Appendix

The Extracts on *Hamlet* and *Richard II*

Precisely when General Keeling’s journal vanished is uncertain. The “Catalogue of Letters Patent from the Crown kept in a Trunk,” dated “Register Office, 25 April 1822,” contains a “Catalog of Damaged Papers in Three Lists: Copied in part from the Old Catalogue.” The third list holds the following entry: “108, First leaf of Capt Keeling’s Journal. (Much decayed and mutilated).”¹ That only this leaf is mentioned indicates the possibility that the balance of the journal was already missing. But the entry appears in a bundle of lists in the Register Office, not in a summa of all extant East India Company (EIC) papers. F. S. Boas infers that “the rest of the log or journal may have been in the Marine Department where logs were kept” (89). It must have been intact if the entries on *Hamlet* and *Richard II* are genuine, for they were published in 1825 and 1849, the second time in apparent ignorance of the first. The first citation places the journal in the East India Company’s “library.” There is a strong possibility that the manuscript was lost between 1858 and 1867. Sir William Foster notes “the drastic purges made” during those years, “when many tons were sold as waste paper. Some of the records that are known to have been at the East India House in 1849” turned up later at the British Museum (*Notes & Queries*, 16 Sep 1950, 415).

The entries on *Hamlet* and *Richard II* initially surfaced in the *European Magazine* as the afterthought to an article by one Ambrose Gunthio on *Hamlet’s* lately rediscovered First Quarto (see Introduction):

Like a woman’s P.S., mine shall include the most choice thing I have to communicate, viz. three extracts from a journal kept on board the ship *Dragon*, by Captain KEELING, one of the earliest commanders employed by the East India Company, in whose library the MS. is preserved. They seem to shew that Hamlet was then, as now, preferred by most people before any other play, in the proportion of at least two to one.
Now to my extracts from Keeling:

“Sept. 5, 1607. I sent the Portuguese interpreter, according to his desire, aboard the Hector, where he broke fast, and after came aboard me, where we had the Tragedy of Hamlet; and in the afternoone we went altogether ashore, to see if we could shoot an elephant.”

“Sept. 29, 1607. Captain Hawkins dined with me, when my company acted Kinge Richard the Second.”

“March 31, 1608. I invited Captain Hawkins to a fishe dinner, and had Hamlet acted aboard me, which I permit, to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawful games, or sleep.”

The second extract appeared in an appendix to Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West (1849), where the EIC archivist Thomas Rundall inserted the following under the heading “Discipline”:

Opposed to gaming, the drama appears to have been considered a beneficial source of recreation; and the following curious and interesting entries connected with the subject, occur in the journal of the Dragon (Captain Keeling), bound with the Hector (Captain Hawkins) and the Consent towards the East Indies.

1607

September 4 [At Serra Leona.] Towards night, the kings interpreter came, and brought me a letter from the Portingall, wher in (like the faction) he offered me all kindly services. The bearer is a man of maruailous redie witt, and speakes in eloquent Portugues. He layt abord me.

5 I sent the interpreter, according to his desier, abord the Hector, whear he brooke fast, and after came aboard mee, whe re gau the tragedie of Hamlett.

30 Captain Hawkins dined with me, wher my companions acted Kinge Richard the Second.

31 I envited Captain Hawkins to a fishe dinner, and had Hamlet acted aboard me: wth I p’mitt to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawfull games, or sleepe.

A footnote adds, “This journal is printed in Purchas, but with many omissions; of which the above extracts form a part.” When Sir Sidney Lee, in A Life of William Shakespeare (1898), classified these notes as “Shakespearian Forgeries,” he believed them “First printed” by Rundall. Further misled by the editor Clements R. Markham’s confusion of Keeling’s missing Dragon journal with the Hector’s anonymous journal—which lacks pages from 31 August 1607 through 18 February 1608 and terminates on 12 March 1608—Lee added, mistakenly,
“Keeling’s manuscript journal is still at the India Office, but the leaves that should contain these entries are now, and have long been, missing from it.”4 The initial allegation of forgery, that is, was premised upon ignorance of not only the Gunthio transcript but also the identity and status of Keeling’s manuscript.

The two extracts do hold puzzling discrepancies. Rundall includes 4 September; Gunthio does not. Rundall terminates the 5 September entry before the elephant hunt that Gunthio includes. (Purchas dates the elephant hunt 7 September [2:506], but Hearne and Finch also place it on the 5th.) Gunthio dates Richard II on 29 September, Rundall 30 September, an incidental difference; Marlowe and Hearne and Finch have the ships becalmed on the 29th and subject to “a small gale” on the 30th, making the former the likelier date. More striking, Gunthio assigns the second Hamlet to 31 March 1608, Rundall to the impossible 31 September 1607. The latter date was corrected after publication: William Foster noted in 1900, “in the copy of Mr. Rundall’s book in the India Office Library the date has been altered, possibly by that gentleman himself, to 31 March, 1608” (N&Q, 21 July 1900, 42).

Rundall may have read Keeling’s journal selectively: his preface to the extract gives the impression that the three ships voyaged together, but they did not. In copying the entries, what evidently intrigued him was not the timing but the fact of the shows and Keeling’s conviction that they afforded sound recreation for the crew. Keeling’s practice as a journalist may have occasioned the misdating: the surviving first leaf indicates numerical dates on the left margin but does not repeat the month after an initial notation. Rundall may have copied the number he saw beside the second Hamlet entry and failed to confirm the date before publication. If, by contrast, with Gunthio’s transcript in hand, Rundall perpetuated what he believed to be a forgery, elaborating it with an apocryphal 4 September, why omit the hunt and assign a different, impossible date to the second Hamlet? These discrepancies, I suggest, like the incidental variations in spelling and wording, bespeak not a collaborative hoax but two independent acts of transcription from a single source. The challenges of deciphering Keeling’s hand support this inference. Gunthio identifies the Richard II players as “my company,” Rundall as “my companions.” Both terms make perfect sense as expansions of the contraction that appears several times on the journal’s first leaf, “Comp,” where it variously designates the crew and the body of shareholders in London: “wth a warrante from the lord Admirall for the keepinge of my Comp a abord” (15 March); “This day the deputie and others of the Comp a went abord the Hector” (n.d.). It would seem that Gunthio got the word right.
Glossary of Terms

Achin (Achene Achennes): Port city on northern point of Sumatra.
Aden: Port at southeast of Arabia outside Red Sea.
Alkaron: The Koran.
Antillas: Spanish islands in the Caribbean.
appointed: Equipped, armed.
artificial: Artful, skillfully made.
Babar: Measure of weight deriving from parts of India and China, about 400 pounds in the Moluccas.
Banda: Island group in the Moluccan Archipelago.
Bantam: Trading city at northwest end of Java (west of Jakarta), site of EIC’s (East India Company) first factory.
Boa Vista: Easternmost of Cape Verde islands.
bilboes: Leg-irons below deck.
bonnet: Piece of canvas sewn along bottom of sail.
boreyco (barico): Keg or barrel (from Portuguese “barrica”).
bower: A bow anchor; best bower, the larger of the two.
bowline (bolinge, bowlyne): “A rope . . . fastened to the . . . middle part of the outside of the sail . . . to make the sail stand the sharper or closer by a wind” (Mainwaring, 2:107).
boy rope: Rope attaching a buoy to an anchor.
Brava: One of Cape Verde islands.
breeze of the sea: A regular “wind which blows out of the sea . . . also called a sea turn” (Mainwaring, 2:110).
bvelte (buelte, buylte) it (often with to and again): An obscure phrase whose context (“divers boordes”, 73) indicates repeated tacking back and forth. See Chapter 2, note 41.
cable: “A three-strand rope . . . sufficient for a ship to ride by an anchor” (Mainwaring 2:113); cable’s length: about 100 fathoms or one-tenth of a nautical mile.
Cafars (Caffars): From Arabic “kafir,” unbeliever, here applied to South Africans and subject mountaineers in Socotra; cf. Finch in Purchas, Pilgrimes, 4:15. Widely used of indigenous Africans (e.g., Purchas, 9:198, 208; 10:265).
Caixem (Cayxem): Qishn, on south coast of Arabia, a “good Harborough . . . but no place for Merchandizing” (Keeling in Purchas, 2:516).
Cambaya: Gulf opposite and city north of Surat.
Cape d’Aguillas (Agulhas): Southernmost point of Africa; major reckoning point for mariners.
Cape St. Augustine: On northeast coast of Brazil.
Cape Bona Speranza: Cape of Good Hope.
Cape Verde (Cabo Verde): Islands off West Africa (incl. Mayo, St. Jago, Brava), c.16° N.
capstan: Large wooden cylinder on deck that revolved on a vertical axis for heavy lifting.
cargazone: Cargo (Spanish).
committies: Members of EIC board of directors.
cotton wool: Cloth of raw cotton or rough fiber.
course: A sail hanging from a lower yard, with no bonnets.
coxswain (coxone): Helmsman of the pinnace or long boat, from “cock,” a small boat.
cross trees: “Cross pieces of timber which are set on the head of the mast . . . the use whereof is to bear and keep up the topmast” (Mainwaring, 2:135).
Dabul: Portuguese India (west coast).
daft: A light spear or javelin.
Delisha: Port-town on North coast of Socotra, east of and better sheltered than Tamrida.
Downs: Sea inside Goodwin Sands off Deal on Kentish coast.
elephant’s teeth: Ivory.
Erith: On south bank of Thames below Greenwich.
Ethiopia: Often synonymous with Africa.
fish: “Piece of timber or plank which we make fast either to mast or yard, to . . . strengthen it when it is in danger to break” (Mainwaring, 2:148); may derive from the French ficher, to thrust in, fix, or attach.
flown sheet: With untethered sails, “for the sheet being flown doth hold no wind” (Mainwaring 2:150); sheets: ropes at lower corners of sails.
gallant: Flag on mizzen mast.
glass: Half-hour sand-glass.
Goa: Major Portuguese trading center on Malabar (south west) coast of India.
Goodwin Sands: Bank outside the Downs off Deal.
gorgett: Neck ornament, necklace.
Gravesend: Town on south bank of Thames opposite Tilbury.
Greenhithe: On south bank of Thames midway between Erith and Gravesend.
Guinea: West African region along Gulf of Guinea.
Gujarat (Guzerat): Northwest region of India that includes Surat and Cambaya.
half-pikes: Pikes with a half-length shaft, used at sea to repel boarders.
hollow sea: Action of waves after a gale; ground swell.
hull (vb.): To be driven by wind or current without sails.
India/Judea, shoals or flats of: Europa Shoals, between Madagascar and mainland, lat. approx. 21°30’ south, named “fflates of Judea” in the commission (Birdwood, 118), “Baxos India” in Figure 1.
Joan/John de Nova (Isla de Nova): Johanna Island, between Madagascar and the mainland.
kintale: See quintale.

lanterne (land-turn): “The same off the land that a breeze is off the sea” (Mainwaring, 2:175).

league: Three nautical miles.

lie a-try: To keep head of ship to the sea in a gale.

Lizard: Southernmost point of Cornwall, major reckoning point for English sailors.

long Boat: Largest of ship’s boats, “able to weigh [the ship’s] sheat anchor” and “live in any reasonable sea” (Smith, 26).

loof: 1. Part of the ship closer to the wind; spring one’s loof: bring the ship’s head closer to the wind. 2. Broadest part of the bow, where the sides begin to curve in toward the stem.

Lorania: Fernando de Noronha, island off northwest Brazil.

main: The open sea; also the mainland or the mainmast.

Malagetta: West coast of Africa.

Maldives: Island group south of India at about Sumatra’s latitude.

Malinda: Melinde, on east coast of Africa.

mase (of gold): Mas, one-sixteenth of a tahil.

Mayo: Island in Cape Verde group.

mizzen mast: Stern-most mast of a three-masted ship.

Moka (Mocha): Arab port just inside Red Sea.

Muccadama: Headman; from mukadam (Malay): superior, principal, chief.

Pasaman (Bassain): Port north of Tiku amid Sumatra’s west coast.

Pemba (Penba): Northernmost island of the Zanzibar archipelago.

pinnace: Small boat for passage between ships; small sailing vessel.

pintado (pantado): Colored or striped cloth, chintz.

play (ply): Tack, work to windward.

plot (plat): Nautical map or sea card, “a geographical description of coasts, with the true distances, heights and courses, or winds laid down in it, not describing any inland, which belongs to maps” (Mainwaring, 2:117).

point (on compass): Principal directions, thirty-two in number.

Priaman: Port south of Tiku amid Sumatra’s west coast.

quintale / kintall: A hundredweight, 112 pounds.

ride: To rest at anchor.

road: Roadstead, sheltered area of water near shore where ships lie at anchor safely.

rummage: “The removing and clearing of things in the ship’s hold” (Mainwaring, 2:215).

Saldania (Soldania): Table Bay at Cape Town, South Africa; from Saldahna Bay further north.

sea-turn (seatorne, alt. sea breeze): A gale or breeze from the sea.

shrouds: Large ropes fastened at the mastheads to support horizontal ratlines.

slatch: Brief respite or interval.

slent: Wind allowing one to lie aslant or near desired course.

Socotra (Zocatorie): Island in the Indian Ocean about 210 miles southeast of Yemen, 72 by 22 miles, largest and easternmost island of a group that includes Abd-el-Kuri and The Brothers (Dos Hermanos).
Sofala: Mozambique.

**Sprit sail**: Sail extended by a sprit or attached to a yard slung under the bowsprit.

St. Augustine: West cape of Brazil; bay on southwest coast of Madagascar, lat. 23°28’ south.

St. Jago: Santiago, governmental seat of Cape Verde Islands.

St. Lawrence (Lawrence): Madagascar.

**Stammell**: Coarse woolen cloth, typically dyed red.

**Stays**: Strong ropes supporting the masts.

**Steep tubs**: Tubs for soaking and curing.

stem: Prow of a ship (n.); to make headway against, maintain a fixed course (vb.).

Surat: City on Gulf of Cambay, northwest India.

tacks: “Great ropes” that control the angle of the sail to the wind (Mainwaring 2:240).

tahil: Weight of two Spanish dollars (Malay).

Tammorie, Tamoré: Tamrida, today’s Hadibu, town facing Arabian Sea from large bay on north coast of Socotra.

Tiku (Teckoo): Port between Pasaman and Priaman on Sumatra’s west coast.

**Tilbury hope**: On the Thames’ north bank opposite Gravesend; “hope,” inlet.

**Trenting**: Var. of “trending,” to stretch, incline, or bend, as a current or coastline.

Vares: Vara (Port.), 1.1 meters.

**Variation**: Deviation of magnetic needle from true north or south.

**Variation compass**: “Shows the variation of the compass from the true north and south” (Mainwaring, 2:129), sometimes used to approximate longitude.

**Waist (waste)**: The midst of the ship, “between the mainmast and the forecastle” (Mainwaring, 2:252).

yard: Long spar slung at its center to a mast to hold a sail; yard-arm: either end of same.

yongkers (younkers, yonkerees): “Young men called fore-mast men, to take in the top-sails, or rope and yard, for furling the sails . . . and take their turns at helme” (Smith, 36).
Amett, Sidde: Gujarati captain met in Socotra.

André, Bartholomeu: Afro-Portuguese merchant in Sierra Leone.

Ashenburst, John: Hector purser’s mate, d. in Socotra.

Barreira, Baltasar: Jesuit father in Sierra Leone.

Batten, Adam: Hector factor, possible author of Chapter 2 journal.

Beleyn, Captain: Chief of an island town north of Sierra Leone estuary.

Bensaid, Sedj Hamour: Ruler of Socotra in Tamrida.

Benseid, Hamet: Nobleman in Socotra.

Bidgood, Mr.: Dragon factor.

Blastock (Blastone), Mr.: Hector master surgeon, d. in Socotra.

Bowlyne, Mighell: Dragon mariner, d. at sea.

Bridges, John: Hector mariner transferred to Hopewell.

Buckbury, Edmund: Dragon mariner, first inland in Sierra Leone.

Bucke, Francis: Hector factor, writer, seized by Portuguese in Surat.

Buré (Burrea): Ruler in Sierra Leone.

Burrell, William: EIC master shipwright.

Churchwarde, Mr.: Hector master’s mate, “very sick of the services” (Marlowe in Danvers, 1:14).

Clarke, Edmond: Hector factor, possible author of Chapter 2 journal, d. in Socotra.


Cumberland, John: Dragon master surgeon, d. at sea off Madagascar.

Cunningham (Kinningham), Robert: Hector mariner, a Scotsman, witness against King.

Davis, Captain John: Sailed in First Voyage under Lancaster; as D. Middleton’s master on Consent in Third Voyage; also served on Fifth and Ninth voyages (Birdwood, 290n).

Dale: Hector youth praised in Marlowe’s letter from Socotra (Danvers, 1:14).

Deverell: South African acquaintance of Keeling.

Dickinson, Simon: Dragon factor.

Dirham, Mr.: Merchant on Second Voyage left behind on Mayo.

Dixon: South African acquaintance of Keeling.

Dryhurst, Robert: Hector steward’s mate, d. at sea.

Eldred, John: EIC charter member, committee, large subscriber.

Evenes (Evans, Evones), George: Hector foremost man, punished repeatedly, “shrewdly bitten” by crocodile in Madagascar (Purchas, 2:511).
Fernandas (Fernandez), Lucas: Temne counsellor-translator to King Buré in Sierra Leone.

Finch, William: Dragon factor, coauthor of Chapter 5 journal; Hector post-Socotra.

Gargrave: Hector youth praised by Marlowe (Danvers, 1:14).


Goodman, James: Hector carpenter, lost overboard off Socotra.


Gresham, Richard: Dragon smith, d. in Socotra.

Hammersley, Hugh: EIC committee, Levant Co. Gov., Lord Mayor (1628).

Harrison, William: EIC charter member & committee; supplied wine, canvas, invested £500 in voyage (Birdwood, 100–101, 278).

Hathorne, Thomas: Dragon mariner, d. at sea.

Hawkins, William: Hector captain, lieutenant general of voyage.

Hearne, John: Dragon factor, coauthor of Chapter 5 journal.

Herriman, William: Hector mariner, d. at sea.

Hillerid: Hector mariner, punished for looting in Socotra.

Hippon, Anthony: Dragon master.

Illarie, Josias: Hector mariner transferred to Hopewell.

Jackmann, Griffine: Hector mariner transferred to Hopewell.

Jeserell: Hector trumpeter.

Jones, John: Hector sailor, d. off Socotra.

Jones, William: Hector gunner’s mate, repeatedly punished for theft and looting.

Keeling, William: General of voyage.

King, George: Hector gunner’s mate prosecuted for bestiality, theft, and desertion, d. in Sierra Leone.

Lancaster, Sir James: Veteran mariner, privateer, general of EIC’s First Voyage.

Lane: Hector youth praised by Marlowe (Danvers, 1:14).

Lantro: Hector carpenter’s mate, punished for insubordination at sea.

Levett, Henry: Chaplain hired for voyage, did not embark.

Lock, Edward: Dragon youth, d. in Socotra.

Lovejoy, Mr.: Hector Master’s man, punished for theft in Sierra Leone.

Marlowe, Anthony: Hector factor, author of Chapter 3 journal, seized by Portuguese in Surat.

Michelborne, Sir Edward: Charter subscriber nearly named General of EIC’s First Voyage; withdrew and sailed independently to East Indies 1604–6; advised EIC concerning the Fourth Voyage (Birdwood, 134n, 247n).

Middleton, David: Consent captain, brother of Henry.

Middleton, Henry: General of Second and Sixth voyages; d. in Bantam 1613.

Middleton, Robert: Prominent charter member EIC, kinsman of David and Henry.

Molyneux, Matthew: Hector master, pilot major of Sixth Voyage.

Nackada: Indian merchant/negotiant in Banda.

Nasher: Slave who rafted to Dragon in Socotra.

Newcome, John: Hector mariner, d. at sea, possible author of the final section of Chapter 2 journal.

Pawling (Palline), John: Hector foremast man from Norfolk, d. in Sierra Leone.
Pennell, Mr.: Hector factor (after Socotra).
Phytho, Alexander: Hector mariner, a Scotsman, witness against King.
Pinto, Captain: Town chief in Sierra Leone.
Pocome, Mr.: Dragon master’s mate.
Quaytmore (Coytmore), John: Hector purser, d. in Socotra.
Quaytmore, William: Hector mariner, cousin of John.
Rich, Robert: Dragon gunner, d. at sea near Sierra Leone.
Roche, David: Dragon mariner, d. at sea, voyage’s first fatality.
Rogers, John: Dragon translator, served on Second Voyage, Keeling’s envoy in Sierra Leone, d. at sea.
Romney (Rumney), Walter: Dragon purser’s mate, Hector purser, seized by Portuguese in Surat.
Romney, Sir William: EIC governor at start of voyage, succeeded by Sir Thomas Smythe July 1607.
Roswell: South African acquaintance of Keeling.
Roswell, Robert: Hector steward.
Rouke, Thomas: Hawkins’ servant on Hector.
Savage, Mr.: 1, Hector master’s mate, Hopewell master; 2, Hector merchant, transferred to Dragon in Socotra.
Shappeline, Thomas: Hector mariner transferred to Hopewell.
Sidall (Sidoll, Siddall), Henry: Factor in Bantam who accompanied Keeling to Banda.
Smythe (Smith), Sir Thomas: Former sheriff of London, Lev. Co. governor (1600–1605), ambassador to Russia 1604, reelected EIC governor July 1607, Virginia Co. treasurer.
Spaulding (Spalden), Augustine: EIC factor / linguist in Bantam.
Speede, William: Copyist of Marlowe’s journal, factor on Sixth Voyage.
Starkey, Anthony: Hector cooper.
Stere, Walter: Hector trumpeter, punished for “straggling” in Sierra Leone, looting in Socotra.
Tavernor, William: Dragon master’s mate.
Towerson, Gabriel: Chief factor in Bantam (1605–08), Dragon captain home to London on Third Voyage; Hector captain on Eighth Voyage; married William Hawkins’ Armenian widow; slain at Amboyna in 1623.
Tyball, Vincent: Hector gunner’s mate, cut from crew for a “gangerava” on his arm.
Wallis, William: Hector foremost man, d. at sea.
Whitall, William: Dragon mariner, d. in Socotra.
Wilson, Robert: Hector mariner transferred to Hopewell.
Wyles, Richard: Dragon mariner, d. in Socotra.
Notes

Chapter 1


17. The Court Book (see Bibliography) names attendees of Courts of Committees, the executive body. Minutes of 7 September 1614 meeting in Sir William Foster, The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612–1614 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1934), 283.


27. Tavernor was a principal mariner on the First Voyage as well; see Stevens, *Dawn of British Trade*, 68–69.
30. On Newcome, see also Chapter 4, page 151 and Chapter 5, page 205; hiring noted, *Court Book*, 30 Jan 1606/7.
34. To “have an adventure” was to venture funds, to invest.
39. *Court Book*, 28 Sep 1609; cf. Sainsbury, *Calendar*, 194 (#460); 210 (#505), 211 (#507). The *Court Book* on 20 Jan 1614 and 8 Sep 1615 (British Library India Office Records, B/5) notes moneys owed to, and speeches against the committees made by, Mr. Bucke, “a brother of this Company, a grave man”; this might have been Francis Bucke. Cf. Sainsbury, *Calendar*, 271, 427 (#1019). I find no mention of Marlowe in London again.
40. Farrington, “First Twelve Voyages,” 146.
41. *Original Correspondence*, E/3/1, Nos. 8, 10; printed in Danvers, *Letters Received*, 1:18–20, 23–28.
42. *Court Book*, 31 Dec 1606, 2 Mar 1606/7.
44. Original Correspondence, E/3/1, No. 109; Danvers and Foster, Letters Received, 1:274.
46. Markham, Hawkins' Voyages, 368; Purchas, Pilgrimes, 2:503.
48. Hearne and Finch number the sick, 166; crew totals, Birdwood, First Letter Book, 102.
50. See Foster, Middleton, 9.
51. Markham, Hawkins' Voyages, 387, 388. On the wreck, see Foster, Jourdain, 116, 359; Danvers and Foster, Letters Received, 1:37.
57. Meetings and Hakluyt’s payment (£10, 30s) noted in Stevens, Dawn of British Trade, 123–4, 143.
60. See, for example, The Last East Indian Voyage (London: Walter Burre, 1606); Digges, Defence.
67. Purchas omits the names of the deceased that Keeling doubtless noted in his manuscript. Its surviving leaf names sick and injured individuals, and his 1615 journal names the dead.
69. Noting two deaths occasioned by the event, Dallam qualifies his praise: “This great triumpte and charge was verrie evile bestowed, beinge done unto an infidell,” *Diary*, 59.
72. Edward Haie in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 8:47; my emphasis.
75. Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Smith, Elder, 1898), 369. Lee was unaware of the 1825 transcript; see Appendix.
Chapter 2


2. John Eldred: an alderman, large subscriber (£550 in the voyage), charter East India Company member and Levant Company veteran. He caravanned with John Newbery and Ralph Fitch toward India in 1583, stopping in Basra; he was consul in Aleppo 1586 and Levant Co. Treasurer in 1600 (Foster, *Early Travels*, 2; Birdwood, *First Letter Book*, 164n, 169, 277; Foster, *Sanderson*, 6, 136, 204). Hakluyt published his narrative of the journey, Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Christopher Barker, 1589), 231–34. Hugh Hammersley, a prominent East India Company committee with £600 in the voyage, became Sheriff of London (1619), Lord Mayor (1628), and Levant Co. governor (Birdwood, 18n, 278).

3. Doubting lest: fearing or suspecting that.

4. Gangerava: probably a boil, canker, or gangrenous infection. Keeling’s journal fragment (L/MAR/A/3) notes, “Tibelles one of the Hectors men being much diseased and unfitt for the voyadge, I dismissed and wth him letters to the Company” (18 Mar).

5. Under the Cante: perhaps swinging with the tide from one anchor. Nautically, “to cant” in 1784 is “to swing round from a position” (Oxford
English Dictionary); cf. 25 Mar entry. On 12 March, Keeling writes, “I recd Lyme from Gravesend etc. I and the Hector sett sayle from Tilbery hope and anchord att the east end of the nore: the wind att south south-weast and south. This morninge it blew very hard. This daye Captaine Hawkinges brother and Mr Thomas Enwright (?) beinge abord me, I shott 3 parting peeces.” “Nore:” see note 10 below.

6. Whitaker: beacon off Foulness Island north of Thames estuary, east of passage from the Swin to the King’s Channel; a rhumb line nexus in Greenville Collins, Great Britain’s Coasting Pilot (London: Freeman Collins for Richard Mount, 1693), map 28; Fig. xx. On the 22nd Keeling writes, “In the morninge it was much winde, about noone wee set sayle in danger whereof I had 10 men hurtt att Cappstan. We had a Fayre . . . and anchored at the wet tak[er sands].”

7. The ships have moved northeast. King’s Channel: off Gunfleet and Gunfleet Sands on the Essex coast south of Harwich; the Burrows angle along the coast further seaward. See Collins, Coasting Pilot, First Part, map 4; Second Part, map C.8.d.7.

8. Pump: well or sink of ship where bilge water collects.


10. The Nore: sandbank and anchorage c2 miles northeast of Sheerness (Isle of Sheppey) at confluence of Thames and Medway rivers.

11. The Downs: sea inside the Goodwin Sands off Deal on Kentish coast northeast of Dover.

12. Knee: right-angled timber binding “the beams and futtocks together” (Mainwaring, 2:172); “futtocks”: curved middle timbers of ship’s frame.

13. Keeling was displeased at the delegation’s failure to visit the Dragon: “—— could not [come] abord me when I Caused the Hector to make sayle into Dover Rode. I went abord and sett saile also, I shott 5 peeces of ordnance for farewell to the Kings shipp & the [merchants] went ashore att Dover and came nott abord at all unkindley. I anchored in Do[ver Rode].” (n.d.).

14. Foul of: entangled with. Hawse: “great round holes . . . out of which the cables do come when the ship is at an anchor” (Mainwaring, 2:161).

15. Careened: tilted upwards for work on the hull, normally performed with the ship beached.

16. Keeling writes, probably over two days, “I discharged Richard Th. . . who had bine sore hurt wth the Capsten. . . . I sent my skife to Mr Cousans the preacher of Deale who wth his . . . me and exhortinge to prayer did after administer the Communion . . . he would . . . no mony butt I gave 5 [£?] to . . . I shott 3 peeces at his parting” (n.d.).

17. Fayere Lee: Fairlight, on Sussex coast east of Hastings.

18. Penzy Bay: Pemsey (Pevensy) Bay, on Sussex coast west of Rye and Hastings (Collins, Part One, map #5).
19. Off Fayer Lee on the 9th, Keeling notes that they missed the *Hector* and "bore up the helme . . . wee had almost lost our longe bote." Molyneux correctly inferred the Admiral's move: "Wee weied and came into the Downes wher wee rode all day the wind S.S.W. and S.W., no great gale. I wrott to the governor; I sent my purser to" shore (Keeling, 10 Apr).

20. "The purser retorned abord mee. Wee had newes the Hector was Certa[n] seene the 9th att 6 in the eveninge near the north forland. So that shee . . . be much to the northward" (Keeling, 11 Apr).

21. "The wind came att northeast and by S. and S.E. and we sett saile, the land . . . us. As I passed [the Downs] ther came a bote abord mee wth a quarter master of Hectors Comp in wch bote I sent Nebo an Ind[ian] who being . . . f[r]ench desease [e]nestly entreated me ther to my Master and surgion . . . him to be verye unfitt for us in regard of infection. The purser sent his boye ashore. The wind continued att E. and S.E. and S.S.E., a faire gale. By this bote I understood Certaynly the Hector was rode under the ness one Sunday last" (Keeling, 12 Apr). "Ness:" promontory, headland.

22. "In the morning wee weare thwart of waight [Wight]. I brought the Hectores man to the Captsten, but at the earnest request of the Master Merchantes and Company, I remitted him" (Keeling, 13 Apr).

23. "I anchored in the sound I answered my vice Adm[irall] . . . Came abord mee and wth him Captayne Colthirst . . . that the Consent putt heare butt one Sunday last . . . and I shott 5 partinge gunes about 9 att night" (Keeling, 15 Apr). Christopher Colthurst captained the *Hector* and *Ascension* 1603–4 and the *Ascension* 1605–6; Keeling had served with him on the Second Voyage. See Anthony Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Service Officers, 1600–1834* (London: British Library, 1999), 166.

24. "In the morninge I shott another warninge peece . . . I wrott to the gov-

25. "In the morninge wee spake wth 3 saile . . . and at nonne . . . weare S.S.W. hauflf W. off the Lizard about 6 leagues off fayre . . . after nonne I spake wth another saile . . . also . . . merchant who reported that a holland man of war had pillagede 3 saile . . . in the eavingen and that she rode under the Lyzard" (Keeling, 17 Apr).

26. Steerage plate: on wall of helm-cabin at rear of ship, immediately before the main cabin.

27. Cap: "square piece of timber which is put over the head of any mast, with a round hole for to receive into it the topmast" (Mainwaring, 2:115).

28. Item 44 of the extant commission discusses the factors at Bantam, item 46 the sale of deceased crewmen's goods (Birdwood, 131–32).
29. Having skipped 12 April and penned a 22 that could double as 21 April, the writer is now unsure if he has reached the 28th or the 29th. He correctly dates the next day 29 April, when Hearne and Finch also observe the Salvages.

30. At the Tropic of Cancer (23° 26′ 22″), the sun’s and ship’s zeniths meet; as they continue S., the sun’s zenith moves north of the ship’s.

31. Boreyco: keg or barrel (from Portuguese barrica) in which letters might be conveyed, perhaps by rope, from one ship to another.


33. “There wee finde a most extreame heat, so that all the water in the ship stinketh, whereby men are forced to stop their noses when they drinke, but when wee are past the Equinoctiall it is good againe” (Linschoten, 5).

34. Compare 14 July below and Marlowe, 15 July. Ethiopia was often synonymous with Africa in Jacobean parlance, the Southern Atlantic named Oceanus Aethiopicus on many maps. Linschoten advises that the course, “stil be somewhat about the south, and if the wind bee South, then rather chuse the East, then the West side . . . not once approching the land called Terra do Mallagetta, neerer then 50 or 60 miles . . . but when you set your course South West, . . . then use all speed and diligence, (as I sayd before) to passe the lyne, over the syde of Brasilia, thereby to get under eyght degrees, . . . and then if . . . you desire to leaue the sight of the land, then turne not upon the other syde, but rather cast anker, untill the wynd cometh good, to keepe on your course, and you must understand that the streame . . . runneth to the Antillas (which are the Ilands of new Spayne) wherefore I thinke it not your best way to Lauere [make short turnings], for if you do, without all doubt you will be forced to turne againe unto Portingale” (Discours, 309).

35. Either John Davis of Limehouse, veteran of the First Voyage, currently Middleton’s master on the Consent in another “speedy passage” to the East Indies; or more likely, the arctic explorer killed on Sir Edward Michelborne’s 1604–6 voyage that, with King James’ blessing, flouted the East India Company’s monopoly. The former’s “A Ruter, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East-India . . . upon experience of his fiue Voyages thither, and home againe” is in Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1905), 4:88–113. “The second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne Knight, into the East-Indies” (Purchas, 2:347–66), reports departure from the Isle of Wight on 5 December 1604, arrival in South Africa in early April 1605, and the death of Captain Davis and others on 27 December 1605.

36. Linschoten, 312–15. The chapter treats compass variation and puzzles the optimal longitude for passage to the Cape of Good Hope. The Hector writer contests Molyneux here.

37. To quarter: to sail with the wind on the quarter, between beam and stern.
38. A-weather: toward the windward side.
39. “[O]ur Admirall Saint Phillip, . . . in the yeare 1582 fell by night upon the flats, and was in great danger to be lost, yet recovered againe, & sayled backe to Portingale . . . The 12 of June we passed beyond the afore said flats and shallowes of Brasillia, whereof all our men were exceeding glad” (Linschoten, 5–6).
40. Ancient: ensign, flag.
41. See note 34 above. “Bwelte it to and again” is presumably equivalent to Linschoten’s “Lauere, make short turnings” (309).
43. Ducks at yardarm: see below note 55.
44. See above endnote 34.
45. The basilisk, a fabled reptile whose breath or glance killed.
47. Hair notes, “No term resembling caran and meaning ‘great’ is to be found in the three African languages . . . conceivably . . . spoken in 1607 in the Sierra Leone estuary, Temne, Bulom and Manding” (*Sierra Leone*, 46). Burreach (alt. Burrea, Buré) was christened King Philip of Sierra Leone at his baptism by the Jesuit Father Baltasar Barreira in 1605, the year the latter founded the Portuguese mission in Sierra Leone, which closed in 1617 with the death of Manuel Alvares. On the mission, see P. E. H. Hair, *Africa Encountered: European Contacts and Evidence, 1450–1700* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997), IV:23; Manuel Alvares, *Ethiopia Minor and a Geographical Account of the Province of Sierra Leone*, trans. P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: privately published, 1990).
49. The actual latitude is near 8°30.
50. On Lucas Fernandes, see Introduction.
51. Already baptized, Buré presumably told the English what he expected they would be pleased to hear; cf. Marlowe, 12 September.
52. The writer, who evidently joined this expedition, is more sanguine about their safety than Marlowe.
53. Davied: Davit, “a piece of timber having a notch at one end whereon they hand a block by a strap” (Mainwaring, 2:138).
54. The reluctant interlocutor was Bartholomeu André, the major Afro-Portuguese merchant in the region.
55. Nathaniel Boteler (1634) explains the procedures: “As for the punishment at the capstan, it is when a capstan bar being thrust through the hole of that called the barrel . . . the delinquent’s arms are extended to the full length and so made fast unto the bar crosswise; having sometimes a basket with some great shot in it . . . hanging about his neck . . . The ducking at the main yard-arm is when a malefactor, by having a rope fastened under his arms and about his middle and under his breech, is thus hoisted up to the end of the yard and from thence is violently let fall into the sea sometimes three several times one after another” (Perrin, 17).

56. With the hand tightening over the last fifteen lines, this entry closes f15v. An unknown number of subsequent leaves are missing. The journal resumes midsentence 18 February 1607/8.

57. On Lancaster’s advice, see Introduction.

58. Following “worth,” the last word of l.5 f17r, a tighter hand continues the journal to f18r, mid-l.16.

59. Clunnings: obscure. Perhaps “clew lines,” ropes to bottom corners of sails; possibly a term for the lacing of the bonnet.

60. The 6 Mar entry, squeezed into left margin, was added belatedly. The 7 Mar entry was originally dated 6 Mar, 8 Mar originally dated 7 Mar; both are corrected in darker ink, original hand.

Chapter 3

1. Ethiopia: see Chapter 2, note 34.

2. Drake and Cavendish stopped in Sierra Leone; see Richard Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1904–14), 11:132 (Drake, 1580); 291–93, 367 (Cavendish, 1586); see also 174–78 (Fenton, 1582).

3. On Burrea, see Chapter 2, note 47.

4. East India Company mariners preferred to barter for supplies. The process sufficed in Sierra Leone and South Africa (cf. 24 Dec) but faltered in Madagascar and Socotra (22 Feb, 17 May).

5. On Lucas Fernandez, see Introduction.


7. See Chapter 2, endnote 54.

8. “Rhetoric,” remarks Hair: “the name did not persist” (Sierra Leone, 51).

9. On the punishments, see Chapter 2, note 55.


11. See Chapter 2 (9, 11, 22 May) and Chapter 5 (11, 22 May).

12. Chaines: “strong plates of iron fast bolted into the Ships side” (Smith, 19) “to which the shrouds are made fast” (Mainwaring, 2:122).

13. The seamen’s “privy” area at the prow.

14. See Chapter 2, note 47.

15. Santiago, governmental seat of the Cape Verde islands. There is no record of Keeling’s letter reaching England.
18. Mainwaring explains, “a-stays or a-backstays; ... when the wind ... drives all the sails backward against the shrouds and masts ... To be taken a-stays, ... when the wind comes contrary on the sudden” (2:234).
19. In July 1608, mariners of the Fourth Voyage found the names of Keeling and Hawkins near Middleton’s (Foster, *Jourdain*, 13).
20. “When two ships stand stem for stem, they come right with their heads one against another” (Mainwaring, 2:236).
21. Mayne Halliars: halliards (ropes) for raising and lowering the main yard or sail. Ram’s head: large wooden block through which the halliards run.
22. Took us short: arrived suddenly.
23. Courses: sails of the lower yards. To “put into our courses” is to sail with these alone.
24. This current occasioned a rare dispute between Keeling and Hippon; see Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1905), 2:514. On Newcome, see Introduction.
25. To “let slip” is to cut the anchor cable; to weigh an anchor took considerable time and effort. The anchor might be retrieved later by the buoy rope.
27. Came home: came loose, dragging with the wind. The Moor is the escaped slave.
29. Compare Chapter 5, 28 April 1608.
30. One of the earliest English references to coffee and sherbet (a cooling drink of fruit juice and sweetened water).
31. Socotra was known for its medicinal plants and aloes.
32. Gere was demoted from gunner’s mate to common mariner. The loss of 10 shillings a month was significant. The *Court Book* notes one sailor’s wages on the *Dragon* at 24 shillings per month (17 June 1607); some earned less (see Chapter 2, 11 Mar 1607).
33. Possibly “caiques,” light skiffs used in the Bosporus, familiar to Marlowe from his Levantine service.
35. Redreffe: Redriff, var. of Rotherhithe, on the south bank of the Thames between Bermondsey and Deptford.
36. Spennell: spinel, red gem, ruby.
37. Probably the William Speede who departed the following month on the *Darling* as a well-paid factor on the Sixth Voyage, his annual £20 to be annually augmented by £10 up to £80 (*Court Book*, 21 Nov 1609). He spoke Spanish (10 Nov 1609) and possessed small maps “of the world in two hemispheres” (Danvers, 1:111, cf. 1:96). He perished on the voyage (Danvers, 1:272; Markham, *Lancaster*, 208).

**Chapter 4**

1. In pickle: at the ready. Molyneux and Tavernor were on the Second Voyage together (H&F, 11 May 1607).
2. See Marlowe, 3 June 1608, for the writer’s identity.
4. Quarter: upper part of ship’s side aft of beam.
5. “Lie a-try”: to keep the ship’s head to the sea in a gale; “lie a-hull”: to expose the hull to the wind.
6. Damon: Daman, Portuguese colony south of Surat on the Gulf of Cambay.
7. Lines crossed out at bottom of third page. Bucke evidently anticipated that the crew would retrieve the anchor and then corrected himself.
8. Hawkins wrote this day, “Then the Master said it was a dangerous place, and sayd that he durst [not] stire with the ship, till he had a pilott from Surat” (Markham, *Hawkins*, 387). They took a pilot 21 August and reached the bar of Surat 24 August (389).

**Chapter 5**

2. Davis and Michelborne: see Chapter 2 endnote 35.
3. Drake and Cavendish: see Chapter 3 endnote 2; cf. below, 12 Sep.
5. *Pinto/Punto*: “The etymology ... is fanciful” (Hair, *Sierra Leone*, 47); probably of African derivation.
7. On Fernandez, see Introduction.
8. Roan: Rouen cloth; vares, from Portuguese *vara*, 1.1 meters (Hair, *Sierra Leone*, 49).
10. On Barrera, see Chapter 2 note 47. He references the Gunpowder Plot.
11. They are nearing the Tropic of Capricorn (23° 26’ 22” S.).
12. Tristan de Cunha: see Fig. 1. On this day Finch noted, “we saw a monstrous overgrowne Whale comming up close under our sterne, and spouting water
in great quantitie; having much trash growne about his head which we judged to be Limpets, and other Shel-fish. At his going downe he turned up his taile, which we deemed neere as broad as our after Deck, estimating him to be at the least one hundred tunnes in weight” (Purchas, 4:18).

13. Cf. Linschoten: “Mangas de Velludo, that is to say, Velvet sleves, . . . which are certain signes of the cape de bona Speranza” (Burnell, 2:243, 247); probably a species of petrel with sharply angled wings.

14. To seel: to make a sudden lurch or roll to one side.


16. Punto Primero: see Figure 1, “Punta Primera,” near “Terra do Natal.”

17. Flatted: turned the ship’s head from the wind, went round on the keel.

18. Fresh: a flood of fresh water flowing into the sea.


20. Artificial darts: skillfully made spears or javelins.

21. Wax: probably beans.


24. Sofala: “at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold” (Hakluyt, 1589, 717); now called “Nova Sofala.”


27. *Olibanum, Mastick, Sanguis Dragonis*: gums or resins, the third bright red. Along with “Aloe Secutrina,” it is noted in Hakluyt to come from Socotra (PN, 1589, 219); see also Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1905), 3:208, 4:16. *Blattabizantia*: onycha (gathered from marine snails), an ingredient of incense.

28. Urgent, importunate.

29. Cape Guarde Fui: see Figure 1, “C. Guardafu.”

30. “Caxen” is penciled above “felork.” Cf. Finch, “Observations:” “About an hundred yeers since, this Iland [Socotra] was conquered by the King of Caixem (or Cushem, as the Arabs pronounce it) a King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand souldiers: he hath this, and the two Irmanas, and Abba del curia subject to him . . . The Kings sonne Amor Benzaid resideth at Socotora, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure” (Purchas, 4:13). Cf. Saris on “Amur Bensaid” (Purchas, 3:370–71).

31. Cf. Marlowe, 14 May. When shown in August 1608 a testimonial letter that Keeling left in Socotra, Jourdain fastened on its negativity: “Theffect
of the letter was that they were trecherous people, willinge all men to looke to themselves and stand upon their guard and trust them nott” (Foster, Jourdain, 112)

32. “Keep your loof; that is, to keep close to the wind” (Mainwaring, 2:182).
33. Several lines under “Inconveniences” and “Benefits” are written in a more formal script, probably copied from Keeling’s notes for the meeting.

Chapter 6

1. Entry inconsistent with other journals, which put them at Socotra 25 April. They saw “Abba de Curia” on the 19th.
3. Muuccadama: chief; Bassaine: Pasaman (see Glossary).
6. Cf. John Saris: “The second of October, arrived the Dragon from Priaman, wherein was Generall William Keeing. The seventh, the Generall went up to the Court, and delivered the King our Kings Letter, with a Present, which was five Pecces, one Bason and Ewer, one Barrell of powder” (Purchas, 3:499).
8. Purchas’ redaction reads, “Ile Tanara” and “Ile Lackee” (2:523).
thirteen hundred dollars” (2:536). The Dutch attacked and burned Labetakke on 1 July 1609 (Purchas, 2:538).


20. Spaulding, a young man in Bantam probably since the First Voyage, became an accomplished linguist. He assisted both David Middleton (Purchas, 3:60, 91; Danvers, 1:5) and Keeling (Purchas, 2:537) as translator on regional voyages; Keeling set his salary as chief factor at £50 a year (Purchas, 2:545). Returning to England in 1614, he dedicated Dialogues in the English and Malatiane Languages (London: Felix Kyngston for William Welby, 1614) to Sir Thomas Smythe. He resumed his post as chief factor in Bantam in 1618 and returned to London in 1623, confronting accusations of self-enrichment by private trade. See Birdwood, 95n; Foster, Middleton, 158n.

Appendix


2. Ambrose Gunthio, “A Running Commentary on the Hamlet of 1603,” European Magazine (Dec 1825), 347. The 7 September passage in Purchas continues, “we shot seven or eight bullets into him, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his tracke, but being neere night, we were constrayned aboord, without effecting our purposes on him” (Purchas, 2:507). Cf. Hearne & Finch, 5 Sep.


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