

MILTON'S REFERENCE IN LYCIDAS TO  
"NAMANCOS AND BAYONA'S HOLD"

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## PREFACE

This thesis is concerned with demonstrating that Milton chose Namancos and Bayona to represent Spain in Lycidas for reasons in addition to the sonorous effect or Spanish identity of their names. An examination of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century sources, as well as recent secondary sources, reveals that Galicia, the province in which these two places are located, can be associated with a strong tradition of Roman Catholicism, lawlessness, the Armada, severe Inquisitorial practices, and a symbolically evil location. In addition, Bayona is specifically indicated as the site of a "defeat" of Sir Francis Drake, one of England's national heroes, by the Conde de Gondomar, later a despised Spanish ambassador to England. Such findings, intensifying the evil connotation of Namancos and Bayona, reveal a new insight into the poet's skill.

Two difficulties encountered in the preparation of this thesis were the lack of specific information about Namancos in both the primary and secondary sources and the lack of material about the Inquisition in Galicia in the primary sources.

I would like to take this opportunity to express

my appreciation for the assistance and guidance provided by the following members of my committee: Dr. David S. Berkeley, who was always available for counsel and encouragement, and Dr. William R. Wray, who made some extremely helpful suggestions at the final stage of the writing of the paper.

In addition, I would like to thank the Oklahoma State University Library staff in charge of microfilm and inter-library loans for their help in the finding and acquiring of the material principally employed in the preparation of the paper.

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## CHAPTER I

### MILTON'S REFERENCE IN LYCIDAS TO "NAMANCOS AND BAYONA'S HOLD"

A traditional fear, hatred, rivalry, or enmity dies slowly; and the resulting prejudice against the adversary is thus deep-seated and difficult to overcome. Such was the type of feeling that the Protestant Englishman harbored towards Spain when John Milton wrote his pastoral elegy Lycidas in 1637. Therefore, the poet took advantage of this traditional hostility in his presentation in lines 161-162 of an image of someone or something guarding England from a threatening enemy:

Where the great vision of the guarded Mount  
Looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold.<sup>1</sup>

His contemporaries would certainly have recognized the allusions to St. Michael's Mount and to Spain. However, although critics have discussed the general meaning of the passage, explained what the "great vision" is, and determined the correct locations of Namancos and Bayona, no one has yet indicated why Milton specifically chose these particular places to represent Spain.

Several Milton scholars have commented upon the

poetic effect and contribution of these lines. E. M. W. Tillyard, who regards the third section of Lycidas (ll. 132-164) as a quiet interlude and a transition, considers these lines an "escape into a region of pure romance"<sup>2</sup> which provides some comfort to the grieving Swain. In his 1936 "A Note on the Verse of John Milton," T. S. Eliot quotes lines 156-162 as the best example of Milton's using "proper names in moderation, to obtain the same effect of magnificence with them as does Marlowe. . . ." <sup>3</sup> G. S. Fraser comments that the image "has a richness which matches the richness of sound."<sup>4</sup>

The early commentators, however, were concerned with explaining the "great vision" and determining the exact locations of Namancos and Bayona. Thomas Warton, in his 1785 edition of Milton's minor poems, appears to have regarded "Namancos" as "Namanco" because he quotes "Namanco's . . . hold" three times in his notes.<sup>5</sup> However, according to Ants Oras, Warton should be commended for his explanation of the reference to the "great vision." Warton cites William Camden's observation that " . . . no other place of this Iland looketh directly to Spain . . . " <sup>6</sup> and then adds material from such sources as Carew's Survey of Cornwall, Caxton's Golden Legend, William of Worcester's Itinerarium, and local documents and history in order to

. . . establish the fact that Milton intends the vision to be that of St. Michael which according



to a popular belief appears on the mountain. The epithet "guarded" is stated to refer to a fortress formerly situated there, the word "mount" to be used as the "peculiar appropriated appellation" of the promontory.<sup>7</sup>

In his 1801 edition of The Poetical Works of John Milton, Henry J. Todd conjectures:

. . . Milton, when he wrote this word [Namancos], might [have been] thinking of Numancia, or Numantia, highly celebrated in Spanish history [as the ancient capital of an as-yet-unidentified province located in the northeastern part of Spain]; the name of which city he might have found so spelt in romance. . . . But as Namancos might not seem to describe precisely, however poetically, the Angel's view towards Spain, he added "Bayona's hold."<sup>8</sup>

However, Todd corrects this error in his 1809 edition after presenting evidence to indicate that at least two other critics had shared his erroneous view. He explains that in the Monthly Magazine for June 1, 1800, a writer identified only as D. F. expresses a similar opinion and then justifies his idea by explaining that the "guard" can see Numantia in northeastern Spain and Bayona in northwestern Spain because he is an archangel.<sup>9</sup> Continuing with his explication, Todd next includes the reply of a critic identified only as Dunster, who argues that Milton certainly had not intended to make his archangel look two ways at once. Although Dunster also associates Namancos with Numantia, he appears to solve the problem by suggesting that Bayona is the French Bayonne.<sup>10</sup> Todd dismisses these hypotheses when he

informs the reader that on the map of Galicia in the 1623 and 1636 editions of Mercator's Atlas,

. . . near the point Cape Finisterre, the desired place occurs thus written, 'Namancos T.' In this map the castle of Bayona makes a very conspicuous figure.<sup>11</sup>

In his 1897 edition of The Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis of Milton, C. S. Jerram adds:

Namancos also appears in Ojea's map of Galicia (1650), but seems to have been afterwards omitted, as it is not found in Nolin's map (1762), nor in that of Lopez (1784), nor in the Atlas Nacional de España of 1838.<sup>12</sup>

Arthur W. Verity, in his 1898 edition of Lycidas with other poems, says that Namancos does not appear on any map published after the middle of the seventeenth century and that Milton might have learned about Namancos from Mercator's Atlas, which was first printed in England in 1636. He further comments that the "T" of Ojea's map means Turris, which suggests a fortress rather than a town and that an accompanying drawing of a tower might have caught Milton's eye. Verity concludes by stating that it is geographically impossible to associate Namancos with Numantia or Bayona with the French Bayonne.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Albert S. Cook presents evidence to show that the previous spellings and descriptions of Namancos are incorrect: the correct spelling is "Nemancos." Cook claims that Ojea originated the error

in 1604 and that his successors perpetuated it. He also indicates that no tower of that name is known to have existed and that the "T" really stands for Tierra. Cook thus concludes:

Nemancos does not now designate, and never has designated . . . any town, village, or fortress, but rather a territory of administrative district, roughly corresponding in extent to a county.<sup>14</sup>

Later critics have discussed the over-all meaning of lines 161-162. Michael Lloyd states: "The guarded mount is no doubt to be seen as St. Michael's Mount, the fortification of a Christian country. . . ."<sup>15</sup> G. S. Fraser explains the image more fully:

But St. Michael, on his mount, which has in fact a ruined castle on top of it, and which is also still guarded by him, looks across the unbroken stretch of sea towards Namancos--towards Spain and the Inquisition from which he is guarding England--and towards the castle at Bayona which is the counterpart to the ruin on his mount.<sup>16</sup>

Rosemond Tuve believes this image should suggest thoughts "like those awakened in Milton . . . by Spanish strongholds seen on Ojea's map and recalling ecclesiastical tyrannies once escaped. . . ."<sup>17</sup> David Daiches further explicates:

England looking toward Spain suggests the whole challenge of Anglo-Spanish relations of the late sixteenth century, culminating in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Catholic Spain remained the enemy for the very Protestant Milton. . . .<sup>18</sup>

As Daiches has indicated, the image presented in lines 161-162 of Lycidas suggests a former enemy which has remained an enemy in Milton's eyes. However, this passage illustrates more than the poet's own continued distrust of a former adversary. The Elizabethan tradition of fear and hatred of Spain as a Roman Catholic country which tried to impose its religion on others was still a part of the Protestant Englishman's apprehensions even though the old enemy's power had greatly declined and a threat of invasion no longer existed since the defeat of the Armada was never reversed. And the remembrance of past injuries only served to reinforce this traditional animosity. Therefore, it is obvious why Milton depicted St. Michael as guarding England from this particular foe. However, it is less obvious why he used Namancos and Bayona to represent Spain. Milton specifically chose these particular places because they were situated in the province of Galicia, whose historical background and northwesterly location connoted evil.

When the ancient cosmographer Strabo attributed to Europe "the forme of a Dragon, of which Spaine doth represent the head,"<sup>19</sup> he unknowingly created an image that would appear very appropriate to Protestant Englishmen in later centuries; for no doubt Spain at times seemed as troublesome and fearful to them as did the head of a fire-breathing dragon to the knight attempting to slay the beast. This description of Spain is especially

significant in relation to line 161 of Lycidas, for St. Michael is traditionally represented in art as a warrior with a sword, in combat with or in triumph over a dragon. Even if the Spanish had committed no acts of aggression, their Roman Catholic religion would have caused sixteenth-century Protestant Englishmen to regard them as potential enemies; and associated with this religion was the Inquisition, which, with its secrecy and harsh punishments, represented more than anything else the cruel religious tyranny of Spain. However, it was not characteristic of the Spaniards to refrain from any act which would increase the glory of their country and decrease that of an enemy's. According to Mercator, they

. . . are still attempting some greate matter, for having suppress their enemies at home, and overthrowne the Saracens, they seeke for to discover and get for their King the most potent parts of the world. When two or three meete together, of what place or condition soever, they alwayes discourse of the Commonwealth and serious affaires, they seeke wayes how to weaken their enemies force, they devise stratagems, and invent a thousand engines, which they open and make knowne to the Captaines.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the ideological differences, rivalry between Spain and England for possession of and dominion in the New World aroused the wrath of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishmen. The Spaniards claimed all the territory by right of Columbus' discovery of 1492 and the Pope's Line of Demarcation of 1493 and

later attacked English ships and settlements in the West Indies. Another cause of enmity was Spain's unsuccessful attempt in 1588 to conquer England directly by means of the Armada. Spain had previously demonstrated her eagerness to extend her dominion when she invaded the Netherlands; and the fact that Sir Philip Sidney, England's beloved poet and courtier, died in 1586 helping the Dutch resist the invaders did not help to improve Englishmen's attitude towards their country's rival. In addition to this attempt at a direct invasion, Spain also tried to cause a war between England and Scotland and to gain control of Ireland; but both endeavors failed. A further reason for England's continued distrust of Spain was the actions by individual Spaniards, or individuals affiliated with the Spanish, in England. Spanish emissaries tried to induce Dr. Roderigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's physician, to poison her; and despite his pleas of innocence, he was executed in 1594. Although Dr. Lopez was a Portuguese Jew, he and the incident were still associated with Spanish treachery. However, it was the Conde de Gondomar, Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, who was viewed as "the Arch-enemie to the flourishing Estate of our England."<sup>21</sup> This Spanish ambassador worked to turn James I and Parliament against each other and to blame the trouble on the Puritans; he opposed English voyages to the West Indies in order to insure Spanish dominion there; he procured favors for those who advanced the Catholic cause; and he

caused trouble in Scotland so the English troops would be called home. He also encouraged the proposed marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta so that England "should rather be robd and weakened (which is our ayne) then strengthened, as the English vainely hope";<sup>22</sup> but the Spanish Match never materialized. In addition, Gondomar was partly responsible for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh because he insisted that James I keep his promise to execute Raleigh if he attacked the Spanish on his voyage to Orinoco. Therefore, it is no wonder that C. F. Main writes: "During his two embassies to England Gondomar came to be regarded as the devil incarnate."<sup>23</sup> Thus the English had a long list of grievances which helped to keep alive their animosity towards a former enemy.

Even if Milton had been unaware of the many hostile deeds of Spain, he would have felt antipathy towards that country because of its Roman Catholic religion. As Hilaire Belloc observes, " . . . he loathed Papistry with all the loathing aroused by family quarrels,"<sup>24</sup> and "this hatred of Catholicism appears perpetually in his writing . . . ."<sup>25</sup> In his very early poems on the Gunpowder Plot, he refers to "as many insensate gods as Rome profane possesses" (I, 225), "the Latin monster, with its triple crown" (I, 225), and "godless Rome" (I, 227); and in "In Quintum Novembris," he compares priests to followers of Bacchus, describes Satan dressed as St.

Francis, and declares that " . . . the Father in the skies from the height above pities his people, and so he blocked the cruel daring of them that reverence the Pope" (I, 255). However, his later works demonstrate not only this anti-Roman Catholic bias but also knowledge and detestation of Spain's numerous acts of enmity: he slurs Roman Catholicism in the "Paradise of Fools" passage (P.L. III.474-480, 489-497), condemns the Inquisition (A Declaration Against Spain [XIII, 559]), attacks the Inquisition's licensing activities (Areopagitica [IV, 303]), denounces the Spaniards' claim to the New World and their treatment of the natives and English ships and settlements there (A Declaration Against Spain [XIII, 511, 517, 527, 529, 531]), alludes to the barbarity of the Spaniards' behavior when they invaded the Netherlands (The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates [V, 43]), refers to Spain's treachery in attempting to cause a war between England and Scotland and to gain control of Ireland (Of Reformation [III, 60]), and comments on Gondomar's activities (A Declaration Against Spain [XIII, 513, 515]). Although he demonstrates this knowledge in works written after Lycidas, it is safe to assume that Milton would have been aware of such significant events in 1637--just as his contemporaries would have been aware of them at that time, too.

Therefore, Milton took advantage of the strong tradition of conflict and used Spain as a symbol of threatening danger or evil in general. However, he does not simply



say that St. Michael looks towards Spain; he refers particularly to Namancos and Bayona, and specifically to "Bayona's hold" or stronghold, which is the castle of Monterreal,<sup>26</sup> the counterpart to the ruined fortress on St. Michael's Mount. His use of these names no doubt contributed to the poetic effect of the passage, but he had more important reasons for selecting these two places to represent Spain. For one thing, Galicia, the province in which Namancos and Bayona were situated, was in St. Michael's direct line of vision (as pointed out by Camden and Warton). But even more important was the fact that the region's history and location reinforced the evil connotations of these place-names.

After the Saracens had completed their invasion and conquest of Spain in the eighth century, the mountains of Galicia were one of the few remaining Christian territories (Figure 1):

Those that survived after the battell, when they had fortified themselves in the Mountaines of the Astures, Cantabrians, and Galicians, by little and little they began to recover the Countries, Cities, and Castles which they had left.<sup>27</sup>

The tomb of St. James was in Santiago de Compostela, the province's major city; and from the second half of the ninth century Santiago rivalled Jerusalem in the number of its visitors. These pilgrimages helped to keep the territory in touch with the rest of Christendom and to spare it some of the devastation by the Saracens.<sup>28</sup>

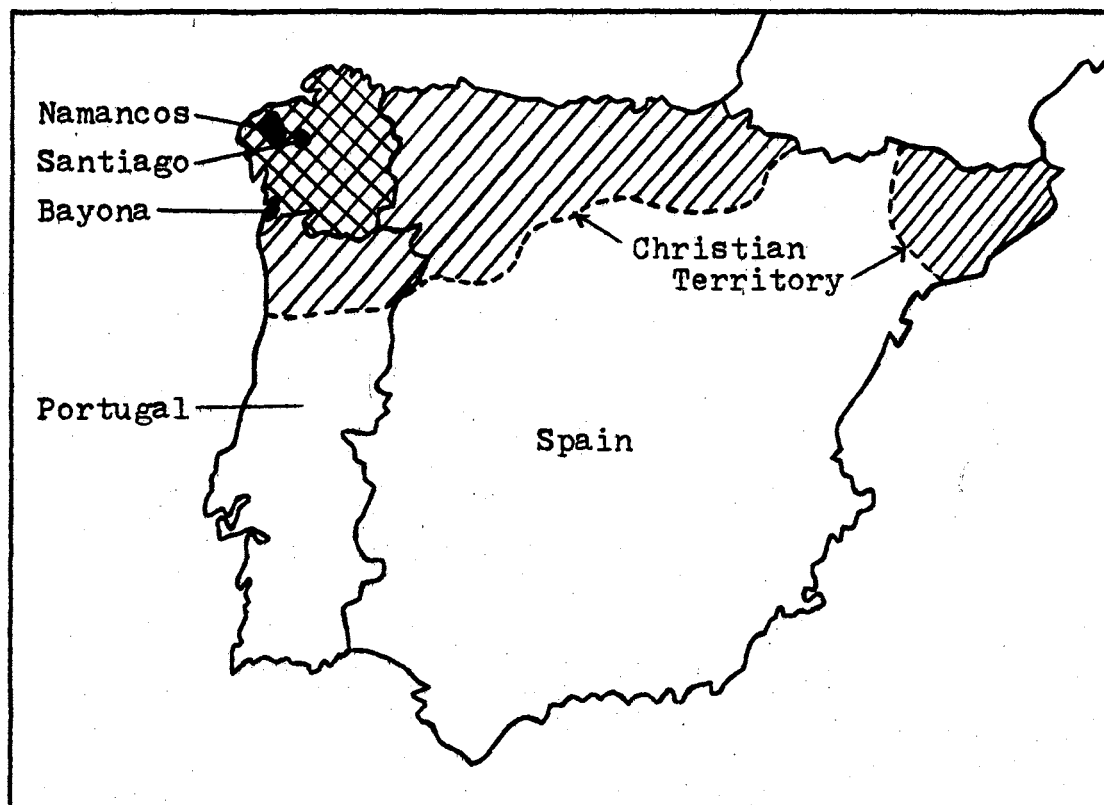


Figure 1. The Christian Areas after the Saracens' Invasion of Spain in the Eighth Century

Thus, Galicia was one area in Spain in which Christianity was never extinguished, so its Roman Catholic background was especially strong; and the "attraction" of a saint's tomb was no doubt repulsive to the Protestant Englishman. In addition, this region had a reputation for lawlessness during the latter part of the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth centuries because the nobles had been accustomed to "slay and spoil without accountability to any one."<sup>29</sup> The province was also notorious for the severity of its Inquisition. Santiago was the seat of the permanent tribunal in Galicia; and although it is possible that temporary ones were established in Namancos and/or Bayona, I could find no evidence of this. Henry Charles Lea indicates that the tribunal in Santiago might have been established by 1520 but that it was probably some time before it was in working order. In 1528 it was still not self-sustaining; so it was allowed to lapse until approximately 1562 when " . . . the scare about Protestantism called attention to the ports of the Northwest as affording ingress to heretics and their books. . . . "<sup>30</sup> The tribunal still had to struggle for existence: it was discontinued in 1568 and then re-established a few years later. In subsequent years, however, it became one of the more active Inquisitorial centers in Spain.<sup>31</sup> Benito F. Alonso states:

The severity of the tribunal [of Santiago]  
earned for it the reputation of the most

cruel in Spain. . . . Its rapacity was rewarded with abundant confiscations.<sup>32</sup>

Galicia was also associated with the infamous Armada, for the fleet sailed from Lisbon to the Groine in Galicia, since it was the closest haven to England, and then launched its attack from there.<sup>33</sup> In addition, this region seemed to be a favorite target of Sir Francis Drake's attacks. Nina Epton writes:

. . . there are few places along the coast where he did not disembark, and I found his name mentioned over and over again in local guide-books and histories, where he is referred to with exasperation as el Drake, and never given his title!<sup>34</sup>

Although I could find no mention of Namancos, evidence exists that Bayona was an intended target on at least one occasion. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth I sent twenty-one ships under the command of Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carlile to the West Indies "to provide that warre should not assaile her at home, and set the Spanish to worke abroad."<sup>35</sup> On the way, however, Drake detoured towards Spain in order to wreak whatever havoc he could there before continuing on his voyage to the New World. As he was on his way from the Isles of Bayon to surprise the city of Bayona with its castle Monterreal, he was met by the Governor of Galicia's messenger, an English merchant, who had come to reconnoiter the fleet. After conferring with the man, Drake sent Captain Sampson back

to Bayona with him in order to talk to the governor. Since he decided that it would be a good idea not to make any stand until they were within shot of the city, they waited for Sampson's return and prepared themselves for a sudden attack before dark if the need should arise. By the time Sampson returned with the governor's reply, it was almost dark; therefore, the men disembarked for the night, posted guards around their camp, and enjoyed the refreshments which the governor had sent to them. As a result of the weather's becoming stormy about midnight, Drake thought it better to reboard the ships than to remain ashore any longer. Before the men could reach the fleet, however, a great tempest arose, driving some ships from their anchors and forcing others to put to sea in great peril. The storm lasted three days; and as soon as it began to lessen, Drake sent Carlile to the area above Vigo, where he captured many boats and some caravelles. The next day Drake and the whole fleet sailed to a good harbor above Vigo where Carlile was waiting for them. Meanwhile, the Governor of Galicia had marched from Bayona with 2000 infantrymen and 300 cavalrymen in order to attack Drake. However, the "battle" ended up to be only a parley, during which it was agreed that the English would quietly obtain fresh water, pay for other supplies, and then leave.<sup>36</sup> This Governor of Galicia, also called the Governor of Monterreal, who thus "defeated" Drake was none other than the Conde de Gondomar, who would later

gain such infamy as the Spanish ambassador at the court of James I.<sup>37</sup> Queen Elizabeth I again sent Drake to raid Spain in 1589:

And now the Queen as well to manifest her force and strength abroad, as she had done her wisdom at home, began to pursue that victory which God had already given her against the Spaniard. And therefore accounting it as honourable, as safe to assault her Enemy first, rather then expect the like from him, she gave free licence to the courage of <sup>38</sup> Sir John Norrice and Sir Francis Drake. . . .

Although the voyage itself was considered a success, Drake again failed to capture Bayona:

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon, were before shewed to bee want of artillerie, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good souldiers. . . . <sup>39</sup>

Thus Milton's reference to "Namancos and Bayona's hold" carried connotations of Roman Catholicism, lawlessness, the Inquisition, the Armada, the failure of the national hero Drake, and the success of the despised Gondomar. He had referred not only to a traditional enemy but also to a part of that enemy which was especially associated with evil.

Furthermore, Galicia's location in the northwest corner of Spain corresponded to the directional symbolism used by Milton in other works. H. F. Robins, commenting upon this symbolism in Paradise Lost, states:

East and south, before God and at his right hand, are favorable directions; west and north, behind him and at his left, are unfavorable. Satan's rule over the north places his seat at God's left, which is as it should be, for the Son sits at his right. Therefore, God faces the east, traditionally the holiest of directions. . . . <sup>40</sup>

Since east, which is before God, is "the holiest of directions," it follows that west, which is behind God, is the "least holy of directions." Therefore, south-north symbolism is subordinate to east-west symbolism, which is primary. Robins also describes the tradition which supports this view of the directions. The writers of the Old Testament believed that there was a relationship between the parts of the body and the cardinal points of the compass; and among Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews right stands for good and left for evil. The Old and New Testaments also contain many examples of the significance of directions, several of which are included in the essay.<sup>41</sup> To support his opinion, Robins presents many incidents from Paradise Lost in which evil is done or comes from the north or west. For example, Satan lands upon Mount Niphates to the north of Eden (III.742; IV.569) and enters Paradise over the west wall (IV.179-183). When Satan returns to the Garden to tempt Eve, he arrives in a mist from a river which flows from the north (IX.75; IV.223-225).<sup>42</sup> Galicia is situated not only west of St. Michael's Mount in a country which is one of the westernmost countries of Europe but also in

the northwest corner of Spain, and Milton's contemporaries would have recognized the malignity traditionally associated with these directions. Although Galicia is also south of England, the subordination of north-south to west-east symbolism causes the emphasis to be placed on its westerly, or unfavorable, location rather than on its southerly, or favorable, location. Such emphasis is not unusual since Egypt, which is south as well as west of the Holy Land, is symbolic of evil in the Bible. In addition, Spain appears slightly "tilted" on a map of Europe (Figure 2); so Galicia is extended even farther northward, a fact which could be considered a reinforcement of the ideas of evil that could be associated with the province because of its symbolic location in regard to St. Michael's Mount. Although Milton does not demonstrate his awareness of directional symbolism in his early writings, he no doubt was acquainted with the symbolic meanings of these directions when he wrote Lycidas because of their traditional and Biblical significance. Therefore, he apparently took advantage of the history and location of Galicia in order to present an image that would emphasize the magnitude of the evil that was supposedly threatening England.

Although it is not necessary for Milton to have chosen Namancos and Bayona for any reason other than the sonorous effect and Spanish identity of their names, recognition of the historical and symbolic evil associated



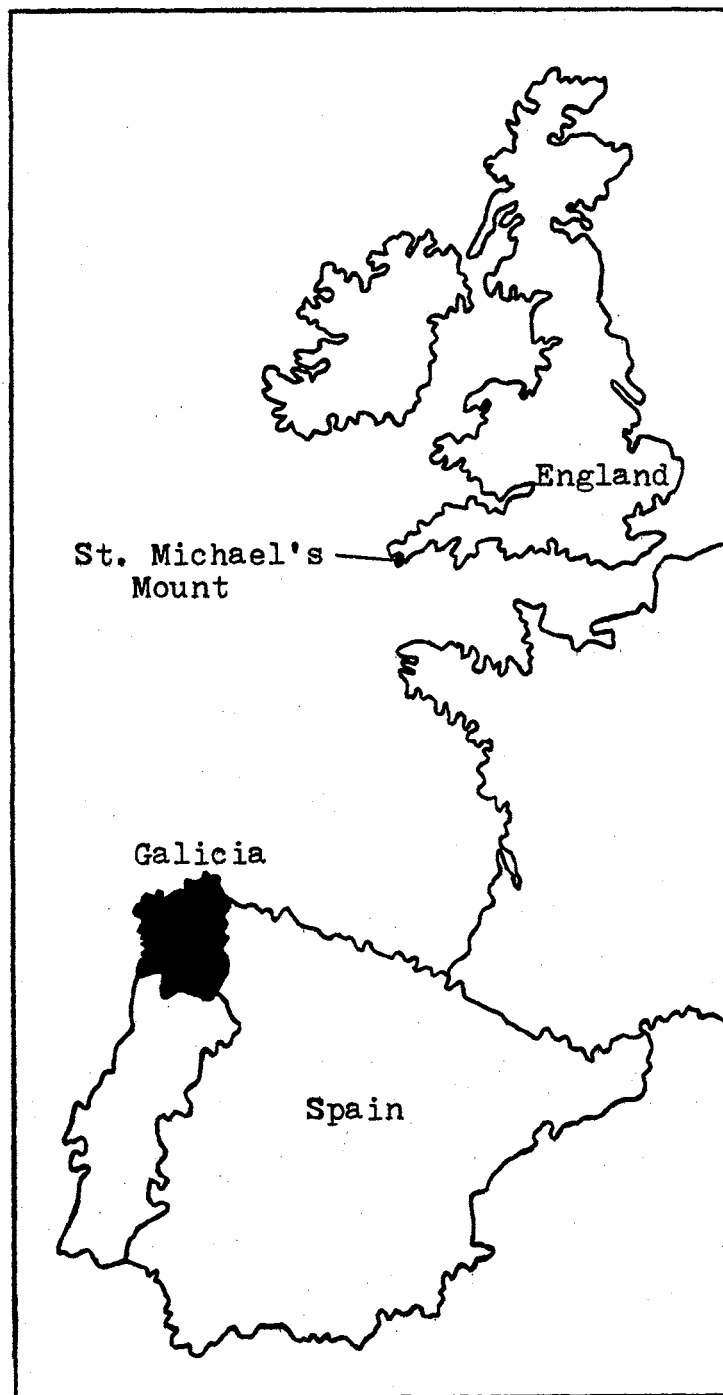


Figure 2. Galicia's North-  
westerly Location  
in Spain, Which  
is Also West of  
St. Michael's  
Mount

with these two places intensifies the evil connotation of "Namancos and Bayona's hold." Since it was consonant with Milton's poetic practice to include as much meaning as possible in each line, this theory provides a new insight into the poet's skill.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Works of John Milton, Columbia Edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), I, 82. Subsequent references to Milton's work will be based on this edition, and the volume and page numbers will appear parenthetically in the text.

<sup>2</sup>Milton (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949), p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted by G. S. Fraser, "Approaches to Lycidas," The Living Milton, ed. Frank Kermode (1960; rpt. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Cited by Albert S. Cook, "Two Notes on Milton," MLR, 2 (1907), 124.

<sup>6</sup>Britain, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), Part I, pp. 187-188. In this quotation and in all subsequent quotations from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, the u's, v's, and long s's have been modernized.

<sup>7</sup>Milton's Editors and Commentators from Patrick Hume to Henry John Todd (1695-1801) (New York: Haskell House, 1967), p. 279.

<sup>8</sup>The Poetical Works of John Milton (London: Bye and Law, 1801), V, 46.

<sup>9</sup>The Poetical Works of John Milton (London: Law and Gilbert, 1809), VI, 48.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>12</sup>The Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis of Milton (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897), p. 82.

<sup>13</sup>Cited by Cook, pp. 125-126.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>15</sup>"The Fatal Bark," MLN, 75 (1960), 104.

<sup>16</sup>p. 48.

<sup>17</sup>Images & Themes in Five Poems by Milton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 84.

<sup>18</sup>From A Study of Literature, in Milton's Lycidas, The Tradition and the Poem, ed. C. A. Patrides (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 117.

<sup>19</sup>Gerard Mercator, Historia Mundi: or Mercator's Atlas, trans. Wye Saltonstall (London, 1635), p. 10.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Scott, Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost, or Englands Forewarner (Utricht, 1626), p. 1.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas Scott, Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne (London, 1620), p. [9].

<sup>23</sup>"Poems on the 'Spanish Marriage' of Prince Charles," N&Q, 200 (1955), 339.

<sup>24</sup>Milton (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935), pp. 14-15.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>26</sup>Nina Epton, Grapes and Granite (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1956), p. 20.

<sup>27</sup>Mercator, p. 188.

<sup>28</sup>Louis Bertrand and Sir Charles Petrie, The History of Spain, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), pp. 27, 89.

<sup>29</sup>Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1922), I, 25.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 547.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 548.

<sup>32</sup>Los Judíos en Orense (Orense, 1904), quoted by Lea, III, 236.

<sup>33</sup>John Speed, The History of Great Britaine (London, 1611), Bk. 9, Chap. 24, p. 859, sec. 197.

<sup>34</sup>p. 20.

<sup>35</sup>William Camden, Annales. The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth, trans. A. Darcie from P. de Bellegent's French version of Camden's Latin (London, 1625), Bk. 3, p. 103.

<sup>36</sup>Walter Bigges, A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian Voyage (London, 1589), pp. 5-9.

<sup>37</sup>Epton, p. 21. However, Epton's modern version of this 1585 attack differs in several respects from that of Walter Bigges, who was actually a participant. Her description of the event is as follows:

When he was near the coast, Drake captured a Galician fishing boat and learned that the Governor of Monterreal was absent and that there was a garrison of only two hundred men in the castle. An Englishman called Robert Skart who was living at Bayona at the time was sent off to reconnoitre the English fleet, but he too was captured by Drake, who sent him back to inform the gentlemen of Bayona that he had come to "avenge the vassals of his Queen who had been molested by the corsairs of Bayona." As soon as Robert Skart came into port with the fearful news, the entire population of Bayona moved into the castle with their belongings, including their furniture. Twenty-eight English launches landed opposite the church of Our Lady of Bayona and then Drake sent the useful Robert Skart to the Governor (who had now returned in haste to prepare for the attack) to ask for wine and food and a bed for himself, with the assurance that he would not start his attack until the next day. He left the main part of his fleet off the Cíes, but such a violent storm arose during the night that it was prevented from joining him and since, on the other hand, he had now received word that armed reinforcements were rapidly arriving at the castle, he decided to re-embark during the night. This was effected so quietly that nobody in Bayona heard a sound and the inhabitants were astonished when they woke up the next morning to find that the enemy had vanished, and had sailed on to Vigo Bay. The Governor of Monterreal, Don Diego Sarmiento Acuna, Conde de Gondomar, rode off to Vigo and fought most valiantly, even galloping into the sea to take an English prisoner. (pp. 20-21)

Although the two versions differ, the important fact is that Drake's attempt to capture Bayona, or Bayona's hold (i.e., "stronghold" or Monterreal) was unsuccessful and that it was Gondomar who opposed him at this time.

<sup>38</sup>William Camden, Annales--Tomas Alter & Idem: On The Historie Of The Life And Reigne Of That Famous Princesse Elizabeth, trans. Thomas Browne (London, 1629), p. 10.

<sup>39</sup>Robert Devereux, A True Coppie of a Discourse written by a Gentleman employed in the late Voyage of Spaine and Portingale (London, 1589), p. 45.

<sup>40</sup>"Satan's Journey: Direction in Paradise Lost," JEGP, 60 (1961), 702.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 701-702. For substantiation of east as a favorable direction, Robins lists Ezekiel 43:2, Matthew 2:2, and Isaiah 27:8; for north as malign, he mentions Jeremiah 1:14 and 6:22; and for west as evil, he refers to Psalm 75:6, Isaiah 59:19, and Hosea 11:10.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 708-709.

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