

THE TROUBLESOME
VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN
EDWARD FENTON,
1582-1583

E. G. R. Taylor



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582–1583

Edited by
E.G.R. TAYLOR

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I. The promoter of Fenton's voyage: Robert Dudley,
Earl of Leicester

Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius, 1586

The
Troublesome Voyage of
Captain Edward Fenton
1582-1583



Narratives & Documents

edited by

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*Emeritus Professor of Geography
in the University of London*

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Our English Nation may seame to contend even with the Spaniard and Portugall himselfe, for the glory of Navigation. And without all doubt, had they but taken along with them a very reasonable competency of skill in Geometry and Astronomy, they had by this gotten themselves a farre more honourable name than they . . .

**ROBERT HUES, *Tractatus de Globis*, 1594
(in John Chilmead's translation of 1639)**



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PREFACE

THE explosive entry of England into world affairs in the mid-years of the first Elizabeth has captured every imagination. That Drake sailed round the globe in 1577-80, that Lord Charles Howard defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, and that in the following years Richard Hakluyt first published the sea-saga of the *Principall Navigations*, are among familiar matters upon which every Englishman prides himself. But not every sea-captain had the resolution—or the ruthlessness—of a Francis Drake. Not every commander under the Lord Admiral was of the first-rate calibre of a Hawkins. While, of Hakluyt's informants, there were many who held back facts as 'unfit to be told', and he himself considered that there was much which it would be indiscreet to make public. The story of Edward Fenton, who with his associates set out to emulate, even to outdo, the exploits of Drake, has never been told in full. For Fenton was one of the unsuccessful Elizabethans, his voyage a failure; and although he later helped to defeat the Spaniards in the Channel, Hakluyt considered him sufficiently remembered by the shortened narrative of his second-in-command. Yet the adverse circumstances which, equally with his character, made the voyage of 1582 abortive are well worth recording, for they too were typical of the times. While it is also important to remind ourselves that Hakluyt did not hesitate to use the editorial blue pencil.

The present volume contains all the surviving records of the voyage that can be discovered. These should be of special interest to the general reader, for they include two private diaries and a number of personal letters besides the somewhat austere Sea Journal of Edward Fenton himself. The latter (together with Fenton's Journal of his Arctic Voyage with Frobisher in 1578) has not apparently hitherto been noticed.

VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN FENTON

The pair form part of the great collection of sea books and manuscripts brought together—and read—by Samuel Pepys. The 'China Voyage' is here published by the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The professional bleakness of Fenton's Journal is set off by the very different character of that of his chaplain Richard Madox. Madox's nature shines through his Private Diary—a perceptive observer of his fellows, and keenly interested in the springs of human action; a man of firm Christian principle, who could yet relish seaman's humour and tell a broad anecdote with zest; outspoken in his judgements of others, but generous and peace-loving; an intelligent, curious, and articulate man, with a trained and well-stored mind; an admirable observer, indeed one who may be fairly called scientific. These are qualities which go to make a great diarist, and Madox was one. It is a matter for regret by the present editor that she can offer here no more than about a quarter of Madox's Diary, since to print the whole would have unbalanced her book. It may be hoped that some other scholar will undertake a complete edition of this vivid and circumstantial document that so clearly displays the diverse humours of the Elizabethans—in university, in capital city, in sea-port, and on shipboard.

No portraits of Fenton or his fellow-voyagers are known, although Madox tells us that on 28 February 1582 'Mr Betts of Moorgate made my picture and had 12s. for it.' Most of the illustrations in this volume are taken from the sketches (charts or pictures) in Madox's Diary, all of which—with one omission—are reproduced; they indicate the range and variety of his interest in natural science. The title of the book is borrowed from the words with which Captain Luke Ward closed his narrative of the expedition: '. . . and thus I ended a troublesome voyage.'

The present editor is deeply indebted to Mr R. A. Skelton for much information, many references, and unsparing help and advice in preparing a somewhat awkward collection of manuscripts and illustrations for the press. Her grateful thanks are also due to many who have provided information

PREFACE

or answered enquiries with great kindness, notably many colleagues at Birkbeck College, University of London; Mr Evan James, Clerk of the Merchant Taylors' Company; the Rev. K. C. Francis, Vicar of St Nicholas, Deptford; Dr A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; Dr R. W. Ladborough, Pepysian Librarian; Professor D. B. Quinn; Dr J. A. Williamson; Dr K. R. Andrews; Mr G. P. B. Naish, of the National Maritime Museum; Miss M. A. Bennet-Clark, of the Ethnographical Department, British Museum; Dr D. W. Tucker, of the Department of Zoology, British Museum (Natural History); and Miss Margaret Holmes, County Archivist of Dorset. Permission to reprint copyright material has been generously given by Mr Francis P. Farquhar, for Document 49, and by Messrs John Murray Ltd, for Document 72.

Ralph's Ride, Bracknell
August, 1958

E. G. R. T.

Postscript (February 1959)

While this book was in the Press Mr Keith Short, a member of the Society resident in Brazil, drew the editor's attention to a document in the Spanish archives concerning the events at St Vicente. Mr Short generously supplied a microfilm and summary of the document, besides valuable notes on the personalities concerned. Excerpts have been printed as Documents 59A and 81.



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Cotton MS App. XLVII. (49 ff., vellum; sometime Add. MS 5008. Richard Madox's Private Diary, 1 Jan.-15 Sept. 1582. A prefixed note, signed F[rederic] M[adden], Jan. 1854, states that 'the contents of this volume were formerly kept with the unbound Papers of D^r John Dee (Cott. App. XLVI)'. Documents 38, 77, 78.)

Cotton MS Titus B. VIII. (ff. 179-221, continuation of Madox's Private Diary, 14 Sept.-31 Dec. 1582; f. 280, the trial of Ralph Crane. Documents 38, 45, 77, 79.)

MS Harl. 167. (ff. 39-72, English translation of a Portuguese manual of navigation. Document 75.)

MS Harl. 6993, arts. 6-8. (Papers of Arthur Atye relating to Fenton's expedition. Documents 15, 17, 20.)

MS Lansdowne 31, arts. 81-83; and Lansdowne 102, art. 104. (Documents on the abandonment of the First Enterprise, 20-29 August 1581.)

MS Lansdowne 100, art. 1. ('The doinges of Captayne Furbisher, amongst the Companyes busynes', by Michael Lok. Document 1.)

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Pepys MS 2133. (Unfoliated. Edward Fenton's Sea Journals in the *Judith*, 1578, and in the *Galleon Leicester*, 1582-3. Documents 34, 37, 74.)

VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN FENTON

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS, SEVILLE

2.5.2/21. (*Relación* of Juan Perez alias Richard Carter; letter of Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra, 1583; inquiry at St Vincent, 1583; depositions of John Drake, 1587. Documents 49, 59A, 72, 81.)

II. *Original sources: printed*

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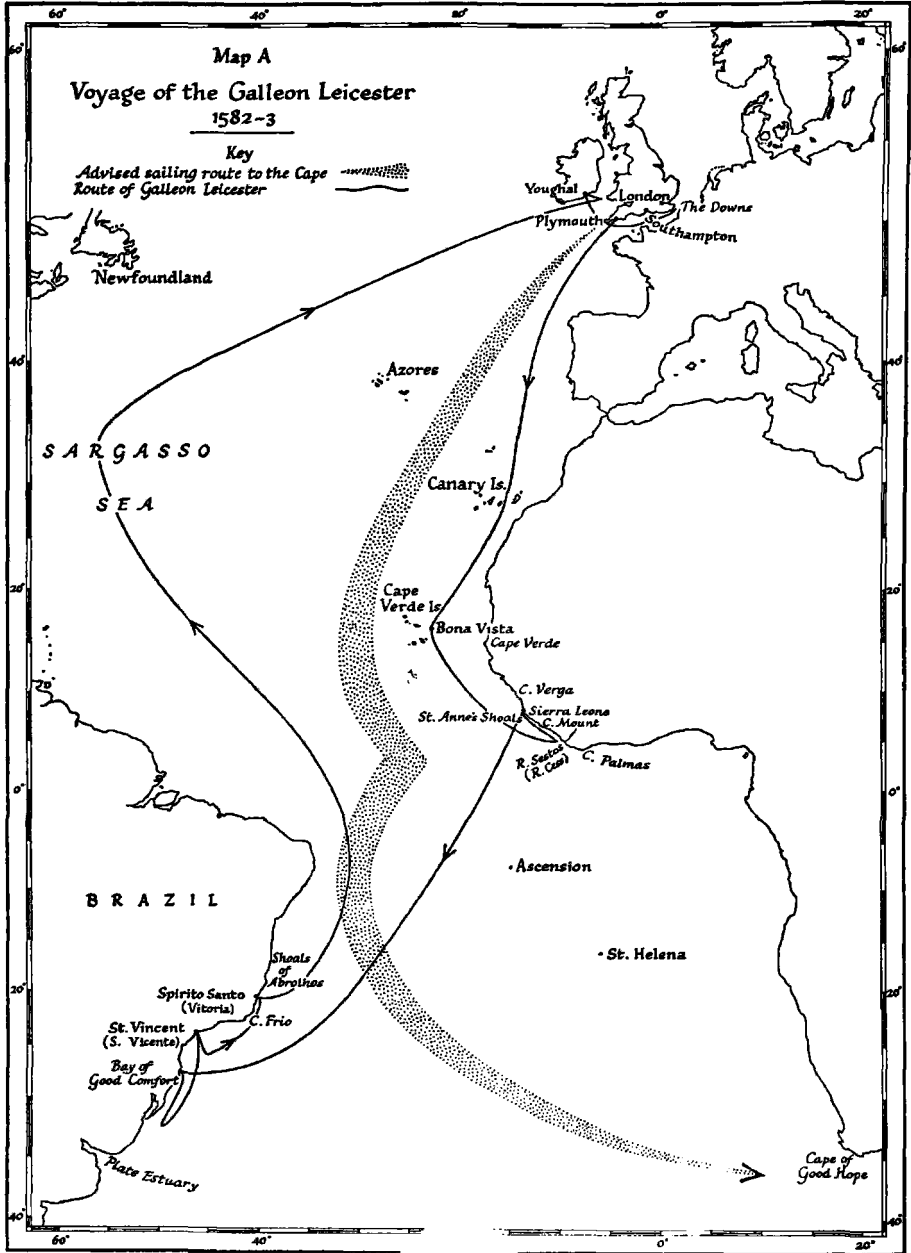
ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.	British Museum.
<i>Cal. S.P., Col., E. Indies.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. East Indies, China and Japan.</i>
<i>Cal. S.P., Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth.</i>
<i>Cal. S.P., Foreign.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series.</i>
<i>Cal. S.P., Ireland.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Ireland.</i>
<i>Cal. S.P., Span.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish.</i>
D.N.B.	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
J.I.N.	<i>Journal of the Institute of Navigation.</i>
M.M.	<i>The Mariner's Mirror. Quarterly Journal of the Society for Nautical Research.</i>
O.E.D.	<i>Oxford English Dictionary.</i>
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
<i>Pr. Nav.</i>	Hakluyt, <i>Principall Navigations</i> . (If no date is given, the reference is to the first edition, 1589.)
Taylor, <i>Hakluyts</i> .	E. G. R. Taylor, <i>The Original Writings & Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts</i> (1935).
Wagner, <i>Drake's Voyage</i> .	H. R. Wagner, <i>Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World</i> (1926).

NOTE ON PRESENTATION OF THE DOCUMENTS

The Sea Journal of Edward Fenton (Document 37) has been transcribed as closely as possible from the original, with contractions extended, and supplied letters printed in italic. In the remaining documents transcribed from manuscript originals, extended contractions are not typographically indicated. Conjectural interpolations by the editor are enclosed in square brackets.

In Richard Madox's Private Diary (Document 38), from which only extracts are printed, dates have been inserted as required to inform the reader. In the original, the names of Sundays and Saints' Days are usually given as they appear in the Prayer Book Calendar, while the days of the week are shown by astrological symbols. Cipher passages are introduced by the word '*cipher:*' and enclosed in square brackets. Translated passages (from Latin), introduced by the contraction '*transl.*', are similarly enclosed.



INTRODUCTION

EDWARD FENTON'S voyage of 1582 'for China and Cathay', sponsored by the Privy Council, was officially intended to establish the first English trading base in the Far East, but since it was a signal failure it has attracted little attention from historians. It is generally known, moreover, only from the narrative of the vice-admiral, Luke Ward, which Hakluyt printed in 1589. This he subsequently cut to barely half its original length for inclusion in the *Principall Navigations* of 1599-1600, and it is from the latter version that modern reprints have been made. Fenton's own Sea Journal has never been published—the manuscript was one of those collected by Samuel Pepys—and it alone records the last six months of the voyage. For early in 1583 Ward 'lost company' with his General off the coast of Brazil, while two months earlier still young John Drake had taken himself off with the *Bark Francis*, to the consternation of the mariners in the two great ships. For as he vanished, so there vanished also their dream of sharing out another shipload of Spanish treasure such as Sir Francis had brought home, and in the secret hope of which so many of them had embarked.

Plan and preparation of the voyage

It might well be asked what prospect there could have been of taking Spanish treasure in the course of a voyage to the Moluccas which, as the official Instructions laid down, was to be made both outward and homeward by the Portuguese route round the Cape of Good Hope. But, once at sea, who is to hold a man? Drake's return, loaded with spoils, had set every young gentleman in England (so the Spanish Ambassador said) agog for the Pacific. Hence in the preparatory notes for the organization of the Fenton voyage there is to be found a warning that if young William Hawkins

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was to be given a command, someone 'trusty' must be associated with him to keep the venture to its purpose. That purpose was, in fact, expressed only very vaguely, but it was presumably to take advantage of the good relations established by Drake with the native rulers at Ternate in the Moluccas and purchase cloves. A landing party was to be left at some unspecified point in the East, and since we know that the Earl of Leicester (then Chancellor of Oxford University) had asked for up to three years' leave of absence for the man who was to be its chaplain, Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls, this suggests at least a year's stay.¹

It was definitely the Earl of Leicester's voyage, and he put all the business of organization into the hands of his recently appointed secretary, Arthur Atye, another Oxford man. His own investment in it was a sum of £2,200, while he invited his friends to take shares at a mere £100 or £200 apiece.² Nor had the venture, in fact, originally been planned in any relation to Drake's success in the Moluccas. It was the relatively insignificant aftermath of a more grandiose scheme to reap advantage for England from the claim made by Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, to the throne of Portugal. A year before Drake's return it had become obvious that the Pope's Line would shortly disappear, and the whole colonial empire of the world, whether it lay East or West, would fall into the single hands of King Philip of Spain. An English cosmographer, possibly Richard Hakluyt, had suggested three counter measures: colonizing Magellan Strait; seizing S. Vicente ('St Vincent'), then the most southerly Portuguese settlement in Brazil; and immediately searching out the north-east passage to Cathay, which was believed to run south-east after passing the mouth of the River Ob. Thus new trade approaches to the Far East, outflanking Spain, might be secured.³

Meanwhile the old Cardinal King Henry of Portugal died, and Queen Elizabeth committed herself cautiously to

¹ P. 151, n. 2.

² Document 6.

³ E. G. R. Taylor, *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, 1935), pp. 139-46.

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the support of the Pretender. The returning Drake, understandably full of self-confidence, declared himself ready to lead a fleet back by the Cape route and secure the Portuguese Indies, and in the New Year of 1581 the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza reported to his master that the nation's hero was indeed about to sail on this adventure.¹ Actually, however, Don Antonio had already been defeated in Portugal, and the only territory acclaiming him as its King was Terceira, the large central island of the Azores group. This, however, for reasons of wind and weather, was at the very hub of Atlantic sea-traffic, and upon it the policy-making trio of the Privy Council, Burghley, Walsingham and Leicester, now formulated a supporting 'Enterprise'.² A fleet of two great ships (one the *Galleon Oughtred*), with six small vessels or pinnaces in support was to establish a fortress on Terceira with a garrison of two hundred (originally a thousand) men, and there cruise about to await the coming of the Spanish treasure fleet from the West Indies. If this were missed then they would range and spoil the Caribbean coasts. This last purpose, however, must have been too much for Lord Burghley, whose notes are on the relevant document, for it is heavily scored through. But letters of marque from the 'King' of Portugal would give legal cover to the seizing of the Spanish ships in the Azores. The same English fleet could also sail round the Cape to Calicut, and there in friendly cooperation with the Portuguese (it was assumed that these colonials would be in favour of King Antonio) they would establish an annual English spice trade.

On the back of the page, Burghley made a list of names of proposed captains for the double 'Enterprise'. Drake's naturally came first, but almost at once the Queen forbade his employment. Next was that of Richard Bingham, a notable soldier and a 'servant' of Sir Francis Walsingham, followed by those of Edward Fenton, Gilbert Yorke, and Luke Ward, who had all three been on Frobisher's second and third Arctic voyages. These voyages had enjoyed the financial support of Leicester and his brother, the Earl of

¹ P. 5.

² Documents 3, 4, 5.

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Warwick, as well as of Burghley and Walsingham. Don Antonio, who was expected to put down £2,500 for the 'Enterprise', was to receive half the proceeds 'gotten from the enemies of the King', and (says the plan) the Queen 'may' provide the like sum. Drake and his friends were also expected to take shares in the adventure, to the tune of £5,820, and so make up the total estimated cost.

But no fleet sailed. Evidently the money was not forthcoming, and there were political complications besides. The Queen had no wish to embroil herself with her 'brother' Philip, while the cooperation of France in Don Antonio's affairs hinged upon her decision whether or no she would really marry the French King's sickly brother. However that might be, by August 1581, the Portuguese Pretender was being fobbed off with vague assurances,¹ while Leicester had developed quite different ideas for using the *Galleon Oughtred*, which had already been fully furnished and armed to lead the 'Enterprise'. His plan was to secure the partnership of the Muscovy Company, and send the ship (ostensibly at least) on a peaceful merchant voyage to the Moluccas. She was to have a consort and one or two small supporting barks or pinnaces.

Immediately, the Earl began writing round to his friends to take shares in this venture,² while his secretary Atye jotted down notes of various decisions and arrangements that would have to be made. John Hawkins, Treasurer of the Navy Board, on being approached sourly refused to contribute, saying that his credit had been exhausted by provision made by him on the Queen's behalf for the 'Enterprise', but now left on his hands. This, however, as will appear, was a mere pretence. He did not like the parties concerned. The Earl of Shrewsbury on the other hand was eager to send his *Bark Talbot*, but the partners who ran her on his behalf made unacceptable conditions with regard to prize-money, and the suggestion fell through. Atye jotted down a long list of names of possible subscribers, including many (those for example of Horatio Palavicini, the elder William Hawkins and Alderman

¹ See p. 9, n. 1.

² Documents 8-10, 15-17.

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Martin) which he subsequently struck out. Shrewsbury eventually put up £200. The *Galleon* was bought from Sheriff Oughtred for £2,800 as she stood, and of this sum £800 was to represent her owner's investment in the voyage, the Earl of Leicester undertaking to pay him the £2,000 in a series of instalments spread over a year or more. Drake, who was supposed now to possess a bottomless purse, put in a thousand marks, all the other shares being small. A third of the proceeds was to be divided among the crew who actually sailed, at a standard rate according to their status, which explains why a suggestion, made by the military commander during the voyage, to bestow the rank of lieutenant and corporals upon some of his men was firmly rejected by Fenton.¹

The merchandise carried was valued at no more than £2,000, and although this was to be sold for not less than three times its cost, a return of £6,000 could not make the voyage profitable. Other sources of gain, in particular from the purchase of spices, must have been expected. It is worth noting however that English merchants were already awake to the fact that Portuguese colonials in Brazil were hungry for manufactures, especially textiles and hardware, and could offer in return quantities of cheap sugar.² In West Africa, too, there was an unsatisfied native demand for salt as well as European manufactures, and an exportable surplus of pepper, slaves, ivory and perhaps gold. A voyage there might be worth £100,000.³

The voyagers

Command of the China voyage was at first given to Frobisher, with Captain Christopher Carleil (Walsingham's stepson), Edward Fenton, Luke Ward, and probably young Hawkins, in subordinate positions. But for reasons unexplained, after he had attended to the preparations for over five months, Frobisher was suddenly replaced by

¹ A typical Spanish scheme of division is given by Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General* (1601), dec. III, lib. viii, cap. 6.

² See pp. 1, 106, 195, 280, 282.

³ Randall Shaw (p. xxxv) to Edward Cotton (S.P. 12/143, art. 46).

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Fenton, who had been his lieutenant in the Arctic voyages.¹ This was to exchange a sailor for a soldier, and was greatly resented by the mariners, some of whom repudiated their engagements and turned pirate.

Fenton came of a Nottinghamshire family.² His elder brother Geoffrey was to become well known as an administrator and writer, and Edward himself in 1567 produced a book (a translation from the French) which he dedicated to Lord Lumley (son-in-law to the Catholic-sympathizing Earl of Arundel). But he turned to soldiering, which qualified him in those days for taking command at sea. During 1580-1 he fought in the Irish Wars, as did Captain Bingham and Martin Frobisher, the two last-named in command of ships before Smerwick.

Carleil, jealous of young Hawkins, never sailed. He backed out at the last minute, pleading an ague, so that a colourless and nervous young gentleman, Nicholas Parker, who had also fought in Ireland, was promoted to replace him as commander on land. As already mentioned, Leicester chose the senior chaplain from Oxford, and it is Richard Madox's private diary³ which lends such colour and human interest to the story of this voyage, although regrettably the diarist did not survive it. The second parson, also a diarist,⁴ was John Walker, a simple pious man (not without his weaknesses) and one of Leicester's own chaplains. He, too, died at sea.

Both chaplains were profoundly shocked when, once past the Lizard, they discovered themselves to be part of a would-be pirate crew. Their General, they learned, was pondering wild schemes for self-aggrandizement among which a simple merchant voyage intended for the exchange of drapery and haberdashery for spices was quite lost sight of. That he sailed, moreover, under commission of the Broad Seal (as Frobisher had done in 1577 and 1578) went to Edward Fenton's head. It gave him powers and privileges which prompted him to arrogant behaviour and self-glory.

¹ P. 151; Documents 24, 27.

² *D.N.B.*, s.vv. Fenton, Edward, and Fenton, Sir Geoffrey.

³ Document 38.

⁴ Document 39.

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As a consequence he expected and demanded a humble submission and subservience as though he had been the Queen in very person. Madox declared that Fenton's evil genius during the voyage was the Portuguese renegade and ex-pirate, Simon Ferdinando (Simão Fernandes) 'Mr. Secretary Walsingham's man'. This fellow, a native of Terceira, was shipped as co-pilot with Thomas Hood, one of Drake's crew, although his knowledge and skill (without doubt considerable) were limited to navigation in the North Atlantic. A Protestant convert, he was all for robbing the Spaniard, and when Madox challenged him, since the Queen was at peace with Spain, he declared that he had a mandate to do so from five Privy Councillors.¹

Ward, the vice-admiral, is rather a baffling figure. We do not know who his patron was (Fenton was a 'gentleman of the Earl of Warwick's'), and it was a mother, not a wife, who came to see him off when the *Edward Bonaventure* left Blackwall in April 1582. But he owned a ship, and (it is safe to say) was a professional sailor. The last we learn of him is that he was captain of a ship, the *Tramontana*, which was one of those assembled to meet the Spanish Armada in 1588, while in 1591 he commanded the Queen's ship *Swallow*.² Madox thought well of him at first, and indeed he was assiduous in the care of his men, in improving his maritime knowledge and in seeking the prosecution of the voyage as planned. But when he offered to keep the parson's private diary from prying eyes, Madox actually denied that he kept one, while writing in it that no one would care to put himself under an obligation to a man of that sort. Certainly Ward lacked self-control. Incensed at some order of Fenton's he made a painful scene at dawn one day in the cabin of his own chaplain Walker, then barely recovered from a dangerous attack of fever. And more than once he threatened privately that he would desert his commander. It was as Fenton's lieutenant that he had been chosen to overwinter in the Arctic in 1578, and it is perhaps fortunate that the exceptional ice conditions, and the loss of half the prefabricated building

¹ P. 197.

² *D.N.B.*, s.v. Warde, Luke.

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that the party was to occupy, caused that scheme to be abandoned. Michael Lok, who, as treasurer of the Cathay Company, found himself in the Fleet prison through no personal fault, declared that Frobisher had deliberately wrecked the plan lest Fenton's fame should outshine his own. Such back-biting and jealousy was typical of the day, and marred Fenton's own voyage. It is welcome to find in Richard Madox a man who could be critical without being spiteful, and one of whose integrity his Diary leaves the reader in no doubt.

There were about a dozen of Drake's men aboard, who included the pilots of the two principal ships (the renamed *Galleon Leicester* and the *Edward Bonaventure*), Captain John Drake commanding his cousin's little *Bark Francis*, and young William Hawkins (nephew of John Hawkins), whose rank was Lieutenant to Fenton. It had seemed a sensible step to carry mariners who had at least once sailed over the Cape route, hitherto completely unknown to English sailors, but in fact these men had one ambition only, namely to reach the forbidden Strait of Magellan, and once more plunder off the coast of Peru. And this in spite of the clear indications that since Drake's raids the Spaniards were taking precautions against any repetition of the earlier exploit, which had taken them unawares.¹

A small committee of leading members of the Muscovy Company looked after details of the furnishing and manning of the ships. They were Alderman Barnes (son of old Sir George), William Towerson (who had traded to Guinea in Queen Mary's days), and John Castlyn.² They placed some of their own men aboard, notably Nicholas Chancellor (son of the famous Richard), who was purser in the *Edward*, Christopher Hall, the steady, reliable Master of the *Galleon*, and Richard Fairweather, who although he had held the rank of Master in the Arctic voyages now shipped as mate. He was advanced to Master of the *Bark Francis* when William Markham, a Drake man, died in Sierra Leone. Thus he was one of those ship-wrecked in the Plate estuary with young

¹ P. 161.

² P. 66.

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Drake, and was later reported to have married in the country, while his captain was carried off to Peru. Chancellor, who had gone through the three dangerous North-West Passage voyages, died after the shock of getting separated from his companions in the West African forest: a 'nervous man', said Madox.

The total casualties in this affair were in fact well over one-third of those who set out, not all the deaths being reported. Captain Thomas Skevington, who had been with Frobisher in the north-west, died of the scurvy when within sight of home. He had originally been in command of the *Elizabeth*, a ship a little larger than the *Bark Francis*, bought to carry supplies. But from the outset he was discontented and had trouble with his men. Fenton suspected him too of an intention to slip away in company with the *Bark*, and decided to have the *Elizabeth* broken up. In the event, however, she was sold to the Portuguese in West Africa. The rebellious merchant, Miles Evans, satisfied that they were not bound for China, arranged to return home in her. He was one of five merchants aboard, a group which became very obnoxious to Edward Fenton, since they naturally wished to carry out the voyage in accordance with the official instructions, that is to say for trade, not piracy. Among them was Randall Shaw, who during the first two weeks aboard wrote at great length to Edward Cotton of Southampton about the prospects of a trade voyage to 'Bynney' (West Africa), which he believed would prove very profitable. The youngest was Peter Jeffery, chosen for his knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese.¹ There were also three gentlemen in the company who had secured coveted places as 'travellers', a fourth being left behind, in farcical circumstances, in the Isle of Wight.² A name that does not appear on the sailing list is that of John Wilkes, apparently an expert in dyeing. He was on board the *Elizabeth* at first (behaving very offensively to Captain Skevington), and then transferred to the *Edward*, in which he died on the homeward journey. It will be recalled that English cloth merchants were very anxious to improve

¹ P. 63, n. 1.

² P. 86, n. 3.

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the finish of their goods, and the elder Hakluyt (in his role of economic adviser) pressed the importance of sending dyers abroad to study foreign methods and materials.¹ The physician carried was John Banister, licensed by Oxford University, a boastful man who had been in attendance on Leicester and 'Monsieur' when the latter was being escorted to the Netherlands in February 1582. Madox, for reasons that will become obvious, referred to him in his Diary as 'the hypocrite'.

Madox and his Diary

The parson produced *noms de plume*² for all his leading companions once he discovered that his Diary was being read, and that in any case it would be confiscate at the end of the voyage. He therefore resorted to writing in Latin, and for particularly intimate passages used his private cipher, which has proved not very difficult to break.³ The Diary is complete for the year 1582, but there is no evidence as to whether or no the writer had started a new 'book' (as he called it) during the remaining two months of his life. All we learn of him during that period is Fenton's curt entry in the margin of his Journal, on 27 February 1583, 'my father Madox died'.⁴ This phrase suggests, however, that in spite of the poor opinion that the chaplain had formed of his General (one that he expressed to himself very plainly in private) he continued to serve him with that loyalty and dignity which Fenton's office demanded.

Madox was, indeed, in receipt of many confidences, so that he can often tell us what Ward, or young Hawkins, or Parker or Master Hall, was secretly feeling and thinking. And by referring to them respectively as Hypothalasticus, Glaucus, Pyrgopolinices, and Palinurus he could safely add his own, sometimes caustic, comments. Fenton was Clodius, Ward was occasionally Milo. Ferdinando was Cornicola, or Verres (the swine). Madox says that these were the names of the characters in what he describes as a witty comedy about

¹ Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 137-9, 184-95.

³ Document 80, and Plate XV.

² See below, pp. 183, 319.

⁴ P. 137.

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which he had read in Aulus Gellius. Perhaps his memory was at fault, but more probably he was bent on confusing the surreptitious reader, for no such comedy is mentioned in that writer's *Noctes Atticae*.¹ The chaplain was, however, widely read, alike in the classics and in English and foreign literature (he quotes, for example, from Thevet, Cardanus, Chaucer and Edmund Spenser). His age was 36 at the time of the voyage, and he had come up to Oxford in 1567, taking his B.A. degree in 1571 and obtaining a Fellowship in 1573. He later became a University lecturer and Member of Convocation. In 1580 he took orders, and was elected Junior Proctor in 1581, a post from which he had to secure leave of absence. He had earlier been absent from the University for nearly three years between 1576 and 1579, when he had some employment at Dorchester and spent a few months in Paris.² He then evidently came to know the Dorsetshire sea-port of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, for after his death his friend Thomas Martin had a 'learned and godly' sermon printed which the 'learned and vertuous young man' (Madox) had preached there on 3 October 1581.³ This sermon was particularly directed to sea-farers and is full of homely sea-imagery: the speaker is clearly familiar with the sailors' instruments, with the balestilha (cross-staff) and nocturnal, and he can speak eloquently of sea-hazards. Madox proved a wise choice as ship's chaplain, for unlike those around him, he had a trained mind and understood self-discipline and self-restraint.

Navigation

In fairness to Edward Fenton it must be said that his voyage to the East Indies and the Moluccas was foredoomed

¹ P. 183.

² Madox jotted down the salient facts of his life at the end of his Diary. (Document 79.)

³ His editor mis-names the preacher as 'John' Madox, but describes him correctly as Master of Arts and Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. The publication bears no date, but refers to the Chaplain's death in the words 'hee, now having reaped the fruits of his faith, is made coheir with his, and our Christ, in the kingdom of our good God', which appear in Thomas Martin's dedication to the Mayor, Bailiffs and Aldermen of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. See Bibliography, p. xxii above.