names may be found in Eden's "History of Travayle".

One character in this comedy is the most startling and suggestive combination and embodi-

ment of new-world suggestions imaginable. Caliban is an American.

Pros. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil himself
Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Shakespeare's knowledge of the cannibal, derived from reading the "new world" literature, suggested the character of Caliban. The name which Shakespeare gives to this monster is but a varient of "Canibal".

The descriptions of Indians, giant cannibals, land and sea monsters, found in the books of voyages and travels enabled Shakespeare to make up a character which suggested all these creatures to the men who found Caliban on the enchanted island with Prospero and Miranda.

Act II., Scene 2:

Trinculo. What have we here? a man or a fish? dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of not of the newest Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. Legged like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion; hold it no longer; this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt.

When Stephano comes upon Caliban he cries:

What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you put tricks upon's with salvages and men of Ind, ha?

Caliban's appearance suggests to Trinculo and Stephano "salvages", "men of Ind", a "dead Indian". Shakespeare had the American Indian in mind when he invented the character and the form of Caliban, and although Caliban is not represented in the comedy as a man-eating Indian, he is called "a monster", "a most perfidious and drunken monster", a "puppy-headed monster", a "most ridiculous monster", "a howling monster", and a "bully-monster". These terms remind us of the characteristics of the giant cannibals described by Pigafetta, as we found in Eden's translation "having a voyce like a bul".

In "Purchase His Pilgrimage" occurs a passage in which there is preserved the tradition of a sea-monster, with which Shakespeare may have become familiar in his extensive reading.

"Job Hortop relateth that in the height of Bermuda they had sight of a sea-monster which three times showed himselfe from the middle upwards, in shape like a man of the complexion of a Mulato or tawnie Indian".

Shakespeare seems to have fashioned Caliban somewhat after this description as would appear from the language of Trinculo.

Act III., Scene 2:

Trin. Thou liest, most ignorant monster; I am in case to justle a constable. Why, thou deboshed fish, thou, was there ever man a coward that hath drunk so much sack as I today? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish and half a monster?

It will be remembered that the Bermudas was called "The Isle of Divels", "A desert inhab-

itation for Divels", "The Island of Devils", etc., from its first discovery by the English. In making up Caliban therefore, Shakespeare associated the devil with the Indian and cannibal, and all three are found in America according to the voyagers and explorers of the poet's time. The very name of the Bermudas as "The isle of Devils" evidently suggested the question which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Stephano on first catching sight of Caliban.

> What's the matter? Have we devils here?

Trinculo cries:

> and these are devils; O, defend me!

Stephano again explains:

> Mercy, mercy! This is a devil, and no monster;
> I will leave him; I have no long spoon.

Reference has been made to Wilson's suggestion that Caliban is the "connecting link" to complete Darwin's hypothesis of Evolution.

Another character is mentioned in "The Tempest" which certainly belonged to the new world. The use of his name, in view of the characteristics given to Caliban and the relation of the being named to him, indicates that Shakespeare was writing the play under the influence of the American discoveries.

Act I., Scene 2:

> Cal. No, pray thee.
> (Aside) I must obey; his art is of such power,
> It would control my dam's god, Setebos,
> And make a vassal of him.

Who was Setebos? The devil-god of the Patagonians. Shakespeare found the name in Eden's translation of Pigafetta. In giving an account of the capture of giant cannibals by Magellan, that author says:

"When they felt the shakels faste abowte theyre legges, they begunne to doubt, but the Captayne dyd put them in comforte and badde them stande style. In fine when they sawe how they were deceaved they rored lyke bulles and cryed uppon theyre great devyll Setebos to help them."

Caliban claims Sycorax for his mother or dam, and Setebos for his dam's god. On one occasion he addressed this "great devyll" as did the giant cannibals captured by Magellan.

Act V., Scene 1:

> Cal. O Setebos, these be grave spirits indeed!
> How fine my master is! I am afraid
> He will chastise me.

By introducing Setebos the devil-god of the cannibals of America, by relating him to Caliban as his god and his "dam's god", and by having the men who discover Caliban call him a devil, Shakespeare indicates that Caliban in character and form was suggested to him by the descriptions of cannibals which were to be found in much of the new-world literature of his time.

Sycorax, the dam of Caliban, has occasioned much discussion.

Act I., Scene 2:

> Prospero. Hast thou forgot
> The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy

Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?
Ari. No, sir.
Pros. Thou hast. Where was she born? speak; tell me
Ari. Sir, in Argier.
Pros. O, was she so? I must
Once in a month recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damn'd witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd: for one thing she did
They would not take her life. Is not this true?
Ari. Ay, sir.
Cal. This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou takest from me.

Act III., Scene 2:

> Caliban. I never saw a woman,
> But only Sycorax my dam and she;
> But she as far surpasseth Sycorax
> As great'st does least.

This Sycorax is a strange being who does not belong to any known pantheon of witches or of goddesses. She is a creature of Shakespeare's imagination. Nevertheless, classical scholars have tried to find the interpretation of her character in the etymology of her name. The name is of Greek construction, though Shakespeare doubtless invented it, and yet the meaning of the name may have come from what Shakespeare knew of the Bermudas.

The two most reasonable etymological explanations of the name "Sycorax" have been suggested by Clement and Hales. The former argues that the name is composed of the two words Sukon, a fig, and Rex, a spider.

Hales constructs the name out of Sus, a sow, and Korax, a raven. If Dr. Clement is correct, it is interesting to know that the insect whose name enters into the name "Sycorax" was the only very conspicuous and noticeable insect found in the Bermudas. In Lefroy's publication of the Captain John Smith Manuscript we learn that in the Bermudas "Certaine spiders, indeed, of a very large size, are found hangeinge upon the trees, and their webbs are found to be of perfect silk—and so stronge they are generally that birds bigger and by much stronger than sparrowes, are often taken and snarled in them as in netts". Are these spiders "found hangeinge" upon fig trees? If so possibly this fact and the further fact that these spiders are harmless gave Shakespeare suggestions for his creation of Sycorax. Of this Bermudan spider, Ogilby writes: "These Islands breed no hurtful Creatures; nay, the yellow Spider which spins silken Cobwebs, is free from Poyson." We know not how much this spider, spinning strong silken webs, had to do with inspiring the creation of

> The foul witch Sycorax,
> This damn'd witch Sycorax,
> For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible,
> To enter human hearing, from Angier,
> Thou know'st, was banish'd.

If we favor Hales' etymology of the name Sycorax and find it made up of the words "sow" and "raven", it is not uninteresting to know that both the sow and raven belong to the Bermudas. One passage from "The Tempest" would

seem to favor this interpretation of the name of the "foul witch". This passage has already been quoted in support of another point.

> Caliban. As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
> With raven's feather from unwholesome fen
> Drop on you both!

If Sycorax combined and embodied the characteristics of the sow and the raven she must indeed have been a "foul witch".

The Bermudas from the day of its discovery was described as full of black hogs, and abounding in birds among which the raven, or the large black crow, a bird at least of the species Corvus, was conspicuous.

Shakespeare might have found in these creatures which gave the Bermudas a bad name just the foul characteristics which suggested Sycorax. One word let fall by Caliban is significant in view of the fact that the Bermudas abounded in hogs.

Act I., Scene 2:

> Caliban: And here you sty me
> In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
> The rest of the island.

To "sty" is to keep in a hog pen. Shakespeare uses the word "sty" as a verb but once. The questions which the use of the word suggests are: were not the hogs which abounded in the Bermudas kept in such rocky places as furnished them a natural shelter and "sty", or pen? and did not this swine-cursed or swine-favored island suggest, not only the swinish character of Sy-

corax but also the swinish character of her monstrous "freckled whelp" Caliban, and the very idea of stying him "In this hard rock"?

All such expressions as "Salvage men of Inde", "dead Indian", "Setebos", "men whose heads stood in their breasts", are suggestive of "new world" ideas, and these, taken in connection with Caliban's name, form, and character, and with Prospero's power of enchantment, and with the topography and fauna of the island, the meteorological conditions prevailing in the vicinity, the account of the shipwreck of Gates & Somers, published in 1610, just before "The Tempest" was written, leave little or no doubt that Shakespeare had in mind the Bermudas of the new world as the scene of action of his "tragical comedy".

It may not be uninteresting, if it is not amusing, to read a certain German critic's notes on the subject of the occasion which prompted Shakespeare to write "The Tempest". Dr. Clement, or Klement, holds that the comedy was written to celebrate the marriage of Count Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth in 1612. He would have us believe that Ferdinand was Count Palatine; Miranda, the Princess Elizabeth; Prospero, King James I; Sycorax, Queen Elizabeth; and Caliban, Virginia, set forth in the nature of the American Indian!

Shakespeare survived the production of "The Tempest" only five years. Had he lived and continued to write he might have taken up other new-world plots. One cannot but regret that

this master mind had not dramatized some of the more important beginnings of American history. The illustrious achievements of Columbus; the discoveries and the tragic fate of Magellan, or Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or Henry Hudson; the conquest of Pizzaro and Cortez with the fall of the Incas and the Montezumas,—what a world of material for the drama! Surely the legends, traditions and histories which inspired "King Lear", "Cymbeline", "Othello", "Macbeth", "Hamlet", "Julius Caesar", and "Henry VIII." furnish no better material for the dramatist's invention than is found in those splendid and imposing events which make up the series of American discoveries, conquests and colonizations. Would that to his list of incomparable and immortal plays Shakespeare had also added "Columbus", "Cortez", "Hudson", "Drake", "Cabot", and had been spared to bring his dramatic triumphs to a climax in the historical tragedy, "Sir Walter Raleigh"!