



## “all that glistered”: Relationships of Obligation and Exchange in Raleigh’s *Discoverie of Guiana*

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Résumé de l'article

En se présentant dans son *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596) comme sujet fidèle qui lui offre un cadeau de valeur, Sir Walter Raleigh implique qu'Élisabeth I devrait accepter ses cadeaux et maintenir leur relation avec un niveau de réciprocité approprié, bien que cela soit peu probable étant donné qu'Élisabeth I se soit construit le rôle de l'aimée inaccessible propre à l'amour courtois.

L'explorateur se propose de stimuler et d'intégrer un système économique au Nouveau Monde, qui repose sur des principes d'échanges équitables et implique les hommes et les femmes de l'Amazone. Toutefois, dans sa description des interactions avec les autochtones de différents groupes, Raleigh incorpore inévitablement des éléments des deux systèmes en cause — la réciprocité et l'amour courtois, créant ainsi des relations de loyauté et d'obligations entre les amérindiens et la distante Élisabeth, libre d'engagement. À divers moments dans le texte, la fusion et la juxtaposition des objectifs contradictoires de l'auteur apparaissent indéfendables. Durant ces passages, les amazoniennes font de brèves apparitions qui signalent l'impossibilité de faire cohabiter ces systèmes, ce qui complique du même coup les différents rôles traditionnels des cadres sociaux, politiques et économiques.

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Relationships of Obligation and Exchange  
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### Introduction

Sir Walter Raleigh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596)<sup>1</sup> stands as a crucial record of English activities in the New World, and the text offers insights into the sometimes hidden and always complex system of early modern courtly relationships. While recounting his exploration of the regions surrounding Guiana and his attempts to find large stores of gold, stores that would justify his desired future explorations and military endeavours in the area, Raleigh rarely focuses

explicitly on the monetary gain that he pursues. Instead, his text stresses relationships of social and fiscal exchange and mutual obligation—values upon which court patronage systems and classical notions of male friendship also (not coincidentally) rely. Working at cross purposes to such systems of exchange is the distinctly Elizabethan courtly love tradition, one in which courtiers like Raleigh seek approval and reward from a distant, inaccessible object of affection, a queen whose role is rooted in Petrarchan convention and who can never fully comply with a lover's request. As Curtis Perry points out, the classically assumed status of equality between friends is never tenable in a relationship between monarch and subject,<sup>2</sup> but the traditional friendship model is strained even further when one considers that within the gendered courtly love system, the inaccessible object of affection is incapable of anything close to complete reciprocation.<sup>3</sup>

Relationships of equality, no matter how constructed or artificial, operate with the basic assumption that all individuals involved approach one another with a parity of both status and rights. Reciprocity recognizes the unequal nature of power relations and social status, but it permits players to operate as if they were equals. Reciprocity allows a person to respond to a request as if all parties involved had matching access to resources and identical abilities to both give and receive. It acknowledges a person's assumed right to be treated as an equal, regardless of whether or not that equality is present. Thus reciprocation *ought* to have been a useful operational framework for courtly manoeuvres and for building political alliances, but this apparent utility was hampered somewhat by the development of the Elizabethan courtly love system.

Courtiers and other members of factions could and did build networks through fiscal and social systems of exchange like patronage and the granting of favours. Although reciprocity was not always achieved among court players, of course, the system was further strained when individuals desired reward from Elizabeth I and had to engage the conflicting systems of reciprocal exchange and courtly love. Once the queen's court began to operate in part under the expectations of courtly love, erotic desire provided an acceptable and useful language for men to present political requests or declarations of fidelity. Alison V. Scott posits that, at the same time, the courtier in Elizabeth's court may have been "dogged by feelings of impotence: desire comes to nothing, rewards are marred by the poisonous means of their acquisition, and men are trapped within a relentless cycle of hope and despair reminiscent of the plight of the

Petrarchan lover.”<sup>74</sup> While Elizabeth honed and maintained her status as the courtly beloved capable of controlling her sexual passions and retaining her display of virtue, Raleigh was, in writing his text, acknowledging his status as a fallen man, one who had been unable to exhibit a similar level of restraint. The *Discoverie* functions at least in part as an attempt to regain political favour with Elizabeth after Raleigh’s unauthorized 1591 marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the queen’s ladies-in-waiting; it endeavours “to re-enact and rewrite the scene of Raleigh’s transgression as one of fidelity and continence.”<sup>75</sup> Stressing trust, mutual obligation, and reciprocity as he writes to Elizabeth and her advisors, Raleigh is simultaneously the exiled courtier attempting to win back the good graces of his inaccessible object of affection, and the hopeful (if insistent) explorer describing what could be a lucrative site for trade and possible conquest under his leadership.

At various points in the text, a coalescing of or cooperation among the author’s competing objectives proves untenable, and at these moments Amazon women often make brief appearances in the narrative. The Amazon woman, described by Kathryn Schwarz as “a figure that articulates without resolving social and sexual incongruities,”<sup>76</sup> stands in Raleigh’s text as evidence of multiple systems working at odds with one another, simultaneously complicating the traditionally assumed natures or compositions of individual social, political, and economical frameworks. The Amazon women’s reputedly active participation in the exchange and circulation of Manoa gold and spleen stones, for example, troubles otherwise easy connections between male exploration and a feminized new land as exploitable,<sup>77</sup> but the Amazon women’s activities also highlight Raleigh’s awareness that systems of exchange in the New World need not be as complex or possibly dissatisfying as Elizabeth has made them in England. Guiana offers the promise of regulated trade that is beneficial for all parties—Guianans, Amazons, and presumably Raleigh if he can obtain the queen’s permission and integrate himself into the system.

By positioning himself as a loyal subject who offers her something of value, Raleigh implies in his text that Elizabeth should receive his gift and continue the relationship with an appropriate level of reciprocity, although Elizabeth is unlikely to do so given her status as an inaccessible courtly beloved. Nonetheless, in this framework, Raleigh hints at the promise of many things for Elizabeth: productive and mutually beneficial trade relationships with the Guianans; a renewed sense of closeness between Elizabeth as monarch and the explorer as

devoted courtier; the loyalty of the Guianans and the Amazon women as future subjects should Elizabeth fund future military ventures and launch a full scale invasion of the region; and an English presence in the New World that would be built on trade and respect, qualities distinctly unlike the actions of plunder and murder, which are presented by Raleigh as typically Spanish. Raleigh's rhetorical positioning as a devoted courtier and man of restraint in the New World, the land of plenty, is aided by the editing hand of Sir Robert Cecil, a key personality in Elizabeth's court and one of the figures to whom the *Discoverie* is dedicated, Charles Howard being the other. Between the November 1595 submission of the manuscript to Elizabeth and her advisors and the earliest printed version of the text in 1596 (the account was then aimed at a general readership and private investors who might support another, more extensive exploration of the region), Cecil made several careful editorial suggestions, often highlighting moments of ebullience and passages (including Raleigh's descriptions of Amazon women) that the queen might deem sexually incontinent or otherwise inappropriate. These passages then disappear from the printed text, or are at least heavily altered, a point that Joyce Lorimer's 2006 edition of the *Discoverie* makes clear, for Lorimer includes facing page transcriptions of the manuscript as well as the printed version.

This new edition of the text thus troubles any simple understanding of the relationship between Elizabeth and Raleigh, for Cecil's shadowy editorial presence and the larger court system in which all three were invested cannot be ignored. P. M. Handover suggests that Cecil did not respond favourably to Raleigh's pleas for help in securing a second voyage to Guiana, arguing that the royal advisor did not see financial viability in either privateering or the development of plantations (instead preferring the relative certainty of imports and exports).<sup>8</sup> Lorimer's facing page transcriptions would indicate, however, that Cecil did actually see the value in future exploration of the region, and that he was willing to help Raleigh secure a set of future investors even as he identified passages in the text that might upset the primary reader and first avenue for financial support, Elizabeth I.

Furthermore, David Loades has noted that as early as 1564 Robert Cecil's father and political predecessor, William Cecil, had shown interest in exploration and discovery as a means of introducing English wares to foreign markets.<sup>9</sup> While Robert Cecil was not his father, of course, the two men did share many political philosophies, and both generally stayed the course of moderation and

caution. The younger Cecil may have then shared with his father a reserved but healthy respect for the financial possibilities to be found by exploring overseas. Indeed, while Raleigh had fallen into disgrace at court following his secret marriage to Throckmorton, and while he viewed his exploration in the New World as a means of rehabilitating his reputation, Cecil seems to have had his own reasons for supporting future endeavours in the region and may have worked to make the text as persuasive as possible, altering passages that suggest various forms of misbehaviour, or that relate directly to Amazon women or lead to discussions of them. This support is actually in line with Cecil's historical alliances with Raleigh; indeed, it was Cecil who negotiated Raleigh's release from the Tower of London when Elizabeth banished him there upon learning of his secret marriage, and it was Cecil who assisted Raleigh in gaining back some of his political clout following the monumental mishap.<sup>10</sup>

Cecil's obvious involvement in the printed text complicates past readings of Raleigh's rather cryptic dedication, which repeatedly but obliquely refers to the hardships that result from unpaid debts. While Raleigh certainly utilizes his dedication as part of his larger bid to make amends to the queen, Lorimer's recent edition of the text suggests that Cecil may also have been working as an ally to support Raleigh's bid for future funding, a point that can be gleaned from the royal advisor's modification of the manuscript. Cecil takes Raleigh's promises of future gold and treats them as proof of his loyalty to him and Elizabeth, but, unlike the queen, he also offers a level of reciprocity as he responds by assisting Raleigh in his bid for additional support in the form of another voyage to Guiana.

I begin with a brief sketch of how Raleigh's exploration in the New World fits into a larger history of exploration in the Caribbean and South America. Analyses of Raleigh's fragmentary *Ocean to Cynthia* poems and Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* follow, and I then move into arguments about the triangular court relationships of Elizabeth, Raleigh, and Cecil. Next I enter into a discussion of the *Discoverie's* focus on trade, reciprocity, and obligation, tying these values to Raleigh's emphatic distancing of English New World activities from those of the Spanish. I conclude with a related analysis of how gender impacts the valuation of trade in the text; specifically, I examine the different but connected valuations of Elizabeth, the women who live in the region surrounding Guiana, and the Amazon women who are rumoured to live somewhere south of the Orinoco, as I argue that Raleigh's New World dreams of fair

exchange quickly begin to operate according to the same exhausting, at times inefficient combination of systems at use in Elizabeth's court.

### *El Dorado* and Sir Walter Raleigh's exploration in the area of Guiana

Locating *el Dorado*, "the golden one," was one of the more specific exploration objectives in the New World and one to which Raleigh also attached his expedition. The *el Dorado* legend was inspired by an indigenous group with members who had, until about 1480, performed a religious ritual that involved covering a leader in gold dust.<sup>11</sup> The ceremony had taken place at Lake Guatavita, near Bogota, but the practice was terminated when the tribe was defeated by another indigenous group.<sup>12</sup> Neil L. Whitehead suggests that the political leader's authority was renewed yearly in a ceremony that saw tribal members sprinkle gold dust on the figure before he dropped golden objects into a lake as thanks to the gods.<sup>13</sup> Reports of the ceremonial lacustrine treasure deposits morphed in the European mind into a golden city, Manoa, which could be found at the lake's edge, and a belief that multiple golden leaders or *el Dorados* existed in different locales.<sup>14</sup>

Even as he searches for *el Dorado* and the golden city of Manoa, Raleigh's account of travelling to the Caribbean and South America follows the conventions of the traditional exploration narrative in its emphasis on authenticity and factual references about the regions visited. Indeed, Stephen J. Greenblatt maintains that the care taken to reference well-known geographical sites (and to describe the journey as logical and uncomplicated) presents or mimics "the style of the eyewitness who does not wish to distort his experience by using 'art' in the telling of it."<sup>15</sup> Raleigh at several points emphasizes the dangers and privations that he has suffered in Elizabeth's service, and he reminds Cecil and Howard of his "iorney of so great trauel," claiming that he would "*haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouerty, then [risk courtly] reproach, & rather to endure a second trauel & the chaunces thereof, then to haue defaced an enterprise of so great assurance*" during his first exploration of the region,<sup>16</sup> "travel" simultaneously signalling physical journey and travail.

Raleigh's lament for his suffering has a political dimension to be sure; additionally, it fits into the tradition of narrating arduous journeys that can often be

found in travel and exploration texts from the period. The fierce weather conditions in South America also function in the text as explanation for Raleigh's failure to return in 1595 with significant amounts of gold as proof of Guiana's potential resources. He claims that he did not collect more gold in the 1595 expedition because he lacked the supplies, time, and hands necessary for that type of labour. Additionally, the ever-rising water levels of the Orinoco made it impossible to tarry at any one site.<sup>17</sup> Importantly, Raleigh uses his hardships as evidence of the gold's value as he vociferously claims,

I am not so much in loue with these long voyages, as to devise, thereby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subiected to perils, to diseases, to ill sauours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustaine the care and labour of such an enterprise, excepte the same had more cofort, then the fetching of *Marcasite* in *Guiana*, or bying of gold oare in Barbery.<sup>18</sup>

The exhaustive journey would not be worth his endurance if the gold were not real, if he had simply “[fetched ...] *Marcasite* in *Guiana*, or [bought ...] gold oare in Barbery” on his course back to England, a point stressed later too as Raleigh attests that he would not undertake the hardships and perils of such exploration again if he were “not assured that the sunne couereth not so much riches in any part of the earth.”<sup>19</sup> Rather, the physical hardship and the authenticity of the (as yet largely undiscovered) gold create a closed tautological circuit in which each verifies and justifies the other, each also acting as confirmation of Raleigh's loyalty and service to the queen, qualities that might have otherwise lacked any material proof.

For Raleigh the expedition to Guiana was very much about the recuperation of his relationship to the monarch, although he was also certainly interested in exploration and the search for the political leader *el Dorado*. The explorer seemed to have had a genuine belief in the existence of a golden kingdom, and, as Lorimer notes, Spanish experiences in finding and looting Aztec and Incan treasures in the 1520s and 1530s made the Englishman's belief in a third kingdom's treasure “not unreasonable.”<sup>20</sup> Multiple demands on Elizabeth's coffers and martial resources made the proposed conquest of Guiana impossible, and within six weeks of submitting his manuscript to her Raleigh was informed of the queen's decision not to offer state funding for future ventures.<sup>21</sup> Raleigh



nonetheless relied on the hazy probability of *el Dorado's* existence as he placed his manuscript into the hands of a public readership and began to search for private investors who would support his possible future initiatives in South America.

Raleigh repeatedly notes his self-control and respectable actions on his first journey, insisting that his role as envoy for Elizabeth explains his estimable behaviour and confirms his future ability to exercise similar levels of self-restraint and loyalty to the queen. Indeed, he claims to have forgone temptations to enrich himself, returning to England in 1595 “*a beggar, and withered,*” because the urge for pecuniary reward was far less than his desire to maintain Elizabeth’s honourable reputation among the indigenous populations.<sup>22</sup> In doing so, Raleigh relies on the rhetoric of the courtly love system, and he positions himself as the devoted lover performing a service for a distant object of affection who may never acknowledge or reward the lover’s suffering and sacrifice. At odds with this language of courtly love (and the overlapping experience of the explorer who must seek the edges of the map despite frequent failure and delayed gratification) is the rhetoric of patronage and friendship in which exchange and mutual benefit are at least real possibilities.

### **Court politics: Elizabeth I, Raleigh, and Elizabeth Throckmorton**

Raleigh’s *Discoverie* is addressed to the queen (albeit surreptitiously as he chooses to dedicate it to Howard and Cecil), the text of “[t]he voyage to Guiana [... occurring] between potential reproach and past displeasure” over Raleigh’s 1591 nuptials with Throckmorton.<sup>23</sup> Raleigh had secretly married a lady-in-waiting to the queen, and when the deception was discovered, both Raleigh and Throckmorton were held in the Tower until 1592 and Raleigh was banned from court for five years.<sup>24</sup> Not only did the couple marry without Elizabeth’s permission (already an act guaranteed to raise her ire), they exacerbated the situation by not immediately revealing their betrothal; indeed, the marriage was only discovered after Throckmorton gave birth to a child in 1592.<sup>25</sup> Raleigh’s fall from grace left him in a particularly vulnerable position, for he had no real political power or connection to leverage as an individual courtier. Specifically, he had inherited nothing of political substance as Cecil had through his father, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Secretary of State for Elizabeth’s first fourteen years

on the throne and Lord Treasurer thereafter. Rather, Raleigh's political favour was earned solely through courtly activities.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Raleigh was resoundingly unpopular with other courtiers: his fast rise through the ranks, based solely on royal favour, and his exaggerated courtly demeanour with the queen were both overwhelmingly disliked by others jockeying for advancement.<sup>27</sup> Raleigh's personal status as something of an outsider was mitigated, however, by his close relationship with Elizabeth, and his alliances with men like Cecil and Howard.

Historians have generally divided courtly factions in the 1590s into two major camps: that of Essex and that of Cecil and Raleigh, the latter also being supported by Howard, the Lord Admiral. Such alliances should not be overstated, however, for allegiance was somewhat fluid and factional followers did indeed cross sides on a fairly frequent basis. In his discussion of the less explicitly virulent factionalism of the 1580s, specifically the camps led by Leicester and William Cecil, Robert W. Kenny notes that the parties did frequently work well together; followers of one camp were not always passionately loyal to the "leader," nor did they need to be.<sup>28</sup> The men also enjoyed personal relationships that shifted over the years. Essex was a godfather to Raleigh's first son, Damerei, born in 1592, and, despite the fact that Cecil and Essex are so frequently identified as locked in a struggle for recognition and reward from the queen, the three men worked together to carry out attacks on Cadiz in 1596.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the 1590s, Essex became increasingly vocal in his demands for political advancement, also at several points suggesting political positions for his allies. His manoeuvrings were not received well by the Queen, who gave Cecil an unparalleled amount of power in response.<sup>30</sup> Because Cecil's camp was backed by Howard, one of Elizabeth's innermost circle—Lord Admiral from 1585 to 1597, and Lord Steward afterwards—Raleigh's alliance with the men was well matched for garnering support or favour from the queen. Indeed, Raleigh's position at court depended greatly on his relationship with the monarch. As one of her favourites, Raleigh enjoyed a unique relationship with Elizabeth. Flirtatious and affectionate with the courtier, Elizabeth did not depend on him to lobby or negotiate her interests at court (not at the levels of activity demanded of Cecil, at any rate),<sup>31</sup> nor did she have any sense of familial obligation to support the man. Rather, Raleigh's place at court was based purely on royal reward and the alliances that developed out of the queen's approval. As a result, Raleigh's social status was particularly vulnerable to any changes in his close alliance with Elizabeth. While the queen did not rely on her relationship with Raleigh

for political survival, the courtier was one of many who could and did use the principles of courtship in order to attain social and political advancement, and, perhaps more than others at court, Raleigh's social, political, and financial powers were substantially dependent on remaining in the queen's good graces.

At once sincere and superficial, courtship relied on cycles of call and (perhaps purposely delayed) response, flirtation and playful rejoinder, request and (occasional, possibly limited) gift. Courtship allowed Elizabeth to develop further an established, acceptable framework wherein she could negotiate and hesitate before giving favour. Indeed, Catherine Bates maintains that courtship became the ideal political machine for Elizabeth, "the wavering, prevaricating, and normally dismissive behaviour of the conventionalized mistress providing her with an obvious role-model for political manipulation and manoeuvre."<sup>32</sup> One should consider the dual meaning of the word "court," for instance: the political court as a locus of power and authority (as well as of culture and the arts, and relationships of patronage), but also the social or erotic court as an act of seducing or of attempting to gain a love interest.<sup>33</sup>

Requests for political promotion or favour were made through love poetry and vaguely erotic promises of devotion, yet Elizabeth's adopted role as courtly beloved also allowed her a great deal of inaccessibility when she so chose. Her conscious distancing from Raleigh following his marriage scandal can be seen in the fragmentary remains of his often dolorous *Ocean to Cynthia* poems, written in 1592 while Raleigh was held in the Tower. Cynthia, the virginal moon goddess, was an epithet and persona frequently connected with Elizabeth, while *Ocean* alludes to *Water*, the queen's own affectionate moniker for Raleigh. At once beautiful and unreachable, the moon goddess has ultimate control over the movements and directions of the ocean, yet the relationship does not extend the ocean any similar powers, for the connection between the two is not one of friendship and equal exchange. Rather, *Ocean* and *Cynthia* operate within the system of Petrarchan or courtly love, and, as such, *Ocean* must pine for favour while *Cynthia* must, perhaps cruelly, withhold affection, at least in part.

*Cynthia* had of course shown goodwill in the past, for the speaker mourns the advantages he forfeited "when first [his] fancy erred."<sup>34</sup> Having lost *Cynthia's* affection, *Ocean* nominally addresses his complaints to his "joys interred," arguing that if his own pleasures had not died after his misstep, "the dead [...] could] unfold, / Some sweeter words, some more becoming verse."<sup>35</sup> These

dead pleasures or “joys interred” could in fact “witness [his] mishap in higher kind.”<sup>36</sup> Even as he introduces his own departed joy as the crux of his current predicament, the speaker slips and identifies the real cause for his continued hardship. He posits, “If to the living were my muse” (or, superficially, his musing) “addressed, / Or did my mind her own spirit still inhold,” then he would be met with “Some sweeter words, some more becoming verse.”<sup>37</sup> The speaker’s central problem is not in fact his “joys interred,” but that he feels a disconnection between his thoughts and Cynthia, his “muse,” more precisely, “her own spirit.”<sup>38</sup>

Despite claiming vociferously that the blame for his current quandary should rest with his dead pleasures—“Slain with self-thoughts, amazed in fearful dreams”<sup>39</sup>—the speaker seems to attempt a rehabilitation of some sort, one that is denied by external sources rather than a strict sense of internal defeat: Cynthia “descends from benefactress to tormenter, from a sustaining symbol to one more especially painful part of his fragmented reality.”<sup>40</sup> Indeed, the speaker attempts what has in the past been a productive venture. He approaches trees, which are in fact bearing fruit at that moment, but he is only able to “gather withered leaves, / And glean the broken ears with miser’s hands, / Who sometime did enjoy the weighty sheaves.”<sup>41</sup> While the trees are “fruitful” for other men, they are only “healthless” for him.<sup>42</sup> He may later claim to “love the bearing and not-bearing sprays / Which now to others do their sweetness send,” yet Ocean exists in a liminal space, caught between injury and ultimate death,

as a body violently slain  
 Retaineth warmth although the spirit be gone,  
 And by a power in nature moves again  
 Till it be laid beneath the fatal stone.<sup>43</sup>

Indeed, the speaker imagines himself as the earth struggling to corral an internal strength and “Produce some green, though not as it hath done,”<sup>44</sup> once faced with the sun’s abandonment, the sun of course being a common metaphor for a monarch.

The speaker’s frustration with Cynthia and her refusal to grant forgiveness or favour erupts in a lengthy exclamation that confirms the source of Ocean’s continued unhappiness to be the moon goddess rather than personal inability

to feel joy. The speaker's exasperation can be sensed as he highlights his past devotion to Cynthia and the pair's unusually close relationship:

Oh hopeful love, my object and invention!  
 Oh true desire, the spur of my conceit!  
 Oh worthiest spirit, my mind's impulsion!  
 Oh eyes transpersant, my affection's bait!  
 Oh princely form, my fancy's adamant,  
 Divine conceit, my pain's acceptance,  
 Oh all in one, oh heaven on earth transparent,  
 The seat of joys and love's abundance!<sup>45</sup>

Even as the speaker states that Cynthia “gave, she took, she wounded, she appeased,” the goddess's actions do not suggest a friendly reciprocity or regular shifts in power, despite the paired nature of the chosen verbs—“She gave, she took” and “she wounded, she appeased.”<sup>46</sup> Rather, her actions as described by the speaker suggest capriciousness and mutability.

Raleigh's dangerous dependence on Elizabeth for political survival also shows the limits of the courtly love system upon which Raleigh so frequently relied, for the explorer participated in a cultural conversation that promised no immediate or even eventual reward for service, yet his writing also reveals an assumption that he in fact deserves the kind of reciprocity or exchange that might be found in friendship, patronage, or trade. His frustration with the failure of multiple systems to cooperate makes his usage of Cynthia as a representation of Elizabeth not surprising, for Cynthia is connected to the chaste, amazonian moon goddess Diana, and Amazon women, as I have stated earlier, function as signs of multiple systems or discourses failing to coalesce.

Like Cynthia in Raleigh's poem and Elizabeth at her court, beautiful Diana has the ability to inflict cruel punishments for sexual transgressions. Diana maintains autonomy from men and leads a circle of women who are committed to chastity. The mythological goddess has no qualms about turning Actaeon into a stag and setting his own dogs on him when the hunter oversteps his boundaries and spies on her bathing, nor does she hesitate to punish Callisto, one of her virginal followers, when the nymph becomes pregnant after having been raped by Zeus. Indeed, depending on the version of the myth, Diana either exiles Callisto, transforms her into a bear and encourages her followers

to give hunt, or (most favourably) unwittingly kills Callisto once Hera, jealous of Zeus's encounter with the nymph, turns her into a bear.<sup>47</sup> Diana, like Ocean's Cynthia, is all too vulnerable to human traits like anger and vindictiveness, and there is a constant sense of danger attached to the goddess, for she has proven her ability to enact physical injury, dismemberment even, as punishment if her practice of chastity is ignored or slighted by either man or woman.

Like Diana, Cynthia forgets her divine nature and frequently behaves in a manner that is altogether human. Perfection may have created Cynthia's mind,<sup>48</sup> but it also "left her ... / ... free from every evil but cruelty," and Cynthia has chosen to "be a woman for a fashion"<sup>49</sup>—to be cruelly punitive and vengeful, to be irrationally angry, and to withhold affection in response to the speaker's indiscretions. Ocean strongly implies that Cynthia allows her past favourite to suffer unusually malicious punishments as he compares her to Hero, arguing that she "hath left no lamp to guide her love— / ... / She sleeps thy death, that erst thy danger sithed."<sup>50</sup> In this revision of the myth, the lamp has not been blown out accidentally in a storm. Hero has simply forgotten to light the lamp (or has consciously chosen not to) and has gone to sleep, leaving loyal Leander to drown in the Hellespont. The speaker fears that he has lost Cynthia's favour forever—"Her love hath end: my woe must ever last"<sup>51</sup>—and the poem follows Raleigh's estrangement from the monarch, an estrangement that indeed might have seemed permanent and without remedy as he wrote.

Chaste Elizabeth's mercurial temperament and her courtiers' complex investment in and suffering for the queen's courtly love system are treated at length in Spenser's encomium *The Faerie Queene* (1590 and 1596). The allegorical poem is filled with unofficial representations of Elizabeth, but Spenser only explicitly identifies two characters as official mirrors of the queen: he makes use of the regal but absent Gloriana and the beautiful, virginal Belpheobe to represent respectively Elizabeth's body politic and body natural—"In th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastitee."<sup>52</sup> The latter is of particular importance to a discussion about Elizabeth and her performance of courtly love, for while Spenser's text is putatively in praise of the queen, the author's depiction of Belpheobe betrays an anxiety about the productivity of and potential for isolation inherent in Elizabeth's insistent political use of chastity and withholding response to service.

The virginal Belpheobe is perennially unattainable for her pursuers; she is in many ways the beautiful but distant and unknowable object of desire val-

orized by the Elizabethan courtly love system, additionally functioning as an amazonian echo in her dedication to virginity and in her ties to Diana and the hunt.<sup>53</sup> Given her status as an official mirror for Elizabeth and the fact that her chastity is said to exceed all other women's,<sup>54</sup> one might assume that Belphoebe would be a central character in the text—perhaps even the Knight of Chastity (a role that goes to Britomart, one of Elizabeth's unacknowledged personae)—yet she is remarkably difficult to pin down, the descriptions of her often ambivalent; she is an “aloof icon [corresponding] to [Elizabeth's] magisterially competent and detached virginity.”<sup>55</sup> While Belphoebe's chastity surpasses that of all living women—“none liuing may compare”—her public presentation of it (perhaps problematically) allows “That Ladies all may follow her ensample dead,”<sup>56</sup> suggesting that possession (and practical application) of her virtue may in fact exceed that of Belphoebe's mirror, the actual queen.

If “none liuing”<sup>57</sup> can actually achieve it, Elizabeth has constructed a version of chastity that is impossible for anyone actually to maintain, including herself. “[H]er ensample dead”<sup>58</sup> suggests several interpretations, among them that Belphoebe's (and, by extension, Elizabeth's) presentation of chastity is without vitality, a point that Kimberly Anne Coles notes is highlighted by the nearby phrase “none liuing,”<sup>59</sup> and that her extended, insistent virginity does in fact block the production of new life. The latter possibility reinforces the speaker's earlier comment that Belphoebe's “daintie Rose, . . . / More deare than life she tendered.”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, “The girlond of her honour” is cherished acutely and insistently; it is guarded at the conscious expense of future generations, from a conservative viewpoint that would value marital chastity, that is, monogamous marital relations that still value the need for sexual reproduction.<sup>61</sup> The speaker actually differentiates between Belphoebe's “ensample dead”<sup>62</sup> and that of “faire Britomart,” whose “ensample”<sup>63</sup> the “faire Ladies” are encouraged to follow if “[their] kingdoms make / In th'harts of men,” for the virginal knight embraces marital chastity; she “was as trew in loue, as Turtle to her make,”<sup>64</sup> as true as a turtledove to her mate, in other words. Belphoebe's virtuous habits make her insular, unable to understand the kind squire Timias's honourable intentions when he pursues her in Book III, and incapable of responding favourably or in kind should Timias declare his love. Indeed, Timias is made lovesick, his body decaying and his mind feverish as Belphoebe refuses to recognize the squire's wish to love her and provide service.<sup>65</sup> Timias functions as a likely depiction of Raleigh: although Spenser wrote Book III of *The Faerie Queene* prior to Raleigh's

marriage scandal of 1592, Book IV (published in 1596) comments on the event as it sees Belpheobe angrily flee when she comes upon Timias caring for the virgin's sister, Amoret, who has been injured by Lust.<sup>66</sup>

Importantly, Reed Way Dasenbrock points to the levels of inequality inherent in the relationship between Belpheobe and the squire. Indeed, Timias genuinely loves the virginal huntress, but even if he did not, he would be somewhat *obligated* to love Belpheobe, given her beauty, her virtuous nature, and her care for him when he is injured. At the same time, his lowly stature as a squire makes impossible any honest declaration of his feelings.<sup>67</sup> When Timias shows concern for another woman, however, Belpheobe distances herself from the squire: as Dasenbrock explains, "Timias has vowed to be her squire, yet he is now making his own choices and acting in a way not subject to her."<sup>68</sup> When Timias realizes his mistake, the psychological effects on him are very nearly fatal. He retreats to the woods, losing all sense of himself, and he can no longer speak or place himself in any recognizable social role—until Belpheobe once more shows her favour, that is.<sup>69</sup>

Their interactions stand as a fairly direct critique of the Elizabethan courtly love system, one constructed by both courtiers and monarch for mutual benefit, but one that might also contain a frustrating degree of sterility and stagnation if service is continually rejected and chastity constantly paraded. Indeed, Coles suggests that "Timias' withering corpse is a deliberately rendered illustration of the effect of Belpheobe's virtue upon 'living clay.'"<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, when Belpheobe restores her relationship of service with Timias, the squire does not gain any new levels of agency, nor does he move closer to equality or even reciprocity. As Dasenbrock notes, "Timias has recovered the ability to speak, but he is still not free to say what he has to say."<sup>71</sup> Belpheobe possesses all of the personal traits of Elizabeth—virtue, beauty, chastity—that are theoretically separate from her princely traits. The tensions produced by the chaste constructions and performances of courtly love are perhaps released in descriptions of Belpheobe that simultaneously suggest purity and corruption, saintliness and eroticization, chaste distance and sexual proximity.

When the buffoonish Trompart and Braggadochio first spy the virginal huntress in the woods, the poem's speaker offers a blazon of Belpheobe that combines erotic and religious descriptive elements, suggesting the larger problems in attempting to represent the queen in the wake of the cult of Elizabeth and its aesthetic influence. Although her face is "Cleare as the skye, withouten



blame or blot," Belpheobe does blush,<sup>72</sup> suggesting her knowledge of morality and her ability to feel shame or embarrassment (both points that would place her in a fallen world), yet the "ambrosiall odours" that she emits simultaneously carry the abilities to "heale the sicke, and ... reuiue the ded,"<sup>73</sup> suggesting an association with Christ. At the same time, Philippa Berry notes the likely conflation of the sexual and the spiritual in the suggestion of "resurrection."<sup>74</sup> Trompart can see Belpheobe's bare legs,<sup>75</sup> yet the sight is tempered by "the multiple fastenings, knots, and foldings of her costume: hymen-like boundaries which emblemize her refusal of any phallic attempts at the unravelling and decoding of her body."<sup>76</sup> Indeed, her white dress is decorated "with many a folded plight," or pleat, her clothing secured by a series of hidden knots, "The ends of all the knots, that none may see, / How they within their fouldings close enwrapped bee,"<sup>77</sup> a description that isolates the impossibility of ever fully knowing or describing Elizabeth's body natural, even as the eroticized passage suggests the frustration produced by operating within the courtly love system.

In both eroticizing her and blocking Braggadochio from taking full advantage of his desire for her, Spenser uses Belpheobe to engage in a critique of Elizabeth's virginal iconography, simultaneously suggesting that the English queen could in fact be "sexually and ... politically compromised"<sup>78</sup>; indeed, as the text's speaker notes that her legs "Like two faire marble pillours ... / ... doe the temple of the Gods support,"<sup>79</sup> he suggests both Elizabeth's direct connection to divine authority and the nearness of her genitalia for the watching Trompart and the hiding Braggadochio. The blazon for Belpheobe is perhaps the most well-known catalogue for Elizabeth; although it was intended to advance Spenser politically rather than serve as social critique, the blazon does carry an "ambivalence concerning social investment in the monarchical body," as Hannah Betts suggests,<sup>80</sup> an ambivalence that is most clearly discerned in the speaker's summary of Belpheobe's sexual organs, "The ends of all the knots, that none might see," and "Her daintie paps; which like young fruit in May / Now little gan to swell."<sup>81</sup> Belpheobe's guarding of her chastity is constant and, despite being threatened at points, unaltered. Her insistent physical purity limits her interactions with the central protagonists in the books of which she is a part; in this way, she is essentially kept separate from and fails to "[contribute] to the human application of the different virtues which the books explore—temperance, chastity, friendship," as Berry suggests.<sup>82</sup>

Belpheobe mirrors the aura of virginity that Elizabeth so diligently cultivated and protected, and the queen's reaction to Ralegh and Throckmorton's marriage indicates that she expected similar levels of (or perhaps performances of) abstinence from those in her service. By returning to the Privy Chamber a sexualized woman and later a mother, and in keeping this new status a secret, Throckmorton had denigrated Elizabeth's dedication to chastity, simultaneously suggesting that virginity was an affectation rather than a physical condition, thus allowing for the possibility that Elizabeth's own virginity was a recital rather than a reality.

Karen Robertson offers political explanations for Elizabeth's anger upon learning of Ralegh's secret wedding to Throckmorton.<sup>83</sup> First, and likely most importantly for the queen, marriage among the nobility confirmed and reified political networks and obligations. Elizabeth's careful monitoring of court marriages was therefore not surprising.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, Robertson posits that because Throckmorton had seemed determined to remain in service after seven years of Privy Chamber placement and being unmarried, her decision to not die a maid "was a direct challenge to the Queen's assertion of the virtues of single blessedness."<sup>85</sup> Lastly, Robertson echoes my suggestion that, because Elizabeth Throckmorton hid her wedding, pregnancy, and childbirth, returning to service and feigning the status of an unmarried virgin, "she exposed the Elizabethan's court display of virginity as simply a performance, thus casting a shadow on the Queen's own claims of virginity."<sup>86</sup> Much has been made of Elizabeth's resistance to her inner circle marrying and her violent reactions to the secret weddings of her ladies-in-waiting. She may have been particularly sensitive to such love matches, as she at all times wanted to avoid what Paul E. J. Hammer describes as the stereotypical problem of queenship—a "fleshy weakness and its consequences for the state"—but her reactions were fairly similar to those of other contemporary European monarchs under similar circumstances, all of whom viewed such unauthorized unions as direct challenges to their dictates.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, it may be worthwhile to note that while some marriages certainly led to a momentary diminishment of favour, Elizabeth's affectionate tone and behaviour did actually continue throughout her relationships with her primary courtiers.

### Court politics: Robert Cecil, Raleigh, and the language of restraint

Raleigh stresses moderation in the *Discoverie*, ostensibly because he represents Elizabeth, but also perhaps because Cecil, a notoriously cautious and politically astute individual,<sup>88</sup> had such a substantial hand in shaping the final text. Raleigh distinguishes between the violent Spanish sexual excesses in the New World and the relative abstinence of the Englishmen, the subtext being that while the Spanish disrespect existing frameworks and care little about the honour of the indigenous, the English want to build long-lasting relationships of trust and mutual benefit with the Guianan natives.<sup>89</sup> Trade will set the English apart from the Spanish, affirming the former's better right to the New World in the process, and political relationships in the Americas will, by Raleigh's plan, operate under the basic principles of patronage—" [o]bligation, honor, and gift exchange"<sup>90</sup>—yet Raleigh's vision also confirms his public commitment to the courtly love ideals developed and performed by Elizabeth and her political insiders.

Mary C. Fuller examines Raleigh's directive that his men not engage in any sexual relations (consensual or otherwise) with the women of Guiana. She characterizes Raleigh's control "as obedience to the Queen's prior command, a command which had never actually been given. Deferral or withholding of sexual violence then becomes a figure for Raleigh's general relation to Guiana, his repeated turning away from the aims of his 'discovery': Guiana itself, Manoa, gold-mines, tombs rich with gold."<sup>91</sup> While Fuller's argument is of obvious merit and importance, the inclusion of Cecil's editing marks in Lorimer's edition of the *Discoverie* reveals that Cecil at several points reigns in the exuberant Raleigh. He points out lengthy descriptions of comely indigenous women, descriptions that then vanish from the finalized text, and alters passages that summarize English gifts of alcohol to or revelry with indigenous South American groups. Raleigh is certainly penitent and aims to improve his relationship with Elizabeth, but Cecil takes care to present Raleigh solely as a man of sexual and colonial restraint, acting as an ally to the explorer and proving to be intrigued by the potential rewards of supporting another voyage to Guiana. Indeed, Cecil's more controlled voice is noticeable from the outset of Raleigh's text: "To the right honorable right wise & excellent spirited gentleman *Sir* Robert Cecil Knight, of especiall trust and employment in her *Majesties* affaires & Councelor in her highnes priuy counsell" becomes the more concise, less obsequious

dedication “to the Right Honorable Sr Robert Cecyll Knight, Counciller in her Highnes priuie Councils” in the printed version, for example.<sup>92</sup>

Raleigh begins his dedication by offering an abstract discussion about the delivery of his papers; the manuscript of the *Discoverie* is intended as a reciprocal gift and response to Howard and Cecil’s “*many Honorable and friendlie parts,*” “*parts*” perhaps alluding politely to the courtiers’ personal qualities and grimly to the factions at court who would side against the explorer, those critics who “were much mistaken, who would haue perswaded, that [Raleigh] was too easeful and sensuall to vndertake a iorney of so great trauel.”<sup>93, 94</sup> Raleigh takes great pains to note his fallen, weakened state, and he faults his enemies at court for this condition, immediately recognizing Cecil and Howard for their friendship. The explorer notes that he began his journey to Guiana “in the winter of [his] life” and that his exploration would be “fitter for bodies lesse blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better encouragement.”<sup>95</sup> He claims to have been “*left of all, but of malice and reuenge*” prior to his journey, for example, and he insists that Howard and Cecil loved him “*in the darkest shadow of aduersitie.*”<sup>96</sup> Given historical accounts of the Cecil-Raleigh and Essex factions at court, Cecil’s editing hand that seems determined to improve Raleigh’s account of the expedition, and Raleigh’s own plaintive dedication (which heaps praise on the two in Elizabeth’s inner circle while damning unnamed others), arguments for Cecil’s interest in future exploration of and possible resource appropriation from Guiana can be supported. Lorimer even notes that “[w]ord substitutions throughout the manuscript change the author’s ‘resolution’ or ‘belief’ that rich ore could be found to certain ‘knowledge,’”<sup>97</sup> suggesting that Cecil felt a vested interest in convincing Elizabeth (and perhaps other future investors) of Guiana’s promise, and that he initiated editorial changes to this effect.

Raleigh acknowledges his social obligation to the men: while he is unable to repay such an abstract (and, one imagines, monumental) debt, he “*can doe no more for a time but confesse [it] to be due.*”<sup>98</sup> His expedition to Guiana then makes amends for past wrongs, functioning as an extended penance to the queen for his indiscretion in marrying Throckmorton, and the “*bundle of papers*” that he delivers to Howard and Cecil aims to help Raleigh “*recouer but the moderation of excesse, and the least tast of the greatest plentie formerly possessed.*”<sup>99</sup> The gift of the papers supplements Raleigh’s past response of “*promises*” and attempts to be closer to parity or reciprocity for the lords’ gift of friendship

and support,<sup>100</sup> one assumes because the manuscript is somehow a more material proof of the gold available in Guiana. In many ways, the *Discoverie* stands as a testament to Raleigh's relative *failures* as an explorer—he never actually sets foot in Guiana, nor does he gain immediately tangible details about the location of Manoa specifically or gold stores more generally, and he brings back ore samples that are of dubious quality and that spur his detractors to question the quality of the offerings—but Raleigh has after all explored the region that borders Guiana by the time Cecil and Howard receive the papers. His text is the culmination of his knowledge gained from exploration, so he expects it to be treated as a more definitive confirmation of Guiana's riches than his past "*promises*" ever were.<sup>101</sup>

Raleigh goes further and argues that when "*stockes*" held "*in trust*" have been depleted by profligacy and "*wastful factors*," they still "*doe yeeld some cullor for the same in their account*," an argument that simultaneously alludes to his past political missteps in marrying Throckmorton without permission (the endangerment of political "*stockes*" due to "*wastful factors*") while claiming a residual right to respect (the "*stockes*" that still "*yeeld some cullor for the same in their account*").<sup>102</sup> Having made reference to the endangerment of his "*stockes*" that have been depleted despite being held "*in trust*," Raleigh suggests that these "*stockes*" are still valid, that they still "*yeeld some cullor for the same in their account*," "*account*" suggesting a twinned reference to his remaining political capital and the account of his exploration, the *Discoverie* manuscript itself.<sup>103</sup> The choice of "*cullor*" is remarkably evocative, signalling not only vibrancy but also the colours of heraldry and the various orders of knighthood, a system to which Raleigh is politically, financially, and emotionally tied. One must not ignore, however, the more deceptive qualities of "*cullor[ing an ...] account*"<sup>104</sup>—that of artificiality or verisimilitude, and of exaggeration.<sup>105</sup>

Raleigh's text would be accused of all these misleading or deceptive things, and his writing often shows an anxiety about delivering material proof of the mines in Guiana. His exploration narrative anticipates a sceptical response, for even as he thanks Cecil and Howard for their past kindness, he anticipates the "*neede [for] a double protection and defence*."<sup>106</sup> This protection is necessary despite Raleigh's repeated claims to penance through suffering. He emphasizes the continued poverty that he endures, having controlled his behaviour while exploring South America and the Caribbean, and he stresses his restraint in not sacking the country already and in not holding the chieftains for ransom

(a self-possession that Cecil then highlights in the body of the *Discoverie*). The explorer claims that he would “*haue chosen rather to beare the burthen of pouerty, then [risk courtly] reproach, & rather to endure a second trauel & the chaunces thereof, then to haue defaced an enterprize of so great assurance,*”<sup>107</sup> and it is this commitment to a return to the New World that he shares with Cecil and for which both men are willing to engage in rhetorical positioning, even if such promises of restraint are quite possibly mere performance or wishful thinking.

Cecil frequently marks for omission passages that either focus on the exotic or suggest illicit activities between Englishmen and indigenous people in the New World. The first substantial change suggested by Cecil can be found, curiously enough, in one of the *Discoverie*'s longer passages on Amazon women. Their first appearance in the text is without any warning, and it follows a detailed summary of the tribes along the Amazon River and in the region surrounding Guiana, tribes who trade and regularly wear gold from Guiana.<sup>108</sup> Raleigh claims to have gathered information about the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers from “the most ancient and best traveled of the *Orenoqueponi*,” who also share their knowledge of the Amazon women (“of some it is believed, of others not”).<sup>109</sup> He lapses into a summary of classical examples of Amazon women who would already be familiar to English readers (Medusa in Africa, Lampedo and Marthesia in Themiscyra and Thermadon), also estimating the location of the New World's Amazon women to be “on the south side of the riuier in the Prouinces of *Topago*” and “not far from *Guiana*.”<sup>110</sup> *El Dorado*'s physical location frequently shifted in the European and English imagination, spurring exploratory treks in countless directions and locales, but Whitehead notes that “the geographical referents for the tale of the Amazons were far more consistent. [The Amazons' leader] was said to rule over seven settlements in the Guiana highlands and, [... a] system of roads, guarded by her warriors, connected those villages.”<sup>111</sup> While Raleigh initially notes the Amazons' ferocity, claiming that the women “are said to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories,” he quickly leaves any discussion of savagery and gives an account of the riches held by the women: he reveals a belief that the Amazons have vast holdings of gold, which they obtain by trading “a kinde of greene stones.”<sup>112</sup> The green stones, or spleen stones, are discussed in some detail by Raleigh, and it is this passage that Cecil marks for alteration.

Importantly, Raleigh speaks explicitly about Elizabeth's support during past troubles as he describes these Amazonian spleen stones. The original manuscript reads,

Theis *Amazones* have great store of theis plates of gold which they recover by exchange, cheiflie for a kind of green stones which the *Spaniards*: call *pedra de Sigiada*, and we use for spleen stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them: but there is great diversitie of theis stones my selfe have had many, and the fairest that ever came into England her Majesty gave me, when I had many yeres before been greived with a hard spleen, which stone *Sir Francis: Drake* presented to her Highnes at his return from Cartagena: of theis I saw divers in Guiana, and comonlie every king or *Cassique* hath one, which their wives for the most part weare, and they esteem them as great Jewels.<sup>113</sup>

In the printed text, all explicit mention of Elizabeth, Raleigh's past "hard spleen," and Drake are removed. Instead, the passage reads,

These *Amazones* haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the *Spaniards* call *Piedras Hijadas*, and we vse for spleene stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them: of these I saw diuers in *Guiana*, and commonly euery king or *Casique* hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare, and they esteeme them as great iewels.<sup>114</sup>

Raleigh seeks support from Cecil and Howard by way of traditional expectations for male friendship and patronage, but he simultaneously requests future funding from Elizabeth through appeals to patronage frameworks, his past status as a court favourite, a cursory outline of future trading systems between the English and the indigenous in Guiana, and the suggestion of natural resource expropriation that would presumably operate outside of strict trade. These appeals all run aground, however, when one considers that in order to give fully, Elizabeth, "the source of liberality," would have to eschew her status as "the necessarily denying woman" of the courtly love system.<sup>115</sup>

Cecil removes an unambiguous reference to a previous time when Elizabeth had in fact soothed Raleigh's pain—a pain that would likely have brought

melancholy as a symptom if his spleen was not functioning properly, and one that the queen remedied with a precious gift, a spleen stone brought back from Cartagena by Drake, the ultimate English explorer. In referencing a “hard spleen,”<sup>116</sup> Raleigh draws on the humoral system, a dominant early modern understanding of the body that viewed human physiology in terms of the four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. Each humour was associated with an organ—the heart, the brain, the liver, and the spleen, respectively—and an overabundance of or deficiency in any one humour could lead to illness, which had then to be addressed through purging of the excess humour, medicinally-based corrective measures, changes in diet, or some combination of all three possibilities.

An imbalanced spleen most commonly was thought to lead to melancholy in the individual, but it could also fail to limit the “arterial blood’s potential to produce giddy impulsiveness or even violence,”<sup>117</sup> a point of special relevance to Raleigh’s outlook as he wrote the *Discoverie*, for, even as he references Elizabeth’s past graciousness and her gift of a spleen stone to one of her court favourites, he unwittingly alludes to his problems with recklessness, problems that led to Elizabeth withdrawing her favour from him once his secret marriage to Throckmorton was revealed and that might hamper his efforts to gain further support for his activities in Guiana, far away from the direct surveillance of his queen. Because proper diet and lifestyle were linked to the balance of the humours, physical health became part of a moralized discourse.<sup>118</sup> Sickness could signal larger problems with morality, so it may come as no surprise that Cecil, working to create a persuasive text for Raleigh, substantively altered the contents of this passage.

Raleigh’s manuscript does however attempt to strengthen the possibility of *future* royal reward for hardship by giving an example of past relief, making his request for funding seem more reasonable and part of his unremitting friendship with the queen. The reference to Elizabeth’s gift of a spleen stone also puts future funding in line with her past support for Drake’s wildly successful and popularly acclaimed circumnavigation in the 1570s, a journey that brought the queen vast stores of Spanish booty. Thus, even as he references past gifts by the queen, he implicitly requests future gifts and promises future rewards, rewards perhaps on par with the treasure offered up by Drake following his circumnavigation and the series of raids on Spanish New World forts that followed in the 1580s.



Like the cartographic details that suggest the existence of Manoa, the spleen stones verify the existence of Amazons, according to D. K. Smith: “having seen the stones, [Raleigh] is confident of *almost* having seen the women themselves.”<sup>119</sup> In a similarly metonymic gesture, “the stones prove the Amazons, and the Amazons prove both the expanse of Guiana, with its unseen wonders and plenitude, and the promise of gold.”<sup>120</sup> In connecting Amazon women to precious stones, Raleigh participates in a larger literary tradition that tied the martial figures to massive stores of treasure, and he simultaneously makes use of the spleen stone as a possible vehicle to gain affection from Elizabeth, another unmarried woman altogether.

Even as he creates distinctions between Elizabethan and Amazonian rule, Raleigh links these two forms of leadership and suggests possibilities for political relationships and economic gain other than those so carefully crafted by Elizabeth, her court favourites, and her advisors. Amazon women may be fierce, but, unlike the English queen, their movements and activities are somewhat predictable, and they are willing to participate regularly in an economic system—the controlled, apparently steady exchange of spleen stones for Manoan gold—that is beneficial for all parties involved. Elizabeth, on the other hand, immerses herself and others in multiple, often conflicting systems. Amazons had long been associated with material wealth, but, as Schwarz explains, the women functioned as metonymies that could never be fully realized, “indicating the impossibility of full presence and signifying that which cannot be comprehended or reached,”<sup>121</sup> not unlike the role of courtly beloved played so often by Elizabeth.

Additionally, Amazon women were traditionally associated with *guarding* treasure hordes, thus signalling obstacles for men who would of course like to attain the riches.<sup>122</sup> The presence of women as agents and barriers to resource collection trouble otherwise easy connections between exploration as a masculinized activity and new land as a feminized and thus exploitable site: “[w] here women govern the spaces of discovery, those spaces cannot easily appear as feminine objects subject to masculine appropriation; images of sovereign female power oppose the ideal of a receptive passivity.”<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, Amazon women, according to the reports passed on by Raleigh, do not simply guard mythical stores of gold that might beg to be purloined, no matter how fiercely protected by the martial women. Rather, these Amazon women actively participate in a system of trade, one that gives Guianan men (and English, should they

become involved) the option of exchanging their gold for the Amazon women's green stones.<sup>124</sup> Presumably, the exchange rate is agreed upon by the parties involved, and one must assume that the prices could change through renegotiation if any number of conditions—natural resource availability, personal clout, group goals or desires—were to change. Raleigh has no such certainty of reciprocity or fair exchange in his dealings with Elizabeth, for both figures are immersed in the gendered courtly love system—he will ask and suffer, she will likely prevaricate and withhold—even as they are caught within the non-gendered roles associated with patronage and exchange.

The same page of the manuscript includes a curious digression marked and edited by Cecil. Following his description of the Amazon women's trade in gold for spleen stones, Raleigh had originally joked that “having now wandered out of the way among theis women, an error whereto many men are subject, it is now tyme to return to the enterprize of *Berreio*,”<sup>125</sup> the governor of Trinidad whom Raleigh kidnaps in order to gain information about Guiana's gold and to seek retribution for past violence against Englishmen in the area. The quip is nowhere to be found in the printed text, likely because Cecil deleted it, feeling that Raleigh was in no position to make light of “wandering” towards or being lured by inappropriate women—the revelation of Raleigh's scandalous secret marriage to Throckmorton still fresh in the minds of many, including Elizabeth. Lorimer suggests that Cecil's deletions were likely motivated by his desire to convince the queen of Raleigh's case for a larger expedition to Guiana: given that Elizabeth was still displeased with Raleigh and Throckmorton, Cecil may have felt it would be best to omit references to women altogether.<sup>126</sup>

Raleigh's tone habitually lapses into excitement, and Cecil, in support of a future English presence in Guiana, works to create a more politic version of the *Discoverie*, one that would not quickly remind Elizabeth of Raleigh's disgrace and exile from court. Indeed, Lorimer suggests that the explorer's language of suffering and penance for past wrongs was often actually highlighted by a more cautious Cecil, who overshadowed Raleigh's own preference in the narrative for a “rambunctious, swaggering voice.”<sup>127</sup> Cecil not only limits the narration of physical and emotional hardship; as I have argued previously, he also alters several of Raleigh's descriptions when they could be considered indicative of inappropriate or immoral acts in the New World.

Raleigh frequently distinguishes English behaviour in the Caribbean and South America from that of the licentious and cruel Spanish, often noting

Spanish threats aimed at any indigenous groups who would consider trading or fraternizing with the English crew members. In a longer description of relations between the English and members of various tribal groups, Cecil edits Raleigh's description of gaining the trust of the indigenous through the act of gift giving: initially, the manuscript noted, "we gave them wine, and to every one some thing or other, *which* was rare and strang to them."<sup>128</sup> With these gestures of English kindness, the indigenous gradually understand "the deceit and purpose of the *Spanyards*, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters daylie, and used them for the satisfying of their own lust, especially such as they tooke in this manner by strength."<sup>129</sup> This initial reference to a gift of wine is changed to "we gaue them meate"<sup>130</sup> in the printed edition, yet the references to Spanish licentiousness and depravity remain unchanged.

While the Spanish force impurity, the English offer sustenance, all references to the possibility of English misbehaviour excised from print. The edited text then presents indigenous reactions to and relationships with the English as vastly different to their experiences with the rapacious Spanish. When the English captains are noted drinking, the activity falls into a sense of building cultural relationships with Toparimaca and his followers. Indeed, the English sample indigenous "wine till they were reasonable pleasant," building camaraderie with the tribal leaders even as the indigenous become quite inebriated,<sup>131</sup> a point that simultaneously suggests English restraint and the confirmation of racialized hierarchies in the New World.

### Relationships of obligation and exchange

At several junctures, Raleigh identifies trade relations as that which separates English activities in Guiana from the barbarity of Spanish conquistadors. Raleigh relates to the reader (never forgetting, of course, that Elizabeth is expected to be among the original primary readership) that the indigenous groups' willingness (eagerness, actually) to trade with the English is certified when they pledge loyalty to Elizabeth as a leader: by his account, the indigenous leaders "*are already become her Maiesties vassals: & seeme to desire nothing more than her Maiesties protection, and the returne of the English nation.*"<sup>132</sup> The native population accepts her and begins to carry coins with her image on

them after Raleigh has praised the queen at length and told them about her generosity and peaceful but strong disposition; Raleigh explains that in so doing, the indigenous people “promise [to] become her seruants thenceforth.”<sup>133</sup> This action (the description of which is mediated by Raleigh) should then give Elizabeth reciprocal obligations to the Amerindians. A problem arises, however, as Raleigh cannot extricate his dreams of international trade from his experiences in courtly love.

The rumoured trade of gold for spleen stones between Guianans and Amazon women establishes a precedent in the text for the possibility of fair exchange between men and women, all parties apparently giving and receiving at rates that are acceptable to the groups involved, but Raleigh’s introduction of coins with Elizabeth’s image on them establishes a new possible system of exchange and a new set of gendered relationships that require a sense of loyalty to be a constant part of the trade between the English and Guianans. Amazon women highlight the friction inherent in Raleigh’s New World dealings, for the indigenous in the land bordering on Guiana have already sworn loyalty to Elizabeth after having seen a miniature portrait of the queen,<sup>134</sup> a “picture which they so admired and honored, as it had beene easie to haue brought them Idolatrous thereof,”<sup>135</sup> yet Raleigh claims this indigenous devotion for Elizabeth, knowing that the queen has in the past shown very little interest in establishing a New World presence (helpful to the Amerindians or not). By Raleigh’s account, the indigenous essentially enter into the possibility of new trading systems, since the coins could easily be exchanged for material goods, but they also become enmeshed in something like a courtly love relationship, for the indigenous do not intend to put the coins into market circulation. Rather, they intend “to weare” them, to carry them “with [the] promise that they would become [Elizabeth’s] seruants thenceforth.”<sup>136</sup> The coins are then a material proof of an abstract relationship based on loyalty, but by Raleigh’s description and under his care, the indigenous essentially declare their loyalty to a distant woman who may never respond.

The Amerindian systems of exchange described by Raleigh seem to favour the active participation of men as agents (with the exception of the tribesmen’s trade with Amazon women, who apparently are also able to negotiate and exchange material goods with ease). Indigenous women seem to play no explicit role as agents of exchange; rather, they are objects of trade, bartered for material goods and for improved social relations through marriage, a condi-

tion that spurs Louis Montrose to label the women as “politically invisible.”<sup>137</sup> I would argue that if Montrose is correct and the Guianan women are “politically invisible,”<sup>138</sup> they are not economically invisible, for they largely become commodities, traded by and amongst the men of Guiana for (other) useful items like cloth, food, and precious metals.<sup>139</sup> The women may or may not be “politically invisible,”<sup>140</sup> but they are of political and social *use*, for Raleigh’s indigenous advisor Topiawari asks for the explorer’s assistance in recovering women abducted by the Epuremei, a neighbouring tribe, during a past battle.<sup>141</sup> In this case, Topiawari claims that recovering lost gold is of no interest to his men; their sole concern is rescuing their kidnapped relatives,<sup>142</sup> presumably because these women have both inter- and intra-tribal extrinsic value as wives and objects of exchange.

Separated from the indigenous women are the Amazons who barter with men while remaining outside of marital connections and tribal alliance building. The women live separately and only meet with men for an extended period of time once a year. Raleigh explains that after a month of celebrations and trying to conceive with neighbouring kings, the Amazons return to their homes; any sons born after the festivities are given to the fathers to raise, while the Amazons keep their daughters.<sup>143</sup> The sexual relations are purely for procreative ends, and the Amazon women apparently reward the kings who are able to give them girl children, sending the men gifts of gratitude in exchange for the men’s participation in continuing the Amazonian line.<sup>144</sup> Most important to Raleigh’s narrative, however, is the Amazon women’s control of the gold and spleen stone trade.

Amazon women simultaneously signal the valuable jewels and metals that could be extracted from *el Dorado*’s kingdom and control access to this precious merchandise. Tentative sightings and reports of nearby Amazon women were frequent features in early modern travel literature,<sup>145</sup> but writers of the genre also regularly connected Amazon women to the guarding of treasure hordes, a tendency that likely developed out of a conflation of the medieval romance tradition’s fanciful descriptions of Amazon territory as sumptuous and laden with treasure<sup>146</sup>; early imaginative texts like the Prester John narratives, which describe the Amazon women’s territory as separated from other regions by a river that begins in paradise<sup>147</sup>; and older exploration and travel texts, which describe exotic locales offering fantastic creatures and largely untapped natural resources.<sup>148</sup>

Abby Wettan Kleinbaum notes that searching for Amazons was often a part of the contract drawn between explorer and financier: “capitalists mandated the Amazon search not because of any interest in anthropology, but rather because of a firmly held conviction widely shared in early modern times: the gold is where the Amazons are.”<sup>149</sup> The women are necessary for the text because their presence signals proximity to riches.<sup>150</sup> On a related note, Whitehead mentions a common belief that Amazons had access to emeralds, which could then be traded for gold, conceivably gold from *el Dorado*, a point that is supported by Raleigh’s summaries of the Amazons trading “a kinde of greene stones, which ... we vse for spleene stones.”<sup>151</sup> Raleigh expects that the Amazon women will enter into relationships with Elizabeth. He argues that the female warriors are likely to be impressed by Elizabeth’s vow of virginity and her ability to defend her realm,<sup>152</sup> but according to the explorer’s descriptions, the women maintain autonomy over their economic lives and dealings with Guianan men. The martial women’s future status as willing subjects of Elizabeth, however, would doubtless hinder their ability to remain economically and politically powerful, so Raleigh’s promise here must be seen as simply excited dreaming or wishful thinking. His claims and the presence of the Amazon women do, however, signal the failed cooperation of multiple rhetorical, political, economical, and gendered frameworks or systems.

### **Elizabeth I, gold, and the Amazon women**

Fuller has noted that the actual material object for which Raleigh searches—gold—is endlessly deferred in his text.<sup>153</sup> Indeed, gold is always in the *next* mountain range if not the current one, and on one occasion Raleigh arrives in a village where he expects a reasonable amount of riches only to find that the gold refiner has recently departed, leaving his basket hidden but filled with “quicksilver, saltpeter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined.”<sup>154</sup> Raleigh’s “discovery” of the basket leads only to the knowledge that gold is elsewhere, that he possesses the vestiges of another’s past attempts to refine the metal. Montrose adds to Fuller’s work on deferral in Raleigh’s text as he argues that the satisfaction or conclusion of any exploration endeavour must be deferred in order to continue the process of exploration and in order to justify its continuation.<sup>155</sup> Both these points tie into the second hand

reports of Amazon women in Raleigh's text, for Amazon women by this point had begun to be associated with *el Dorado* and its legendary stores of wealth. Raleigh must convey that Amazon women are in the vicinity, for if they guard treasure hordes or promise the existence of *el Dorado*, then second hand reports of their shadowy appearances along the riverbanks signify that gold must also be close at hand.

At the same time, for Raleigh to justify future exploration, both gold and Amazon women must remain only slightly tangible and in the far distance. His search for treasure must "[work] against trying to close the distance between words or fantasies, and things," as Fuller suggests.<sup>156</sup> In order to ensure future activity in the region, Raleigh's text must in part be "about not discovering Guiana,"<sup>157</sup> for exploration and the appropriation of resources must continue. As much as Raleigh's work fits into a larger descriptive tradition in exploration literature, this tendency to turn back, to incorporate failure into a narrative of success, to *not* find Amazon women, also highlights Raleigh's investment in and practical experience with the Elizabethan courtly love system, for he understands well the discrepancy or the distance between desire and action, between call and response, and between profession and material proof. Just as he should expect delayed, incomplete satisfaction from Elizabeth, his future voyages depend on a level of initial failure. Amazon women and gold need to remain undiscovered but on the horizon.

Amazon women must be distinct from Elizabeth, lest Raleigh offend the English queen (the Amazons are described as reportedly "very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to inuade their territories"),<sup>158</sup> yet they must also be presented as ultimately containable and manageable, for Raleigh is attempting to convince Elizabeth that she would benefit from a military endeavour aimed at gaining control of this rumoured Amazon territory and Guiana more generally. Fuller reads references to Amazon women as operating within a larger attempt to feminize and make "continent"<sup>159</sup> the Guianan region, to present a "space of absence [in which] the power of the Queen could be celebrated as a power between women which relegated men to an instrumental status,"<sup>160</sup> but I would argue that the Amazons have two more crucial roles. First, they mark the points at which Raleigh's manifold rhetorical and descriptive systems—patronage, courtly love, trade, exploration—become unmanageable, and second, these women suggest the possibility of English-indigenous trading systems that would operate according to economic principles of fair

exchange or supply and demand (rather than Petrarchan or courtly systems that might operate according to prolonged desire and the inability to fully satisfy). Indeed, the Amazon women are described at length as participating with Guianan tribes in apparently well-managed and predictable exchanges of gold for spleen stones. They are therefore necessary signals both to Raleigh and Elizabeth should the queen decide to fund future endeavours in the region and attempt further investigations into the location of *el Dorado*.

Elizabeth is both agent and object of exchange: she funds Raleigh's venture and will possibly finance future exploration missions, and she *should* ultimately have to authorize any large scale economic or military actions in the region, yet the person putting her image into circulation (or withholding it from circulation) is Raleigh, and the person ultimately responsible for representing her in the New World and creating new relationships akin to the courtly love system is Raleigh. These issues complicate Montrose's reading of Elizabeth's place in the New World, as he argues that her (relatively unenthusiastic) funding of exploration and colonization in Virginia (along with her renaming of the original territory Wingandacoa to honour herself as a virgin queen) "symbolically [efface] the indigenous society that already physically and culturally inhabits and possesses that land."<sup>161</sup> Montrose's focus is really the suppression of indigenous groups following attempts at discovery or colonizing, and he examines how gendered language in New World texts can make acts of mastery appear natural (Raleigh's final exhortation for the English to seize Guiana's maidenhead is used as an example by Montrose),<sup>162</sup> so he is overwhelmingly concerned with the ways in which the English political system uses gendered rhetoric and discourse to inscribe itself onto the Amerindian landscape and culture. I would suggest, however, that the promise of Amazon women participating in the regular exchange of gold and spleen stones—of female leaders who demand that indigenous and foreign men alike participate in a controlled system of trade with mutual benefits, and who complicate any conception of masculine explorers invading "virgin" territory and taking feminized natural resources—may actually throw into question the efficacy of Elizabeth's own overlapping, sometimes contradictory systems of exchange and gift giving.



## Conclusion

Several critics have noted the slightly threatening conclusion to Raleigh's *Discovery*, wherein he implies that if Elizabeth will not take action and seize Guiana's still virgin "Maydenhead," there are men available who will.<sup>163</sup> Raleigh's conclusion indicates a willingness to usurp Elizabeth's New World authority, a move that would of course destroy the relationships he has so carefully developed in his text and that would make English actions indistinguishable from those of the Spanish as he describes them. The explorer ends with a confident promise—that should Elizabeth conquer Guiana, she would be invincible—and a warning: "if the king of Spayne enjoy it, he will be unresistable."<sup>164</sup> Amazons are invoked in the text's closing lines and a direct connection to Elizabeth's status as virgin queen is made, for conquering Guiana would also mean conquering Amazon territory. The Amazons would "heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbors, but also to invade and conquere so great Empyres and so farre removed."<sup>165</sup> Perhaps this passage is simply an example of Raleigh's excitement left unchecked by Cecil, but I believe that the appearance of the Amazon women at this moment once again shows discrepancy and rhetorical flaw on the part of Raleigh, for Elizabeth is represented here as more than simply *capable* of invading foreign territories. Indeed, she is described as *likely* to do so, when, in actuality, the queen frequently resisted involvement in international military activities. The text forwards a claim that sees generic romance conventions collide uneasily with nation building and empire, not to mention the disconnection between Elizabeth's actual international military presence and the author's obvious desire for an increase in armed involvement in New World power struggles.

The cooperation of the indigenous groups in any future thwarting of the Spanish having already been assured by Raleigh in the opening pages of his text, Raleigh cements this new relationship of protection and trust by showing the indigenous leaders an image of the queen, a "picture which they so admired and honored, as it had beene easie to haue brought them Idolatrous thereof."<sup>166</sup> While circulating her image as part of his putative representation of Elizabeth in the New World, Raleigh promises future military resistance against the Spanish oppressors (first in Trinidad, later in regions closer to Guiana),<sup>167</sup> despite the fact that the queen has offered no such involvement in the region.

Indeed, as early as the dedication to Cecil and Howard, Raleigh outlines Spanish settlements (rich in gold) that could be sacked, a point that is at odds with his later vociferous claims for an interest in peaceful trade with and gallant protection of the indigenous people.<sup>168</sup> He continues to strategize about future attacks on Spanish settlements, on “*the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophero, the great Cities of Pampelone, S. Fe de Bogota, Tunia and Mozo where the Esmeralds are found.*”<sup>169</sup> Raleigh’s vision in effect encompasses far more than an invasion of Guiana—dreaming of raids on Spanish holdings and a strong English presence in what are now Venezuela, Trinidad, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Nicaragua<sup>170</sup>—a discrepancy to which he returns in the closing passage of the text at precisely the moment he again refers to Amazon women. Raleigh of course only explicitly asks Elizabeth for the support necessary to invade Guiana (in order to rescue the resident tribes from the barbarity of a Spanish presence), but his request is placed within a much larger summary of Spanish holdings (and possible sites for invasion) in the New World. The explorer makes use of the *Discoverie* to send a call to arms to the queen, simultaneously certifying her response —“the like & a more large discourse”<sup>171</sup>—before she has offered it.

## Notes

1. I would be remiss if I did not thank Joyce Lorimer for her careful and illuminating edition of Sir Walter Raleigh’s *Discoverie of Guiana* (London: Ashgate-The Hakluyt Society, 2006). Her facing page transcriptions have made my article possible, and they have shed new light on the multiple interests at work in the production of Raleigh’s text.
2. Curtis Perry, *Literature and Favoritism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 56.
3. Indeed, Alison V. Scott suggests that complication arises when “the socio-political dynamics of the mistress-servant relationship can only be upheld if the mistress refuses to reciprocate the gift of the poet, whereas the morality or ethic of the gift can seemingly be upheld only if she gives in to his demands and reciprocates his gift/praise.” *Selfish Gifts: The Politics of Exchange and English Courtly Literature, 1580–1628* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), p. 58.
4. Scott, p. 48.

5. Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 75.
6. Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), p. xiii.
7. See Schwarz, p. 71.
8. P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1563–1604 of Sir Robert Cecil, later First Earl of Salisbury* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1959), pp. 124–26.
9. David Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power Behind the Throne* (Kew, Surrey: The National Archives, 2007), p. 120.
10. Loades, p. 201.
11. Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420–1660* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), p. 142.
12. Penrose, p. 142; see also Neil L. Whitehead, “The *Discoverie* as Ethnological Text,” in Sir Walter Raleigh’s *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, transcr. and annot. Neil L. Whitehead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), p. 72.
13. Whitehead, p. 72.
14. Whitehead, pp. 72–3.
15. Stephen J. Greenblatt, “Theatricalism in Action: The Guiana Voyage of 1595 and the Treason Trial of 1603,” in *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 106.
16. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Gvi-ana... 1596*, in *Sir Walter Raleigh’s Discoverie of Guiana*, ed. Joyce Lorimer (London: Ashgate-The Hakluyt Society, 2006), pp. 5, 10. All references to the *Discoverie* can be found in Lorimer’s edition.
17. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 13.
18. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 14.
19. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 14, 153–55.
20. Joyce Lorimer, Introduction, in *Sir Walter Raleigh’s Discoverie of Guiana*, p. xxvii.
21. Lorimer, Introduction, p. xxxviii.
22. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 6.
23. Fuller, p. 74.
24. Lorimer, Introduction, p. xxii.
25. Karen Robertson, “Negotiating Favour: the Letters of Lady Raleigh,” in *Women in Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 100.

26. Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 18.
27. Adams, p. 36.
28. Robert W. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536–1624* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), p. 96.
29. Robertson, p. 107.
30. Adams, p. 34.
31. Adams, p. 121.
32. Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 45.
33. Carole Levin, *"The Heart and Stomach of a King": Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p. 41; also Bates, p. 1.
34. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The 21st (and last) Book of the Ocean to Cynthia*, in *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selected Writings*, ed. Gerald Hammon (Manchester: Fyfield-Carcenet, 1984), l. 3.
35. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 1, 8–9.
36. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 1, 10.
37. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 5, 5–6, 9.
38. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 1, 6, 6.
39. Raleigh, *21st Book*, l. 19.
40. Robert E. Stillman, "Words cannot knytt': Language and Desire in Raleigh's *The Ocean to Cynthia*," *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 27 (Winter 1987), p. 36.
41. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 21–3.
42. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 21, 26.
43. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 306–07, 73–6.
44. Raleigh, *21st Book*, l. 80.
45. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 37–44.
46. Raleigh, *21st Book*, l. 56.
47. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, vol. 1 (London: The Folio Society, 1996), p. 87.
48. Raleigh, *21st Book*, l. 209.
49. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 211–12, 203.
50. Raleigh, *21st Book*, ll. 488–90.
51. Raleigh, *21st Book*, l. 522.

52. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 1590 and 1596, ed. A. C. Hamilton et al. Rev. 2nd ed (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Longman, 2007), bk. III., Proem. 5.9.
53. Spenser, bk. II.iii.21.7, 29.1–4. One can note Louis Adrian Montrose’s comment that Belpheobe incorporates both “the engulfing Amazon and the nurturing Amazon,” for example. Louis Adrian Montrose, “The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text,” in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 328.
54. Spenser, bk. III.v.54.
55. Thomas Cain, *Praise in The Faerie Queene* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 86.
56. Spenser, bk. III.v.54.4, 54.9.
57. Spenser, bk. III.v.54.4.
58. Spenser, bk. III.v.54.9.
59. Kimberly Anne Coles, “‘Perfect hole’: Elizabeth I, Spenser, and Chaste Productions,” *English Literary Renaissance* 32.1 (Winter 2002), p. 56.
60. Spenser, bk. III.v.51.1–2.
61. Spenser, bk. III.v.51.3.
62. Spenser, bk. III.v.54.9.
63. Spenser, bk. III.xi.2.8.
64. Spenser, bk. III.xi.2.8, 2.6–7, 2.9.
65. Spenser, bk. III.v.35–50.
66. Spenser, bk. IV.vii.35.
67. Reed Way Dasenbrock, “Escaping the Squires’ Double Bind in Books III and IV of *The Faerie Queene*,” *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 26.1 (Winter 1986), pp. 26–7.
68. Dasenbrock, p. 34.
69. Spenser, bk. IV.vii.38–41, viii.9–17.
70. Coles, p. 57.
71. Dasenbrock, p. 34.
72. Spenser, bk. II.iii.22.3, 22.4–6.
73. Spenser, bk. II.iii.22.7, 22.7–9.
74. Philippa Berry, *Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 159.
75. Spenser, bk. II.iii.28.
76. Berry, p. 160.
77. Spenser, bk. II.iii.26.5, 27.8–9.

78. Hannah Betts, "'The Image of this Queene so quaynt': The Pornographic Blazon 1588–1603," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), p. 154.
79. Spenser, bk. II.iii.28.1–2.
80. Betts, p. 161.
81. Spenser, bk. II.iii.27.9, 29.7–8.
82. Berry, p. 158.
83. Robertson, pp. 101–02.
84. Robertson, p. 102.
85. Robertson, p. 102.
86. Robertson, p. 102.
87. Paul E. J. Hammer, "Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 31.1 (Spring 2000), pp. 81, 81–2.
88. Alan Haynes, *Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, 1563–1612: Servant of Two Sovereigns* (London: Peter Owen, 1989), p. 182.
89. Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discoverie," *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991), p. 16.
90. Shannon Miller, "Coining the Realm: Strategies for Colonization in Raleigh's 1595 Guiana Project," in *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), p. 156.
91. Fuller, p. 79.
92. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 2, 3.
93. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 3, 5.
94. *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Part," Def. 15 and 17b, <http://dictionary.oed.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca> (accessed October 26, 2009). A connection between Raleigh's usage of the term "part" and possible references to the "performance" of court roles is also completely valid. D. K. Smith looks to the very title of Raleigh's text as he argues that the choice of "Discoverie" points to the act of exploration, but also "to the 'unravelling or unfolding of the plot of a play.' From the narrative's very beginning, then, Raleigh's voyage seemed to involve equal parts exploration and theatricality, a perception echoed on the title page with the knowledge that all of this was 'Performed in the yeare 1595 by Sir W. Raleigh.'" See Smith's "Conquering Geography: Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlowe, and the Cartographic Imagination," in *The Cartographic Imagination in*

*Early Modern England: Re-Writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 137.

95. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 4.
96. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 4.
97. Joyce Lorimer, "Untruth and Consequences: Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* and the 'Salting' of the Gold Mine," *The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2006* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2007), p. 11.
98. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 4.
99. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 4–5.
100. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 3.
101. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 3.
102. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 3.
103. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 3.
104. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 3.
105. *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Colour," Def. 2b and 6a, <http://dictionary.oed.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca> (accessed October 26, 2009).
106. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 3–4.
107. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 10.
108. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 61–3.
109. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 63.
110. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 63.
111. Whitehead, p. 95.
112. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
113. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 64.
114. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
115. Scott, p. 47.
116. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 64.
117. Gail Kern Paster, "Nervous Tension: Networks of Blood and Spirit in the Early Modern Body," in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 118.
118. Michael C. Schoenfeldt, "Bodies of Rule: Embodiment and Interiority in Early Modern England," in *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 20.
119. Smith, p. 153.
120. Smith, p. 154.

121. Schwarz, p. 51.
122. Schwarz, p. 69.
123. Schwarz, p. 71.
124. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
125. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 64.
126. Lorimer, Introduction, p. xxxv.
127. Lorimer, Introduction, p. xcv.
128. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 118.
129. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 118.
130. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 119.
131. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 127.
132. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 7.
133. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 179.
134. One should note Patricia Fumerton's work on private and public declarations of loyalty to Elizabeth I. She identifies the miniature's "[publication]" with its being worn publicly at court. Fumerton maintains, however, that the miniature's encasement in a locket still gave the portrait a sense of privacy and intimacy. Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets," in *Representing the English Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 98.
135. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 31.
136. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 179.
137. Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 12.
138. Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 12.
139. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 153, 162, 183–4.
140. Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 12.
141. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 173.
142. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 173.
143. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 63.
144. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
145. Abby Wettan Kleinbaum, *The War against the Amazons* (New York: New Press-McGraw Hill, 1983), pp. 104–13.
146. Kleinbaum, pp. 51–2.
147. Kleinbaum, pp. 74–5.
148. Kleinbaum, p. 71.
149. Kleinbaum, p. 116.



150. Montrose, "Work of Gender," pp. 25–6.
151. Whitehead, p. 95; Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
152. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 221.
153. Fuller, p. 65.
154. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 115.
155. Montrose, "Work of Gender," pp. 25–6.
156. Fuller, p. 66.
157. Fuller, p. 71.
158. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 65.
159. Fuller, p. 74.
160. Fuller, p. 75.
161. Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 8.
162. Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 12.
163. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 211; Fuller, p. 75; Montrose, "Work of Gender," p. 12.
164. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 196–99, 199.
165. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 199.
166. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 31.
167. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 31, 179.
168. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 8.
169. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 8.
170. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, pp. 8–9.
171. Raleigh, *Discoverie*, p. 31.