

SUMMARY: The document below is an account by the mercer and merchant-adventurer Michael Lok (c.1532-1620x22) of the misdeeds of the privateer and explorer Sir Martin Frobisher (1535?-1594) in connection with the three voyages made by Frobisher to the Canadian Arctic near Baffin Island in the years 1576-8.

The background to Lok's account is compendiously explicated in the entry for Lok in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available online:

*In 1562 he was admitted to the Mercers' Company, and about this time married Joan (d. 1571), daughter of Sir William Wilkinson, sheriff of London; they had eight surviving children. He continued to practise his mercery trade in London, and from 1571 to 1576 he was London agent of the Russia Company (Willan, 26–7). In 1574 he was approached by Martin Frobisher, with whom he may have had a prior acquaintance through his brothers' involvement in the Guinea voyage of 1554, in which Frobisher had sailed as a young man. Together they prepared a proposal to the privy council, to discover a sea route to 'Cathay' via the north-west. They secured a licence to attempt this from the Russia Company, whose charter privileges they were technically infringing, and secured investors from the city and court. For want of sufficient funds to dispatch a voyage during 1576, Lok was obliged to provide loans of over £800 from his own pocket. Two further voyages to Baffin Island followed, in which the queen herself invested, but the enterprise degenerated into a search for gold, incurring large losses (most spectacularly for Lok himself). Frobisher turned violently against Lok, whom he blamed for his own misfortunes, and led moves to impeach him for alleged financial irregularities. Effectively bankrupted, with his name on transactions entered into on behalf of his fellow adventurers, Lok was cynically abandoned to fight a series of creditors' suits. He went to debtors' prison upon at least eight occasions, and claimed to have seen the inside of every London gaol save the Fleet—to which he was also committed subsequently.*

The first Frobisher voyage set out from the Thames on 12 June 1576 'with two small ships and a pinnace at the charges of divers honourable and worshipful persons'. The second voyage left from London on 26 May 1577 with 'one great ship of her Majesty's named the Ayde and two other small ships well manned and furnished', and returned to Milford Haven on 23 September 1577. The third voyage set out from Harwich on 31 May 1578 with 11 ships 'very well furnished & provided to fortify and inhabit in that new country for one year or twain if need were' and with 4 extra ships provided by Frobisher on his own initiative, and returned to England at the end of September 1578.

As noted in the foregoing excerpt, in the second and third voyages the purposes of exploration and settlement were abandoned in the search for alleged gold-bearing ore which ultimately proved worthless, and huge losses were sustained by the investors. Michael Lok's account below suggests that much of the blame for this situation rested with Martin Frobisher. However it also appears almost certain that the results of assays of the ore were tampered with, likely by those employed to do the assaying, and that the losses sustained by the investors were the direct result of fraud.

The largest investors in the Frobisher voyages were the Queen, who invested £4000, and Edward de Vere (1550-1604), 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, who invested £2520, according to the auditors' report and according to Lok's own statement:

*He hath not cozened nor deceived the right honourable the Earl of Oxford of one penny, but hath dealt justly with his Honour in the said voyages, wherein his Honour is venturer for his own account £2520, whereof his Honour hath paid £2000.*

Oxford lost his entire investment when the 'gold' ore brought back from Baffin Island proved to be worthless. For Oxford's purchase of a half share in Michael Lok's investment, see TNA SP 12/149/42, f. 102v. See also TNA SP 12/126/34, ff. 65-6, in which Lok states that his total investment in the three Frobisher voyages was £4270, of which Oxford became partner with him for £2000. For additional documents concerning Oxford's investment in the Frobisher voyages, see TNA SP 12/149/42, ff. 98-108 and TNA E 164/36, pp. 317-23.

For a modern analysis completed in 1983-5 of the ore mined on Kodlunarn Island by the Frobisher expeditions of 1577 and 1578 see Hogarth, Donald D. and John Loop, "Precious Metals in Martin Frobisher's "Black Ores" from Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories", *Canadian Mineralogist*, 1986, 24:259-263, available online.

For a modern analysis of the lead beads recovered on Kodlunarn Island suggesting that the ore from Frobisher's 1577 and 1578 expeditions was 'salted' in England, see Beaudoin, Georges and Reginald Auger, "Implications of the Mineralogy and Chemical Composition of Lead Beads from Frobisher's Assay Site, Kodlunarn Island, Canada: Prelude to Bre-X?", *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences*, 2004, 41:669-681, 10.1139/3-03-097.

For the Frobisher voyages generally, see:

*Inuit and Englishmen; The Nunavut Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, at [http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/Search.do?ex=on&R=VE\\_403&lang=en](http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/Search.do?ex=on&R=VE_403&lang=en).

An original-spelling transcript of Michael Lok's account from BL Lansdowne MS 100/1 is found in McDermott, James, ed., *The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island 1578* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001).

The modern-spelling transcript below has been prepared from TNA SP 12/131/20, ff. 72-91. The two manuscripts differ slightly. A small amount of material in the State Papers manuscript is apparently omitted in the British Library manuscript, and there are some factual discrepancies as well. One marginal note omitted from the State Papers manuscript but found in the British Library manuscript has been added as a heading below within square brackets.

The State Papers manuscript has been doubly foliated, with one set of numbers running from 1-20r and a second set running from 72-91. The second sequence has been adopted

for this transcript. However in both cases the numbers are incomplete, and in the case of the sequence running from 72-91 the folio following folio 74 in that sequence is unnumbered, and has been designated in the transcript below as f. 74(1).

For ease of reading the notes which appear in the left margin in the original have been put in italics as headings in the transcript below. This has occasionally necessitated moving a heading slightly from its position as a marginal note in the original manuscript so that the heading does not interrupt the flow of text in the transcript.

f. 72

THE DOINGS OF CAPTAIN FROBISHER AMONGST THE COMPANY'S  
BUSINESS

f. 73r

The Doings of Captain Frobisher Amongst the Company's Business

*In his first voyage he took a strange man, and returned home*

Captain Frobisher was set out on his first voyage made, departing from London the 20 May 1576 with two small ships and a pinnace at the charges of divers honourable and worshipful persons moved of good zeal towards their natural country to discover a passage by sea to Cathay, in which voyage he went towards the north-west parts, so far as he could with that small shipping and furniture that he had, until he arrived on the north coast of the land of Labrador amongst certain great islands which he took to be the straits of sea between the mainlands of America and Asia to pass to Cathay, in which place, either by great disorder and evil government of himself or else by great disobedience of his men, he lost his boat and 5 of his men which the people of that country took from him, and afterwards by great policy and greater good hap he took one man of that strange country which he brought away, and so returned home again the 2 October 1576 to Harwich, and the 9 day to London.

*He voucheth the passage to Cathay, which afterwards is disproved*

And now, he being thus returned home again of that first voyage, he was examined of his doings therein by Sir William Winter, Mr Thomas Randoph, Anthony Jenkinson, Michael Lok and others thereunto appointed by a commission of her Majesty's honourable Privy Council concerning the passage to Cathay, at which time he vouched to them absolutely with vehement words, speeches and oaths that he had found and discovered the straits and open passage by sea into the south sea called Mar de Sur which goeth to Cathay, and

by the way had found divers good ports and harbours for passage of all the navy of her Majesty's ships, and affirmed the same by divers arguments of the depth and colour of the water, the sight of the headlands on both the sides of the straits at the west end thereof opening into the broad sea called Mar de Sur, and the setting of the tides with a flood from the west out of the said South Sea, and divers other arguments by demonstration in the charts and maps, which things the Commissioners believed to be true upon his vehement speeches and oaths of affirmation, all the which matter by him affirmed is found to be false by his two later voyages made thither since that time wherein those affirmed mainlands of America and Asia are found (f. 73v) to be but small islands, and the tides setting from west is like to be nothing but the setting of the stream from one headland to another of those islands, which are there in number infinite, and now the passage to Cathay is by him left unto us as uncertain as at the beginning, though thereupon hath followed great charges to the Company.

*A stone of ore is found on Hall's Island*

In that first voyage on a little island of rock of half a mile circuit which they named Hall's Island after the name of Christopher Hall, master of the ship, who was the first man that landed thereon, Captain Frobisher not being on land at all but remaining still in the ship at sea 10 miles from it, on this rock was found by chance by a mariner named Robert Garrard, who was one of the 5 men which afterward were taken with their boat by the people of that country, a black stone as great as a halfpenny loaf, being on the ground loose, which he thought to be a sea coal, which he brought aboard the ship to prove if it would burn for fire, whereof they had lack. This stone being thus brought home, Captain Frobisher gave a piece thereof unto Michael Lok, saying that it was the first thing that he found in the new land, and therefore gave it to him according to his promise. And Michael Lok caused to be made divers proofs and trials of that stone by divers men of art, & namely by John Baptista Agnello and by Jonas Schutz, whereby it was found to be a piece of mineral ore of a gold mine, whereof he gave knowledge to her Majesty according to his duty, whereupon much marvel was made, and much inquiry & trial made by divers, and specially by Sir William Winter and others of great credit, by whom at length it was confirmed to be true, and so was certified to their Honours of her Majesty's honourable Privy Council, whereupon commission was directed from their Honours unto Sir William Winter, Mr Thomas Randolph, Mr Dyer, Anthony Jenkinson, Edmund Hogan, Michael Lok and others to inquire of the state of this(?) matters and for the setting out of a second voyage.

*He voucheth abundance of ore of Hall's Island, and findeth none*

*In second voyage he promiseth to lade the ships with ore of Hall's Island, but there is none at all found*

Whereupon they called before them Captain Frobisher and Christopher Hall, master, and amongst other matters inquired of them what quantity of this ore was to be had in that

new country, whereunto Christopher Hall answered that he could not certainly tell what quantity for that he found no more but this stone, nor sought for no more, for that he regarded not this stone to be any such thing, but he thought that where this was there was more to be had, and therewithal Captain Frobisher vouched to the Commissioners with great speeches and oaths that there was enough of it to be had in that country to lade all the Queen's ships, and said that as they sailed amongst in the straits he saw the (f. 74r) like thereof afar off on that island, and on Loksland amongst the shore by the water lying like red sand glistering, and on the rocks' sides of the shore, and at Gabriel's Island enough of it, and promised to lade all the ships of the second voyage with that ore of Hall's Island, which the Commissioners did credit, and so certified their Honours. And hereupon her Majesty was pleased to be a great venturer in that second voyage, and that second voyage was furnished with much greater provision than was purposed before, having now one great ship of her Majesty's named the Ayde and two other small ships well manned and furnished, which cost 5300 pounds, wherewithal he departed from London the 26 May 1577, and he had special commission in writing to lade the ships with that ore of Hall's Island, which he promised to do, and for that purpose Jonas, Denham and Gregory, the gold-finers, and a number of miners and men were sent with him in this voyage. And when they came to Hall's Island he and those workmen and a number of other men went aland with their tools to seek and dig for the mines promised, and remained on that island almost a whole day, in which time they passed over & over all the island, round about and crossing every way, seeking and searching, and could find no mines at all, whereupon Jonas and the gold-finers fell into great grief and into desperate mind of finding any mines to lade the ships, and therefore wished themselves rather dead than alive, and so came aboard the ships again and departed thence at adventures whither God would send them to seek harbour for the ships, and so never after brought home one stone more of that rich ore which he brought in the first voyage, for there was none of it to be found.

*He wandereth at venture to seek mines to lade, & harbour for shipping*

Thus departing from Hall's Island without any comfort of finding good lading for the ships, they wandered with their pinnace boats to seek harbour for their ships to avoid the great danger of the ice, and at th' end of 4 days by God's providence they found one on the south land which they called Jackman's Sound, to the which they carried the ship the Ayde, but because they found no mines there to their content, therefore from thence they wandered over again to the north land to seek for better mines to lade their ships and for a better harbour for their ships, and so within 8 days after that by like good fortune they found another harbour on the north land which they called the Countess' Sound, whither they removed their ships because that was a better harbour and was near to certain mines which they had found by good hap in that time of wandering and seeking, and with the ore of that mine of the Countess Warwick Sound they laded their ships in this second voyage, (f. 74v) which is such ore as that time & occasion did give them, whatsoever it be, which is not yet certain, and thus with this great hazard and uncertainty, and with so great a charge, this second voyage was attempted by this bold captain.

Whenas the Commissioners had certified her Majesty's honourable Privy Council of their good liking to attempt a second voyage upon this confident affirmations vouched by Captain Frobisher, and that their Honours by that means had also conceived good opinion thereof, and by them her Majesty well persuaded therein, and so the whole matter committed to the conduct of Captain Frobisher by her Majesty's letters patent, and the Commissioners assigned to see him furnished & dispatched, then began he to show himself somewhat like himself as followeth.

*He rageth at the Commissioners to have much shipping in second voyage*

He would not have been directed by the Commissioners what shipping and what furniture he should have with him, but for causes of enemies, of discoveries and of the riches he would needs have had 3 tall ships and 2 small barks so well manned and so well furnished or else he would not go in the voyage, for so was her Majesty's pleasure, he said, which great furniture the Commissioners refused, both for lack of money to furnish the same and also for lack of better knowledge of the state of the new country and of assurance of the treasure hoped for, and therefore did furnish him as he was, with one ship and the two barks, with much ado and great difficulty, whereat he made no small raging and outrageous speaking amongst the Commissioners before his departure, as they will witness.

*He would have all authority in his own hands alone*

Whenas the Commissioners had devised articles for his commission and instructions for the direction & government of the voyage which were confirmed by her Majesty's honourable Privy Council even by his own advice, and for casualty of death would have joined unto him Captain Fenton and some others of the gentlemen that went with him, he utterly refused the same, and swore no small oaths that he would be alone or otherwise he would not go in the voyage, for he had already a higher commission under the broad seal than they could give him any, and bade them make what commission they would, for when he were abroad he would use it as he list, and afterwards because he could not be furnished with all things to his will, therewithal he flung out of the doors and swore by God's wounds that he would hip my masters the venturers for it, at which words Captain Fenton plucked him secretly and willed him to be modest, and so at length he had all the authority of the whole voyage in his own hands and used it according to his own wit and discretion, as partly you have heard and more shall hear.

*He redeemeth condemned thieves for the voyage, and releaseth them before they go hence*

He desired to have with him in the second voyage a certain number of condemned men, saying that he would leave (f. 74(1)r) them in Friesland and in his new straits on land to remain there to discover the same and to know the state of the country and nature of the

people, and for that purpose he had grant for to take those men, whereupon he redeemed divers from the gallows, and also had special charge and commission in writing to take them with him in the voyage, and to use them to that purpose, and to leave 6 of them in Friesland, but after that he had redeemed them from the gallows he carried not one of them with him in the voyage but set them at liberty for friendship and money, saying that they were unruly knaves which would make mutinies in the ships and voyage, and that he would find so many honest men in their places to serve that turn to learn the state of those countries, which thing he hath not done at all, and thus hereby he hath holpen himself and left the company as ignorant of the state of those countries as they were at the beginning.

*He taketh with him 25 men more than number*

He had special charge and commission in writing in this second voyage to take with him no more men but 120 in all, and for so many he had provision of victual, and had also special great charge by letters of her Majesty's honourable Privy Council to accomplish the same, but contrary to this he took with him in the voyage 145 men, which is 25 more than number, and also he had taken 30 men more which afterwards were discharged at Harwich and Gravesend by the special letters and commandment of her Majesty's Privy Council sent to him thither for that purpose, which act of his did cost the Company more than £400 of money extraordinary, and his ship victuals of the ordinary provision being so spent on them was one chief cause that no further search nor discovery of the country could be made that voyage.

*He maketh wars under colour of peace with the strange people at first landing*

He had special commission and great charge given him in writing both at the first voyage and also in this second voyage and also in the third voyage to use all manner gentleness and good dealing to get friendship and keep peace with the people of that new country whereby to come to knowledge of the state of their country, but contrary hereto, at his first landing in this second voyage he commanded to spread his ensign and sounded trumpets and marched his men to a place which he named Mount (f. 74(1)v) Warwick, where they discharged all their pieces, whereupon the people of the country coming to their sight, he said, Let us go to them, for I will take some of them. And hereupon signs of truce and peace being made between them, he sent out first John English and another man trumpeter, who trafficked for divers things with them in peace and shook hands, and therewithal he called Christopher Hall to go forward with himself from the rest of his company to meet two of those men of that country which came towards them in peace, willing him that when they come near to shake hands he should make fast thone and he would make sure thither. And so being joined together, he plucked one of them to him by violence, meaning to have taken him prisoner, but this man with great force broke from him and ran towards his fellows that were not far off beholding what success of this conference, who thereupon fell to dealing so with their bows and arrows against our men that our captain and master fled to their boat and cried, Shoot, shoot, shoot, wherewithal Nicholas Counger drew his dagger and ran after one of those strange men and overthrew

him and brought him prisoner to the boat, who also was brought into England, and so this battle ceased, and those people rest still at defiance of wars with ours.

And also within few days after this another company of our men went to another place of that country on the south side about Jackman's Sound, and at their arrival there made open wars upon other of those people, where they slew 3 or 4 of them and took prisoners 2 women, whereof they brought one with her child into England, and now upon this evil dealings of our men open wars is grown between that people and ours which will not be appeased again easily hereafter for that ever since they fly from all manner traffic and conference with our men, as was evidently proved in all the third voyage when none of them would appear or come near to our men in any place but upon practice of treason, whereby is now lost the knowledge of the state of that country which most chiefly was sought and desired and was the cause of the beginning of these voyages, which by peace and friendship might have been obtained.

f. 75r

*He misuseth Christopher Hall, master of the Ayde, for a cap reverence*

He misused Christopher Hall, Master of the Ayde, in the second voyage at the new land, calling him aland colourably to go search Bear Sound, where being in a furious humour of empire he openly reviled him with outrageous speeches, and swore by God's blood he would hang him, and offered to strike him on the face with his fist, which Captain Fenton did defend and Hall did quietly put up, and all this without any cause but only upon vain suspicion of Hall's dutiful service because he spake to him with his cap on his head, as is witnessed by a writing of Hall's own hand and by the gentlemen that were present thereat, whereby followed(?) afterwards great murmuring & evil service of the mariners in their offices, and much unquietness in the ship all the voyage after.

*He would not make any further discovery in second voyage*

He had special charge and commission in writing in this second voyage to send one or twain of the small barks to make some discovery of the country 100 leagues or twain beyond the place where he lost his 5 men the year before until he might have some better certainty of the South Sea, for the which he was well furnished and had time enough thitherto(?) from the 18<sup>th</sup> day of July, being his arrival in the straits, until the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, being his departure from thence, and the master, Hall, and his mate, Jackman, required him that something therein might be done, but because that his vainglorious mind will not suffer any discovery to be made without his own presence, and himself could not be at the doing thereof(?), having so much to do in the lading of the ships, he put off the time of doing until it was too late to be done, and so returned home without anything at all done therein.

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*He returneth home with great boast of gold laden in second voyage*

And now Captain Frobisher being returned home {INTERLINED: arrived at Milford in Wales] the 20 September 1577 with his ship laden with rich ore of gold worth £60 a ton, as he openly vouched and with great oaths affirmed, and such plenty of precious stones, diamonds and rubies as he had discovered, and brought some with him, no small joy was had of his arrival and no small increase of his reputation, so as now 12 or 20 men were too few to follow his horse upon this his return home.

*Jonas' first proof of 200 ore at Tower Hill*

And upon this his return home, commission was given by her Majesty's honourable Privy Council the 20(?) of October 1577 unto Sir William Winter, Mr Thomas Randolph, Mr William Pelham, George Winter, Anthony Jenkinson, Edmund Hogan and Michael Lok to have conference with Jonas and Denham, the workmen, that trial and proof might be made of the value of the (f. 75v) ore brought home, whereupon a small furnace was builded by Jonas' order at the dwelling-house of Sir William Winter at Tower Hill, and for the first proof of the ore Jonas did melt and refine 100 weight thereof in the presence of the Commissioners, which was finished in the beginning of November, which work was not perfect for that the furnace and bellows failed and much gold remained in the slags, and therefore he mended his furnace and made a second trial of another 100 weight of that ore also in the presence of the Commissioners, which was finished the 6 December, by both the which trials it was found the ore to be worth £40 a ton towards charges, and so was certified to her Majesty's Privy Council by the Commissioners. Nevertheless, for that Jonas' work could not be perfectly done in that small furnace and evil workhouses but that still remained gold in the slags which he promised to get out perfectly in the great works, and also for that John Broad and the goldsmiths of London, having made many small says of the ore, could find no gold at all therein, Jonas' doings was suspected, and therefore it was thought good by some to have conference with Doctor Burcot, and try his cunning therein.

And also in the meantime it was ordained that Jonas should make another third trial of 200 weight of the ore after the order and manner of great works before the bestowing of so great charges to build the houses for the great works, which Jonas did willingly grant to do, but before that he would do that he desired to be at a certainty what living he should have, whereupon he had granted of her Majesty by patent 100 pounds yearly during his life to be paid out of those works, with condition that he make the ore worth 30 pounds a ton towards charges, which charges should not be above £10 a ton. This was his own condition and demand, and so he thankfully accepted the patent. And also because that Robert Denham was known for a good workman in making of small says and the proofs of ores and a true man, and had done much service and must do more daily in these works, to him was granted a like patent for £50 a year during his life. And therewithal Jonas and Denham did go to work the third proof of this ore at Tower Hill, for the doing(?) whereof Jonas required to have provided certain marcasites for additaments (f. 76r) to make the ore work kindly, for that he said the ore was of wild

nature and full of iron & steel which must be consumed in the melting by other additaments put to it, and gave to the Commissioners instructions and some samples of such marcasites as he would have, but the Commissioners knew not readily where to provide nor seek for those marcasites, and therefore in this meantime he must do this work as he can, which he did two several times in the presence of the Commissioners and also of Mr Dee and Mr Palmer, and also of John Broad, Humphrey Colle and others thereto appointed, which was finished the first 200(?) weight by the 20 February and the second 200(?) weight by the 6 of March, by the which two several proofs and works the ore was found to be worth at the least value £24 a ton towards the charges, and so was certified to her Majesty's honourable Privy Council by the Commissioners' own hands' writing bearing date the 8<sup>th</sup> day of March.

*He drew his dagger on Jonas to haste his works for a third voyage*

And because that during this time of Jonas' works at Tower Hill much time was spent and yet no certain agreement nor preparation made for Captain Frobisher to be set out again in a third voyage, for the which purpose the time was almost too late, and he not being able to continue himself at home with that reputation that he was now entered into without continuance of great entertainment(?), and seeing that all the matter rested upon Jonas' doings in his works wherein he thought much time was delayed, on the 15 day of February he came to the Commissioners to Mr Lok's house in great rage and exclaimed on them, and from them went straight unto Jonas to the Tower Hill, where finding him naked at his work and very sick almost to death of infection of the smoke of the minerals, he reviled him with villainous speech for that he had not finished his work, and drew his dagger on him and threatened him with oaths that he would strike it in him if he did not with speed dispatch and finish his works that the ships might be prepared for the third voyage, wherewithal Jonas entered into great perplexity at the evil nature of the Captain, and utterly renounced (f. 76v) with solemn vow that he would never more go with him to sea nor have to do any more with him in any business, and long time afterwards did wear his weapon, doubting the malice of the Captain for enmity with Dr Burcot, whose doings the Captain did favour and protect.

*He practiseth with Doctor Burcot to work for his third voyage*

Also in this meantime of Jonas' works, on the 10 day of December Jonas was brought to have conference with Doctor Burcot by means made to have them join together in the great works, and within 3 or 4 days Jonas disliked the dealings of Doctor Burcot, both for his evil manners and also for his ignorance in divers points of the works and handling of this ore, so as he would not any more deal with Dr Burcot in work, but Captain Frobisher liked so well both of Burcot's works and of the manners of his household best workolk(?) that he joined entire friendship with him, and preferred Dr Burcot in all that he could, whereupon great contention grew between Burcot and Jonas for mastership of the great works and for the building of the great workhouses, each condemning other's knowledge therein, but Jonas always with modest words and Dr Burcot and Captain Frobisher with

outrageous speeches. And upon certain small says of the ore made by Dr Burcot and his great promises made to perform in great works after 15 ounces of gold for every ton of the ore, he had a patent granted also to him to be chief work-master of the great works with a pension of 100 pounds yearly during his life with allowance of 20s a day when he wrought, and promise of [INTERLINED: hope] 500 pounds pension upon sure success of the rich red ore to be brought home in the third voyage by his instructions to be given to Captain Frobisher. And in this meantime the Commissioners dealt with Jonas apart in conference for erection of the workhouses for the great works, to whom Jonas gave divers plats and instructions for the buildings, how and where he would have them made, to all the which doings Captain Frobisher was of council as in commission, and he, as messenger put in trust for the Company, dealt apart with Dr Burcot to the end (f. 77r) to know the cunning of them both, to whom he revealed all the doings of Jonas without the knowledge of Jonas and contrary to the will of the Commissioners from time to time, as appeared evidently for the buildings by the two several plats of the workhouses brought from Burcot which are to be seen, the first of Dr Burcot's own device, strangely made, the second, which he would follow, which was just the copy of Jonas' doings, and by the desire that Burcot had to see the furnace of Jonas at Tower Hill before he would show any plat of his own making, which was not showed him, but was denied by Sir William Winter, whereupon followed great contention and evil dealings between Captain Frobisher and him, and for the work of Dr Burcot in the ore, it appeared by the venturers' value thereof which he promised to yield to th' intent to have the mastership of the works and benefit of the living by his patent, and afterward it was plainly found and proved by the means of Robert Denham as followeth.

*Doctor Burcot's false works*

When Dr Burcot was preferred to a patent of a great living, he was willed to make a trial of 100 weight of the ore in such manner as he would stand to it in the great works, and to work it after his own order when and how he list himself, to the intent some more certainty might be had of the value of the ore before the great cost were bestowed on the buildings of workhouses and that the third voyage which Captain Frobisher so much solicited might have the better foundation, whereupon Dr Burcot desired to work his proof in his own house and to have Robert Denham to help him therein, which was granted, and on the 24 of January was delivered him 100 weight of the ore and £10 of money to build his furnace, and Robert Denham went to help him therein, whom he swore with an oath not to reveal his secrets, and he did as Burcot commanded him in all the work, and on the 21 day of February all the Commissioners went to the house of Dr Burcot at his request, where he said unto them that he had molten 100 weight of that ore, and he showed unto them the gold and silver which he said came out of that ore by his work, which was found to be after the rate of 13 ounces and a half of fine gold and 38(?) ounces & half of fine (f. 77v) silver in every ton of the ore, which is worth fifty pounds of money every ton ore, and so much he promised to them to make good in the great works, and said that for the performance thereof he had already bound himself and gauged unto the right honourable the Lord High Treasurer of England with his life, his lands and all his goods by writing, the copy whereof he showed to the Commissioners, and the same

would he perform in the great works with only one condition, that is, that he might have delivered to him a quantity of a certain marcasite mineral which he showed to the Commissioners and named it to be antimony, and said that it held no manner of metal at all, and that thereof was quantity enough to be had in the ground of Master Edgecombe, gentleman, in Devonshire.

And also at that same instant he showed unto the Commissioners divers papers of the plats of workhouses that he would have to be builded which were just like those that Jonas had made before, and then after a little talk immediately he resumed again into his own hands both the gold and silver and the plats of the buildings, and therewithal required the Commissioners to go with him to the house of the right honourable the Lord High Treasurer aforesaid, who was then at home at his house, and so in the Strand they went all together to his Honour, and with him was Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of th' Exchequer, and others, and in their presence Dr Burcot did repeat all that he had said before to the Commissioners, and showed all that he had showed before to them, and did confirm the same promise unto their Honours that he had made to the Commissioners, and delivered to his Honour the gold & silver and antimony stone, and so rested, concluding with his Honour upon these 4 points, to say:

That the antimony ore should be delivered;  
That the great works should be builded presently;  
That the ore at Bristol should be brought hither;  
That Captain Frobisher should be dispatched with all speed on this new voyage.

Unto the which his Honour added the 5<sup>th</sup> point, saying that he should be well recompensed for his pains and service if his sayings and his shows prove true, and his Honour said that he would inform her Majesty of all his doings, and therewithal they departed.

f. 78r

*Robert Denham openeth Doctor Burcot's false works*

And now forasmuch as Dr Burcot did stand so much upon the having of the antimony marcasite, and so vehemently affirming it to hold no manner of metal, Mr Richard Young desired my Lord Treasurer to give him a piece thereof to make a small say, which his Honour did give him, and the next day Robert Denham made a say thereof in presence of Mr Dyer, Mr Dee, Mr Young and other of the Commissioners, and thereby found that the same doth hold a good quantity of lead & some silver and a little copper, the which was also confirmed to them by Robert Denham, who then declared unto them that himself had made divers says thereof a month before of a piece which he had at Dr Burcot's house, unknown to Dr Burcot, and hereupon the doings of Dr Burcot grew into great suspicion among the Commissioners, and therefore on the 26 day of February at the house of Mr Secretary Walsingham in London his Honour did call before him all the Commissioners and also the said Robert Denham, and there did charge him upon his allegiance and duty

toward her Majesty to tell the truth of the doings of Dr Burcot in his work made of the 100 weight of ore, whereof the gold and silver was there presently showed to him by Mr Secretary, and therewithal Robert Denham kneeled down and craved pardon, alleged his oath made to Dr Burcot not to reveal his secrets and acknowledged his duty to her Majesty, and afterwards upon his allegiance said thus, that he did not know what additaments Dr Burcot did use to the melting of the ore, and that Doctor Burcot made proof but of one pound of the ore according to the order of the small says, and that according to the proportion of gold and silver found therein, he did make up the rest of the piece of the gold and of the silver delivered to the Commissioners with angel gold and dollar silver of his own, and that Denham did melt only 25 lbs. of this ore, and did melt it in pots and skarvelles by pounds and half pounds with the additaments which Dr Burcot did put in, which work had evil success and made evil proof, and that afterwards he melted some ore with his own additaments which (f. 78v) proved well, which remaineth still with Dr Burcot, and that the rest of 100 weight of ore was molten and handled by Dr Burcot and his man to little purpose before he came to him, and that Dr Burcot knew not the value nor content of the antimony ore to hold any metal therein nor to be good to work with this ore brought home until Thursday last, being the 20 of February, at which day he, Robert Denham, did reveal the same unto him. And thus was revealed the ignorance of the workmanship and the falsehood of the practices of this famous cunning great Mr Dr Burcot, upon whose great promises and great gauges so great a Captain Frobisher was exalted to so great a dominion in his third voyage to so great charge of the Company.

*He brought a stone of rich red ore found in second voyage, and promiseth to lade ships therewithal in third voyage, but did nothing at all*

In this second voyage were discovered certain rich mines of red ore and yellow ore at a place named Jonas Mount whereof divers stones were brought home, and much was digged, as the[y] said, but was not laden into the ships because the ships were already loaden with the black ore, and as they said, the time was come for them to depart out of that country, and this red ore was discovered but even at their departure thence, so as they could not tarry to change their lading,

And of this red ore were made divers small says by Jonas and Denham, and found very rich of gold, and by Dr Burcot, who vouched the same to be worth more than £120 a ton, and some of those stones are yet to be seen, and Captain Frobisher did vouch with oaths openly and oftentimes that there was to be had abundant quantity thereof, and did promise to the Commissioners and to Dr Burcot to lade the most part of the ships in the third voyage with the same ore, and for that purpose would needs have Gregory with him because he knew the place, and to that purpose and end he had divers notes and instructions of Dr Burcot for the choice thereof, for that red ore was the thing whereupon Dr Burcot did make his foundations of performance at the third voyage of the great promises and gauges that he had made (f. 79r) for his great mastership of the works of the ore of this second voyage, whereby he hoped in the third voyage to make amends for his faults of the second voyage, and yet for conclusion of this great matter and performance

of this great promises this great Captain Frobisher hath not brought home in the third voyage one stone of this rich red ore that can be yet found.

*An unicorn's horn presented to her Majesty in his own name*

There was found by chance in this voyage on a little island in Jackman's Sound a sea-beast like a very great porpoise fish lying dead, having in the head a great horn of five foots [sic?] long or thereabouts, wreathed like an unicorn's horn, and is judged to be a right unicorn's horn esteemed worth £1000 of money. This jewel is meet for a present to her Majesty, to whom Captain Frobisher did present it in his own name, and not in the Company's name, to whom it did belong.

*He had of Jonas a great ruby stone for her Majesty*

There was found in this voyage by Jonas amongst the rocks a great ruby stone of more than one inch square, a present meet for a prince. This jewel did Jonas deliver to Captain Frobisher at his departure from Milford Haven towards the court, who promised him to present the same to her Majesty in Jonas' name, which Jonas doth not yet hear of, nor cannot learn what is become of it.

There was found and brought home in this second voyage many small jewel stones, diamonds, rubies, sapphires and others by divers persons, which are put up privately, and so none account to be taken of them, though they be of value.

*His great vaunt of treasure brought hath gotten him a good lease of her Majesty*

*He had a £100 of her Majesty to distribute among the men, which is not done*

At return home of this second voyage, Captain Frobisher made so good report thereof to her Majesty of the great riches that he had brought home, and so great promises of the infinite treasure of this new land whereof he would possess her Majesty, surmounting the treasure of the Indias of the King of Spain, whereby he would make her Majesty the richest prince of all Europe, and withal so showed the great dangers of ice and shipwreck and sore labours that he and his company had passed and endured in her Majesty's service in this voyage that he hath obtained of her Majesty a lease of a good living for himself, which he keepeth, and also 100 pounds of money of her Majesty's (f. 79v) benevolent gift to be distributed amongst the mariners which served in that voyage, which 100 pound he keepeth also to himself, and hath not yet made distribution thereof, as the shipmasters and men do say.

*He made great charges to keep the Ayde at Bristol*

When the ship Ayde and Gabriel were arrived in this second voyage at Bristol, and the ore of their ladings there discharged on land, he was sent thither by the Commissioners to pay the men's wages and lay up the ships' furniture until the next year, at which time he left 13 men in charge of the Company at meat and wages all the winter to keep the ships, which would have been done with 3 men, and also took liberty to retain 20 men of this voyage to his liking at 6d a day wages to be ready to serve in the next voyage, which together cost the Company 100 pound superfluous.

*He would not make inventory of goods at Bristol, and his evil men made much waste & pilfery of goods in the voyage*

And although he had special commission in writing to cause due inventories to be made of all the goods and merchandize remaining in the ships at their arrival at Bristol, and in whose custody they were left at Bristol, and for that purpose had 2 of the Company's servants, Edward Selman and Thomas Marshe, yet when he had paid the men's wages there he returned to London with his great band of men, and left the chief charge of all things there with a false ruffianly boy of his own named John Comyng who is now gone a-roving and left the inventories to be made at the discretion of other men, and left the merchandize in the house of an honest merchant named Mr Kitchen, but the key thereof with his own man, John Comynges, and brought no inventory at all thereof. And afterwards, when the Commissioners would have sent Edward Selman to Bristol to take the inventory and see all things, he would not suffer it, saying that all things is safe and he would warrant and answer for all. And so when the ship Ayde should be furnished out on the third voyage new inventories were made, and thereupon conference made of the inventory of the second voyage's furniture and goods laden in her outwards, there was found lacking a number of things of the ship's furniture and merchandize appearing in a writing to the value of 400 pounds, which are confirmed wasted and pilfered in that second voyage by evil men and officers placed by evil government.

f. 80r

*The cause of the third voyage*

The third voyage of Captain Frobisher was set forth upon manifest conjecture of great honour to her Majesty likely to ensue thereby, as also of great hope conceived of great commodity to grow as well to the whole realm as to the venturers therein, by divers arguments and matters laid out before the Commissioners which chiefly consisted on these 2 points, to say, the great riches of the mines of gold found in the new countries, which was [+certified?] by the workmen Jonas and Robert Denham and Doctor Burcot and others which had made trial thereof, and the open passage by sea to Cathay which Captain Frobisher vouched to be by him discovered and made plain, which matters being certified to her Majesty's honourable Privy Council by the Commissioners' writings, their Honours thought it good to proceed with a third voyage, whereupon they directed their letters of commission unto Sir William Winter, Edward Dyer, John Dee, Martin

Frobisher, Richard Young, Mathew Field, Edmund Hogan, Michael Lok [+and] Andrew Palmer dated the 12<sup>th</sup> day of March 1577, willing them to see all things provided, and the voyage dispatched with expedition.

*Captain Frobisher's great pride*

And hereupon Captain Frobisher, having now the thing that he so much hunted for, grew into such a monstrous mind that a whole kingdom could not contain it, but as already by discovery of a new world he was become another Columbus, so also now by conquest of a new world he would become another Cortes, and for this purpose he enforced unto the Commissioners many arguments and reasons how requisite and needful it was to fortify and to inhabit in that new country.

*He forgeth news of the French King's navy to advance his own kingdom*

*The furniture of the third voyage, which cost 13,000 pounds*

And for to urge the same to a greater furniture of shipping for his dominion, he vouched with oaths unto the Commissioners, and withal showed a letter (but read it not) which he said came out of France by a messenger of his own, how that the French King did arm presently 12 ships to pass to the same new country to take possession of the straits and to fortify at the mines there before he should come thither, whereupon after many times conference had by the Commissioners of many matters appertaining (f. 80v) to the voyage, they concluded and did set forwards this third voyage with 11 ships very well furnished and provided under the general conduct of Captain Frobisher, and with a 100 men very well furnished & provided to fortify and inhabit in that new country for one year or twain, if need were, under the chief charge and guide of Captain Fenton as lieutenant-general of Captain Frobisher, wherewithal Captain Frobisher was now in great jollity and could take no rest until he were gone on the way to his new empire, and so he departed with this navy from London the (blank) day of May 1578 on this third voyage, which cost the Company 13,000 pound of money.

But between this time of his going forward and the time of his return home again, which was the (blank) day of September 1578, many alterations and disorders hath happened, both in himself and in his new empire, which hath done great hurt to many, as presently hereunder shall appear.

*He did victual the ship Ayde evil*

At the beginning of this third voyage Captain Frobisher was sent by the Commissioners value of £4 from London to Bristol to furnish and dispatch from thence the ships Ayde and Gabriel for this voyage, wherein he was made victualler of the ship Ayde, for the which victuals he had £500 of money delivered him beforehand, but he did so evil victual

the same ship that whereas the Company allowed him money for to victual her with flesh 4 days in the week, he served the men only 3 days and 2 days in the week therewith, and the rest of the week with fish, and that so evil and so scarce that thereby much sickness grew, and divers of them died, as the men do report.

*His great abuse in providing of 120 miners in the West Country*

He was sent into the West Country to provide 120 men miners for this voyage, for whose furniture he had money of the Company beforehand for their wages £240, which is 40s for each man, but thereof he paid these men to some 20s, to some 13s 4d, and to some nothing the man, as his accounts declares. Also he had a £120 of money for their weapons furniture, which is 20s for every man to provide his weapons withal, (f. 81r) but what weapons they had or he for them is yet unknown, for none doth appear anywhere, but in the West Country is spread a rumour that those miners being pressed by commission in her Majesty's name, many of them afterwards were changed by favour for shoemakers, tailors, musicians, gardeners and other artificers, no workmen, and they were furnished to sea at the charges of the towns and villages in manner of a subsidy, as it is reported openly.

*He taketh 4 ships and 100 men more than commission in his third voyage*

When Captain Frobisher was in the West Country in this great jollity with his commission general under broad seal to press men and ships as he thought requisite for service of this voyage, he remembered the greatness of the matter appertaining to the conquest of his empire, and therefore thinking that the 11 ships and furniture appointed by the Commissioners was too little for his secret purpose, he boldly took up there in her Majesty's name and carried with him in the voyage by his own authority without any consent or knowledge of the Commissioners 4 ships and 100 men more than was appointed by the Commissioners, as is evident by the fact and by his own letter written thereof from Plymouth, to the which ships he promised to deliver victuals at Harwich, and so he did indeed, of the victuals which was appointed for the provision of the 100 men which were to remain in the new country under Captain Fenton, which afterwards turned to the whole overthrow of that purpose, and these ships and men of his own do cost the Company 3000 pounds of money unlooked for.

*After that Captain Fenton was appointed to inhabit, Captain Frobisher disliked it and hindereth it, and in th' end clean overthroweth it through pride*

*Contention between Captain Frobisher & Captain Fenton in Meta Incognita*

After that Captain Frobisher had obtained of the Commissioners their consent for 100 men to remain and fortify in the straits, and that Captain Fenton was chosen to be their head, and that he saw so great a preparation for his furniture and so great a fame and

credit growing towards him for this his willing enterprise of so difficult and strange matter, and saw so many good gentlemen so desirous to go with him, and heard abroad so great commendations of his wisdom and ability to perform this enterprise, and that greater fame was now spread of this enterprise than was of his own enterprise before, he began then to suspect the issue of this matter, and to fear that the fame of this enterprise of Captain Fenton would dash the (f. 81v) glory and fame of his former doings, and therefore he, sitting among the Commissioners after his return out of the West Country where he had secretly provided his 4 ships, divers times with heavy countenance would cast out speeches colourably, sometimes saying that this great furniture of buildings for Captain Fenton would be to little purpose, sometimes that they should hardly be able to plant themselves there and dangerously to live there, and plainly said to Charles Jackman at Harwich that they should not inhabit there, and divers times swearing and stating that he would not be bound to his promise to plant Captain Fenton there and to lade the ships home except he might depart from hence by May Day, and other times that he would not go at all on the voyage except he might be dispatched hence by May Day, which thing he knew well could not be done, and so would have forced Captain Fenton's dispatch without his full furniture whereby he might have had some colour of excuse that when he were in that country he might not remain there, but at the last when Captain Fenton was full furnished and must go, and that Captain Frobisher's unwillingness therein did appear unto the Commissioners, and that the matter rested yet in the will and authority of Captain Frobisher whether that Captain Fenton, when he were in the new country, should yet remain there, yea or no, by reason of the general power given to him by her Majesty's letters patent under broad seal which he might abuse by the help of his mariners upon indignation or displeasure, then the Commissioners required Captain Frobisher to set his seal to a writing authentic of deputation unto Captain Fenton to be his lieutenant-general and to remain there as chief of the 100 men appointed unto him, which he very unwillingly did consent unto, yet at the very last hour of his departure he did it, and very shortly afterwards and many times since he repented him thereof, as appeared openly upon heinous contention which afterwards passed between them on land in the new country concerning their authorities, where Captain Frobisher said to Captain Fenton that he had none authority at all in any matter (f. 82r) but by him, whereto Captain Fenton pleaded and opened his authority by deputation as good as his own, which Captain Frobisher wished to have back from him again, and therewithal said to Captain Fenton that he had brought him into this credit, and had preferred him into service of her Majesty, whereto Captain Fenton answered that he did great wrong to their lord and master the Earl of Warwick, who did prefer them both together unto her Majesty, and many other speeches of reproach passed between them which Captain Fenton did wisely bear and put them up for the time, considering the service he had in hand, though afterwards this matter grew to much murmuring and danger of mutiny amongst the men of both parts, whereby much evil service followed.

*Captain Frobisher did overthrow the purpose for Captain Fenton's habitation, which cost 6000 pounds, to victual his own 4 ships*

And now it is evident that this seed of discord being sprung out of the root of ambition planted in the mind of Captain Frobisher was the very chief cause that moved him to neglect and so much forget his duty towards her Majesty in this one principal article of his commission given him in writing by her Majesty's Privy Council, to say, that at his arrival in Meta Incognita, he should help and assist with all that he could to plant Captain Fenton and his company for to inhabit there, being a matter of so great importance in expectation of the chief intent and purpose of the Company in all these voyages, and so great a charge and cost to them as more than 6000 pounds of money in this one voyage alone, which he altogether hath neglected and so little regarded that he would not once make offer of any goodwill to further that service, but employed himself only to lade the ships, nor when Captain Fenton offered to remain there with 60 men or 50 men or less, he would not show any manner goodwill nor encouragement thereunto, but contrary called a council to inquire what things of his provision was lacking, and asked the simple opinion of the unwilling artificers to erect the house, who disliked thereof, and therewithal he contented himself as with a sufficient cloak to cover his evil mind, whereby he hath utterly overthrown this service whereon (f. 82v) did depend a greater matter than he is able to comprehend, and by this means and colour he had victuals enough to furnish his own 4 ships and 100 men which he took with him contrary to commission, who else had famished in their return homewards, as the men will witness and the thing doth prove.

*He placed Andrew Dyer, unworthy man, to discover Cathay*

He had placed Andrew Dyer, his old companion, for chief master and pilot with Captain Fenton in this third voyage to inhabit there for to make discovery of the country where they should inhabit and seek out the way to Cathay, he being fit for nothing but to hinder the enterprize of Captain Fenton, and with top-high speeches exalted him to the Commissioners for the fittest man for that service, both for his honesty and truth, his valour, his skilfulness and experience, who hath been a very costly man to the Company, and yet the same Andrew is a man so impotent and cripple of his legs as he can very evil go, so unskilful as he can neither write nor read, so unexpert of the sea as he was never further from England than France and Ireland, so honest and so true that since his return home he is gone out with his fellows to sea in evil ventures, but the Commissioners did displace him and put Charles Jackman in that voyage.

*He placed Alexander Creke, his kinsman, boatswain of the Ayde, whereby followed much contention amongst the men & waste of the goods in the ship*

He had special commission in writing in this third voyage to have great care and regard to the maintenance of concord amongst his men, and to receive no mutinous and disordered persons, but to put them away, but contrary he placed Alexander Creke, his kinsman, for boatswain of the Ayde in the third voyage, who is but a young man, unskilful and far unfit for that office of such charge, and is of great disordered life, who since his return home is gone to sea with others his like fellows on evil ventures, and also he would not punish the disorders of him and of Edward Robinson and others for any complaint made

to him, but rather maintained their disobedience both against the masters, Christopher Hall & Robert Davis, and also against Captain Fenton, being in that new country, whereby followed in that voyage great spoil and pilfering of the ship's tackle (f. 83r) and furniture, as will appear by inventory thereof, and through their disobedience to the masters' commandments and careless service in the ship's business, the ship the Ayde was bilged with her own anchor stricken into the bow of her with a rock of ice, whereby very hardly she escaped sinking, presently being within the Countess' Sound, and through their disordered and mutinous dealing amongst the men great evil service followed in the Company's business, and great contention and strife grew among the men in that new country between the mariners on thone part and the gentlemen on thother part, that they were with their weapons to have joined together had not Captain Fenton wisely pacified that strife by quiet putting up of the injuries.

*He said that his commission was but the device of Fenton and Lok*

He had special commission in writing that in matters of difficulty happening in this voyage he should have conference and counsel with the captains York and Best and others, and with the masters Hall, Jackman and others, but he refused their conference and counsel, and said that his commission of instructions given by her Majesty's honourable Privy Council were but the device of Fenton and Lok, and were never read by their Honours though their hands had subscribed the same.

*He would not take counsel, but obstinately carried the ships to a wrong place in extreme peril through his ignorance*

And whenas he and all the navy of ships were arrived in sight of the headland named the Queen's Foreland, and were entered within the straits the first day of July, being the first time of their entry in this voyage, they were put back again out of the sight thereof by storms and by ice, and within 6 or 7 days after that, coming again to the sight of the north side thereof, they were put back again on the south side thereof, which land was to them unknown, and then upon conference Christopher Hall and Robert Davis, masters, affirmed it like to be so, and Captain Frobisher with James Beare affirmed it to be the north land by Hall's Island, which is 20 leagues from this place, with outrageous oaths of affirmation and words of reproach against Hall, whereupon Hall, with 3 ships, trusting his knowledge, returned back again, but Captain Frobisher with 9 ships that trusted his knowledge followed on their way still forwards, (f. 83v) taking himself to be within the right straits leading to the Countess' Sound where is their port of lading, and so through his obstinate ignorance he led that fleet of ships 60 leagues alongst a coast [+of?] a land unknown, enduring many storms, in extreme danger oft-times of perishing amongst rocks and ice, by the space of 18 days, where he would have carried all the ships to harbour into an unknown place among the rocks, swearing that it was the Countess' Sound, if two mariners named Sloberne(?) & Lunt had not showed him his error, and so by the great favour of God escaped and returned back again to the headland of the Queen's Foreland, and from thence about into the right straits, passing by Jackman's Sound in a very clear

day, which he did not know, unto their right port in the Countess' Sound, which place also when he came to the sight of it he did not know, but would have gone to Gabriel's Island, which is 20 leagues beyond it, had not one Christopher Jackson, trumpeter, persuaded him of his error therein.

*He would not suffer any further discovery to be made of the passage*

He had special commission in writing and great charge in this third voyage to cause to be made some further discovery of that country beyond the place where he lost his 5 men in the first year, and otherwise whereby to have some better knowledge of the passage into the South Sea, which with one of the small barks and pinnaces he might have caused to be done between the time of his arrival at the Countess' Sound, which was the 30 day of July, and his departure from thence, being the 2 day of September, for the doing whereof he was put in mind sundry times by Christopher Hall and Charles Jackman, shipmasters, who offered their service therein, which service he did put off from time to time, saying that he would find a time for it, but he employed all his time only to the seeking and digging of mines for ore to lade so many ships wherewithal he had encumbered himself that himself had no time to do anything else, and his mind being so vainglorious that he will not suffer any discovery to be made without his own presence, so much time was put off that nothing at all is done herein, and so that service, which was the chief intent of the Company and first cause of the beginning of all these costly voyages, is utterly frustrate and dead.

f. 84r

*He commandeth the ships out of safe port to a dangerous road, whereby they came home in such disorder with so great spoil*

He had special commission in writing to set down articles and orders in writing to be delivered amongst the fleet of ships at his departure outwards from hence in this third voyage whereby all the fleet of ships might keep themselves together at sea and might meet again together if that they were separated by storms, as well for their safety against enemies and other misfortunes, as also for safe coming to their place appointed for their lading, and like for safe passage in returning with their lading from thence homewards again. And now whenas the ships were moored safe in harbour in the Countess of Warwick's Sound where they should lade and from thence orderly should have departed with their lading homewards again, he being then with the miners at Bear's Sound where most of their lading was had, which is 7 leagues from the Countess' Sound, and having now but 2 boats lading of ore to send thither to make full the Ayde's lading which he might have sent thither, and having with him 80 men and their furniture to ship and bestow in the ships, he sent word to the Countess' Sound commanding all the ships to come to Bear's Sound to take in him with his men and their furniture, which place being no harbour but wild open sea upon rocks, straight upon their coming to an anchor there happened a gale of wind very strong with storm which put all the ships from their anchors

and drove them to sea to save themselves, with loss of all their boats and pinnaces and some men and other spoil, whereby they were forced to leave behind them on land their general Captain and all his men to help themselves as they could with the bark Gabriel and pinnace boat, wherewithal they went to sea and by good fortune met with the ships Anne Frances, Judith and Michael, which took in the men, and the general Captain remained still in the Gabriel, wherewithal he came into England, and by this means all the whole fleet of ships were scattered and separated asunder, and so came home straggling by one alone and 2 together a long time and a far way asunder, one not knowing of another, but every one as they could shift and help themselves through all dangers in such disorder as is openly known, and so they arrived at home by God's providence more than by this man's policy.

*The ship Thomas of Ipswich returned home without lading, with false news that all the ships were lost*

About a month before the return home of any of all those ships, here(?) arrived at Harwich one of the freighted ships (f. 84v) named the Thomas of Ipswich, Master (blank) Stamford, who had never been in that country, whereof was for pilot Richard Cox, gunner, who had been in that new country for master gunner of the Ayde in the second voyage. This ship, being entered into the straits in company of all the fleet of ships the first of July, was put back again with ice as all the rest were, which put them in great fear, and yet they remained still with other of the ships upon the coast to and from until the 8 August, having sustained great dangers of ice and rocks, as they said, which discouraged them from attempting any more to enter into the straits, and therefore, being then gone out of sight of the other ships, the pilot was clean discouraged to tarry any longer in that country, and so at that day made his course homewards again for England against the will of the captain, William Tanfyld, and so being arrived at Harwich on the (blank) day of September without having any licence of the general Captain Frobisher to depart, and without having been aland at the place appointed for their lading, but returned as she went, to excuse this their own fear and to show some just cause of their return home so disorderly, the pilot alleged terrible dangers of ice not possible to be passed through that drove them home, and gave report of the rest of the ships to be almost all perished amongst the ice or extreme dangerously escaped, and so as they could not come to their port to have any lading at all, the which proved false tales in few days after upon the safe return home of all the 15 ships that went out in this voyage except one ship named the bark Dennys, who sunk there amongst the rocks of ice by negligent regard of their own men.

*Captain Frobisher returned home the third voyage with great glory of gold and jewels*

Now Captain Frobisher being returned home again on this third voyage in the bark Gabriel, he arrived at Foye [=Fowey] in Cornwall the 25 day of September 1578, which was the first news that was heard of his safety, and shortly after him were heard of other ships, and long time after all the rest also arrived in sundry places of the realm north and

south. And immediately upon his arrival he repaired to the court at Richmond to her Majesty, and from thence to London, (f. 85r) whereupon was no small joy conceived on all parties, chiefly for the safety of the men, though many of them died of sickness by the way and at their return, but specially for the treasure he brought with him, having laden all the ships with such rich ore of gold worth £60 and £80 a ton, as he said, swears and published in all the court, the city and so in the country, though it be not yet so found, but whatsoever it be, it must be thankfully accepted, for he hath done his goodwill to bring the best that he could find, besides such number of jewels and precious stones as he talked of and perchance secretly hath found and selt [=sold].

*The ships discharged their ore at Dartford*

And as all these ships in the months of October and November did arrive in the Thames, their lading of the ore was discharged aland at Dartford and bestowed in her Majesty's house there, and by this time of their arrival the great buildings of the workhouses made there at Dartford by the order and direction of Jonas himself for the melting and refining and working of this ore was at a point of readiness to work the same ore, and also were now come 4 workmen which he had sent for out of Saxony and Germany, and also was come certain mineral marcasite of sea coal which he had sent for from Newcastle by Humphrey Cole.

*Jonas' first proof of great works at Dartford*

And hereupon commission was directed from her Majesty's Privy Council unto Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Lionel Duckett, William Pelham, Thomas Randolph and the rest of the Commissioners appointed dated the 29 of October 1578, willing them to see good proof and trial made of the value of this ore brought home this third voyage, and also of that brought the last year in the second voyage, whereupon the Commissioners called before them Jonas and the other workmen, and took order with him for the working of some quantity of ore in the great works, and for his first proof thereof he, with the help of his 4 workmen which were brought out of Germany, did melt down at Dartford on the 8 day of November two tons of ore of the second voyage in the 4 furnaces, putting thereto for additament certain of the marcasite of sea coal brought from Newcastle and other things, which work proved very evil work by reason, as he said, of that sea coal marcasite being but a body of sulfur, and also of the evil frame of the bellows made by the carpenter. And after on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> day of November, he melted other two tons of the (f. 85v) ore of the third voyage in the presence of Sir Thomas Gresham and the rest of the Commissioners, which proved somewhat reasonable, but was far from the riches looked for, wherewithal the Commissioners departed to London, and hereby the ore brought home by Captain Frobisher grew into great discredit, whereupon followed much hurt unto many that had doings in those voyages.

*Captain Frobisher at Dartford works with evil rule*

In this meantime of these evil works at Dartford, and also long time after, Captain Frobisher was there continually soliciting the furtherance of the works that he might have some good news to carry to her Majesty for a knighthood which he hoped for, but the matter happened far contrary to his expectation, and whiles he was now at Dartford he showed himself like a general misruler in many matters following, as he had done in many others before, though he could not there have rule & command all things as he list himself alone as he had done at sea and abroad.

*Captain Frobisher abuseth Captain Fenton at Dartford*

Upon the arrival of the ship the Judith at Dartford Creek, the captain, Fenton, went to the town of Dartford to have order to unlade the ship and to visit Captain Frobisher, who was there long before, and at their meeting Captain Frobisher, upon his former quarrellous humour which he had uttered before at Meta Incognita, entered now again into quarrellous speech with Captain Fenton, and upon the sudden drew his dagger at him and would have mischiefed him if Mr William Pelham and others had not been present and pacified that strife.

*He abuseth the Commissioners for unlading the goods out of the Ayde without his command*

When the ship Ayde was arrived at Dartford Creek and remained long time there before she could be unladen, he, Captain Frobisher, remained still on land with Jonas and the workmen of the ore at the mills, and left the ship's goods at discretion of the evil boatswain named Alexander Creke and of his own men because he was victualler of the ship, and said that he had much goods of his own in the ship, and would not cause to be sent out of the ship into the storehouse at London such tackle, munition, merchandize and goods as were in the ship superfluous, but suffered the same to lie there still without purpose, cumbering the ship of her unlading, and at randon to the (f. 86r) pilfering of many evil men in the ship. Neither would he cause to be made any inventory thereof at their arrival, though he had one special article in his commission so to do, whereupon the Commissioners gave order to the master, Christopher Hall, to send the same goods on land by inventory, which he did so. And because the master did so when he, Captain Frobisher, was absent at Dartford, he made great storm and rage thereat, saying the master nor Mr Lok ought not to meddle in that matter, being his office and charge, and that it was the gunner's fees to have so much powder as would charge all the ordinance in the ship, and the boatswain's fees to have many parcels of the tackling, which indeed they had not at that time, whatsoever they had before of a great number of things that are pilfered and consumed to the value of £300, appearing by inventory made thereof.

*He abused the treasurer and officers at Dartford for the keys of the workhouses*

Michael Lok being treasurer and having the chief charge of the workhouses and goods therein at Dartford, for the which he was to give account to the Company, and having placed there Edward Castelyn as his deputy, who then was so occupied in providing of carts, lighters, labourers and things necessary for the unloading of the ore out of the ships into the storehouse in her Majesty's house at Dartford that he could not as yet be present at the works at the mills, he thought good for a time until other order were considered to give the keys of the workhouses' doors at the mills to the keeping of Richard Rawson, host of the Bull at Dartford and post of her Majesty, in whose house Michael Lok was still lodged, being well known unto Mr Thomas Randolph for a very honest man, and one who had been and daily was greatly furthering to the buildings of the workhouses and other business daily happening there, which thing Captain Frobisher greatly disliked upon a private quarrel against him for malice between him and one Parker, the host of Captain Frobisher, whereupon with great oaths and rages he flew upon Rawson, reviling him, and plucked the keys from him and brake his head with them, and gave them to his own cousin & serving-man, William Hawkes, a man not to be trusted by Michael Lok, and swore no small oaths that Michael Lok nor no man else should be porter of that house nor command anything in the works there without his goodwill and liking. This was done (f. 86v) openly in the workhouse when the men were at work in presence of the Commissioners the 12 of November, the which hurt Rawson did quietly bear, and this insolency Mr Lok did quietly put up, having respect to the works in hand, and so the keys remained with Captain Frobisher's man at his master's command of all things in the workhouses, he being then lodged at the farm of the mills, without any account to be given for that no inventory was then made thereof, whereby followed great waste and pilfery of the coals, wood and other things of the Company, as will appear.

*He abuseth Michael Lok with slanderous reports and false tales*

After this that he had remained at Dartford thus long time and no good works could be made there, which caused the chief venturers to withhold their money due for the payment of the ships' freight and men's wages now returned home to the sum of more than £6000, and the mariners and men calling and crying on him daily for the same, he returned to London with mind to go to the court himself to solicit the venturers to pay their money. And when he had done there what he could, and found there that cold suit that Michael Lok had found amongst them for the space of 3 weeks before, wherein no money could be had of no venturer but only her Majesty's part, being £1100, and Master Secretary Wilson's part, being £57, which was paid to Michael Lok, which he likewise paid out again for freight of the ships and wages of men and other needful business of the Company's appearing in his accounts, whereby was no more money to be had for to pay the rest of the men's wages and the freights due to the two ships now returned and unladen at Dartford for the private account of Captain Frobisher, which had no assurance for their money but only the bare credit & promise of Captain Frobisher, and he being now clean out of all credit by occasion of the discredit of the works done at Dartford, he now cometh to Michael Lok for money, of whom he was wont always to be holpen at his request. But now Michael Lok, being not able to salve this sore by reason that he could get no more money among the venturers and his own credit also utterly failing upon the

discredit of the works at Dartford wherein he had for his part more than 2400 pounds well known to his creditors, (f. 87r) which would be his undoing if the ore at Dartford should prove naught, and so Captain Frobisher, being utterly now destitute of money, he cometh to the house of Michael Lok on the 20 day of November with a band of 40 men at his heels, and there openly in great rage and fury exclaimeth on Michael Lok in this wise, saying, Thou hast cozened my Lord of Oxford of £1000, thou hast made false accounts & deceived the Company of 3000 pounds, thou hast not one groat venture in all these voyages, thou art a bankrupt knave, and swore by God's blood he would pull him out of his house by the ears, all which villainous reproaches Michael Lok did bear quietly for that time, knowing them to be false and thinking Captain Frobisher to be either drunk or mad. And so Captain Frobisher departed, and proclaimed all these slanders against him in the court and in the Royal Exchange and everywhere in London & other places where he came, and withal gave information to her Majesty's honourable Privy Council and procured new Commissioners and new auditors of Michael Lok's accounts which had been audited before by others, which said new Commissioners and auditors have found the accounts and doings of Michael Lok to be true and the sayings of Captain Frobisher to be false, and so Michael Lok is thus satisfied of this great injury against Captain Frobisher, and hath trodden it all underfoot at the entreaty of the said Commissioners of late, reserving his duty towards the Company.

*He payeth men more wages than is due to them*

Whereas the ship Thomas of Ipswich returned home from Meta Incognita without licence and empty without any lading because they could not or would not go to their lading place for it, and arrived at Milford in Wales the 6 September, and the Commissioners ordained to pay the miners of that ship, being 15 men, but for 4 months' wages, he, Captain Frobisher, of his own authority did pay them for 5 months' wages.

*He chargeth the Company with what men and how he list*

He hath brought into wages of the Company so many men and such manner men as he list, and many of them at such great wages as he list, under name of valiant men, tall men and proper men, without regard of their service or defects but for friendship, whereof many of them run away with great pays, to the great charges of the Company.

f. 87v

*He chargeth the Company with men in the Ayde against the Commissioners*

The ship Ayde being discharged of her lading at Dartford and remaining in the Thames at London, he(?) did place in her against the commandment of the Commissioners a number of men at the Company's charges without cause or duty, whereof many were such disordered men of their hands as made great pilfery and spoil of the goods in the ship,

and also of their tongues as raised great slander to the Company by their false clamours and exclamations made for their wages, and yet had but small duty of wages owing to them when their accounts were examined particularly.

*His small venture in the voyage, and his great wages for his service*

He said at Dartford and other places that himself is the greatest venturer in all these voyages except the Queen and th' Earl of Oxford, and yet himself hath not one penny venture therein but £100 which the Company gave him in part of £800 which he hath had of them for his own wages and service in these voyages, besides the entertainment of 15 of his serving-men and followers in 2 years voyages in the name of soldiers, mariners and miners which have cost the Company £400, and beside £500 of money which remaineth still in his hands at this day due to the Company upon his account not yet audited, and perchance never will be paid them, and yet he reporteth daily that he hath had nothing at all of the Company for all his service.

*[He giveth none account of his government in the voyage nor of what has happened therein]*

He had special commission in writing both in his second voyage and also in his third voyage to keep good account in a book in writing of his doings in the government of the same voyages and of such matters as should happen therein both at sea and on land, and at his return home to deliver the same book to remain for instruction of those that hereafter should take charge in these voyages for the Company. And also for that purpose her Majesty's honourable Privy Council have written their letters unto the Commissioners, willing them to call into their hands from all men that took charge in these voyages all such books, charts and writings as they had made thereof, whereupon divers of them have brought in the same, which remain with Michael Lok for the Company, (f. 88r) appearing in a book of register kept thereof. And he, Captain Frobisher, being requested divers times to bring in his and to show his own doings therein, he doth hitherto refuse to do the same, whereby it seemeth he hath not kept any account at all thereof in neither of both these voyages, contrary to his commission and contrary to the duty of a careful governor.

*He hath not brought samples nor says of the mines found in their places*

He had special commission in writing in this third voyage to cause to be made small says particularly of all the several mines that should be found, and the same to be registered in a book, and also of the same mines to be kept small pieces of ore for samples, with marks written whereby to know the places where they were found, and the same at his return home to be delivered to the Commissioners whereby to know the good from the bad and what to do best hereafter, but of this matter he hath not showed any account at all of his doings therein, but saith that he had laid up divers pieces of the several mines found

which he put into a bench in his cabin of the ship, the Ayde, and saith that at the sea in storm of weather that cabin was brast [=burst] open, and so all is gone, which is to be examined better of Robert Denham and of the master and men that were in the ship, for that as yet the same is not so found to be done.

*He detaineth the mineral and jewel stones had of men of the Ayde*

Her Majesty's honourable Privy Council wrote their letters to the Commissioners at the return home of the ships in the third voyage, willing them amongst other matters to cause all the captains and masters of ships to cause to be brought in to the Commissioners all pieces of ore and stones thought or named to be diamonds, sapphires, rubies and other like things which the men of the ships had found and did conceal and hide, whereupon divers things were brought in by divers men, appearing in a book of register remaining with Michael Lok, and Christopher Hall, Master of the Ayde, had collected a great quantity of a bushel of divers men of that ship and others, which he delivered to Captain Frobisher, who keepeth them still from knowledge of the Commissioners.

*He detaineth the instruments of navigation of the Company*

For the better service of the Company in their desire of discovery of countries to Cathay in these voyages were provided divers instruments of metal for navigation, globes, spheres, astrolabes and others which cost £50 of money, which now do remain in possession of Captain Frobisher, who is not willing to restore them, and therefore must pay for them.

f. 88v

*The great provision for the 100 men to inhabit with Captain Fenton is consumed and gone*

And whereas for the furniture of the 100 men to inhabit in Meta Incognita under Captain Fenton an infinite number of things and implements were provided and sent with them for their relief and service, it hath come to pass through the overthrow of that purpose of habitation, which cost the Company 6000 pounds, that great havoc and waste hath been made of those things provided through the chopping and changing of those men from one ship to another in the voyage and bestowing of those goods from one ship to another, whereby the charge thereof hath come to sundry men's hands without care or due account, that of the victuals provided the most part of them are eaten and wasted to the value of 1200 pounds, and the rest buried there in Meta Incognita underground, and also of the implements the most part are likewise buried, which is lost, to the value of 600 pounds, besides a number of implements pilfered, stolen, consumed & wasted in the voyage without any account to the value of 500 pounds, appearing by inventories thereof collected at home.

*Jonas' second proof of great works at Dartford which is with mineral additaments of Keswick mines*

Forasmuch as the former works made by Jonas with the ore at Dartford in November last had such evil success as could not be worse, much inquiry was made by the Commissioners of the cause and fault thereof, whereunto Jonas answered the fault to be in the sea coal marcasite, whereupon was provided from Keswick copper mines certain minerals of his own choice, upon a small say thereof which he had made, one ton of lead ore and one ton of a copper marcasite which was brought by land from thence to Dartford by conduct of Robert Denham, so as on the 29 day of December Jonas made at Dartford a great proof of a ton of the ore of the second voyage with the additaments of lead ore and marcasite brought from Keswick, which work was done in presence of Captain Frobisher, who made a great haste thereof to have presented it unto her Majesty for a New Year's gift to bring him a knighthood, but this work also succeeded but evil through his haste made thereof, whereupon Jonas did translate one of the furnaces and made another great proof of half a ton of the ore of the Judith's lading with the foresaid additaments of lead ore and marcasite brought from Keswick, which was molten the 20 January in presence of Captain Frobisher alone by the Commissioners' order, which work was as the ore of the Judith was found to be worth £10 of money the ton, which was somewhat comfortable, and yet great fault was still remaining (f. 89r) in the workmanship, which Jonas promised to amend the next time.

*Captain Frobisher abuseth Edward Castelyn at Dartford*

In this meantime of these works at Dartford, Captain Frobisher was there alone in commission, where he played his part of general misrule. He spake his evil pleasure against Mr Lok, who had the charge as accountant to the Company for all the goods at Dartford, he took the keys of the workhouses from Edward Castelyn, there being in charge unto Master Lok, and reviled him with villainous speech and threatenings, and the like did he to one of Master Lok's servants named Charles Sledd, all which injuries was borne quietly for the Commissioners to reform, which they did not.

*His disorder in the works at Dartford without account of Jonas' third proof*

Also the Commissioners made him, Captain Frobisher, surveyor of these two great melting works of Jonas at Dartford to th' end the same works might be done with all perfection & secretly and thriftily with little cost, which he promised to perform with 40s charge, yet was it requisite to build a little roasting furnace which Jonas required to have done, and for the doing thereof Captain Frobisher received of Mr Allen £5 of money by the Commissioners' appointment, and now hath he done this business there so well and so secretly that none account at all is kept of all his doings therein that time, neither what timber, wood and other stuff he took up and provided for those works, neither what

number of workmen were in wages in those works, but by that which long afterward is inquired at Dartford it is very like that the same small work which he said would not cost £5 will not be cleared with £40, which is wages to divers men at Dartford for the same. And therefore none account at all is kept by Captain Frobisher nor by any other man for that he would not suffer Mr Castelyn nor any man but himself & his men to see nor know what was done there, neither would he suffer any account to be taken by Mr Lok's men of the weight of the lead and other stuff of the Company's which appertained unto that work, but said that himself would account for all, and no man but himself should meddle any more there, for the which he is to be called to account that each man may have his duty.

f. 89v

*The new Commissioners cause Jonas to make a new proof of 200 ore at Tower Hill*

These works being thus done at Dartford, they did not please the new Commissioners, nor yet did like the chief venturers for any foundation whereupon to be at charges to provide additaments for the great works to be done with the ore at Dartford, but great blame was laid on Jonas for his evil work at Dartford and why he could not make that work now as good as he had made his work the last year at Tower Hill of 200 weight of the same ore, and thereupon much suspicion grew of some false dealings to have been used the last year in the works at Tower Hill, either by Jonas or by Robert Denham or by Captain Frobisher or by Mr Lok or by some other man, and therefore the new Commissioners, to say, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Lionel Duckett, Captain Fenton, Captain York, Thomas Allen [+and] Christopher Huddesdon, who had seen nothing of the works done the last year at the Tower Hill, they would now be satisfied themselves in the doings thereof, and so commanded Jonas to work and melt 200 weight of the ore at the Tower Hill, even of the same ore and in the same order as they had done the year before, which Jonas willingly did grant, and in their presence on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of March 1578 [=1579] he did so, whereby was found the same ore to be worth £15 a ton, which these Commissioners did well like, and judged the same to be without any falsehood, being done without the presence of any of the old Commissioners or parties aforesaid. And so these works rest for this time, which God grant may proceed with good success.

*Captain Frobisher beateth Edward Sellman at Dartford, having charge of all there by the Commissioners*

Captain Frobisher, being yet not quiet that Mr Castelyn or any man for Mr Lok should remain at Dartford, sought all means to thrust them out and to thrust in himself because he had given such great speeches at Dartford that he would so do, and because he and his men when they were there had warm, being by the Company's fire, and therefore sought means amongst the Commissioners that some more proofs might be made at Dartford by waterworks of Cornishmen or by firework of Jonas, and that he might have the charge thereof, and Mr Castelyn to be put out of the place, but the Commissioners, looking to the

Company's profit in saving wages, thought it good to send to Dartford one of their servants (f. 90r) named Edward Selman, who went thither the 15<sup>th</sup> of April 1579 and took the charge at the hands of Mr Castelyn of all things there by inventory, and also the keys of all the workhouses, as well of Mr Castelyn as also of William Hawkes, Captain Frobisher's kinsman, who with heavy heart delivered them out of his possession, and within four days afterward Captain Frobisher himself went to Dartford, and upon his old braving humour reviled and threatened Mr Castelyn and beat Edward Selman about the head, and with his dagger had almost cloven his head, which Edward Selman hath complained to the Commissioners, and so the matter resteth as it is.

*Jonas offereth a bargain to buy all the ore at Dartford*

Now after all these many says, proofs and trials made of the ore of Meta Incognita in small and in great at Tower Hill, at Dartford and other places by Jonas, Robert Denham, Baptista Angeli, William Humphrey and many other workmen professing still in the art, whereby the goodness and richness of this ore did satisfy the workmen and some of the venturers to proceed to provide the mineral additaments requisite for the working of all the ore in the great works at Dartford which Jonas had long time before and oft-times declared to the Commissioners that it must be had before the ore can be wrought to perfection desired, yet nevertheless the chief of the venturers were not yet satisfied in the goodness of this matter, nor would consent to provide these additaments, whereupon Jonas and Denham and the Dutch workmen, seeing themselves destitute of their wages and discredited in all that they had done, and they knowing the goodness of the ore and what was to be done in the works, they determined to make offer unto the Company of a bargain, and to buy all the 1300 tons of ore at Dartford at 20 marks money for the ton, and to work it themselves at their own charges, which offer was delivered in writing by Michael Lok the 18 April 1579 unto the right honourable the Lord High Treasurer and to Mr Secretary Walsingham, together with another writing of notes for officers requisite for the proceeding in the great works of the ore at Dartford for the Company's own behalf, and also with another writing wherein Michael Lok desired to have out his (f. 90v) part of the ore, being 150 ton, to work the same at his own cost and charges for a trial and example to the rest, the which said offer of bargain to buy the ore their Honours did themselves like well.

*Captain Frobisher overthroweth Jonas' bargain offered & hindereth the great works proceedings*

But shortly afterwards Captain Frobisher hearing thereof, and perceiving that he was left out of the bargain and business and was not made of counsel therein, which he thought a disgrace unto him, especially at Dartford, he informed her Majesty's honourable Privy Council that the ore was worth 40 pounds the ton, and incensed their Honours that this bargain was a practice between Lok and Jonas whereby to get all the ore into their own hands at that low price of 20 marks the ton, and so to deceive the Company and keep from them the knowledge of the true value of the ore, and likewise informed the

Commissioners of the same matter, whereupon great storms were raised in the court and in the city, both against Michael Lok and against Jonas and the workmen. And thereupon the Commissioners sent for them at the 3 day of May to understand of the bargain offered by Jonas, which Michael Lok delivered then to them in writing a copy of that delivered before to their Honours foresaid, the which said bargain Sir Thomas Gresham and other the Commissioners did utterly dislike, and said that it would be a great dishonour unto her Majesty to make any bargain to sell away their ore, and therefore the Company themselves should proceed in the great works thereof. And now upon this determination of the Commissioners Captain Frobisher bestirreth himself again to get some place and authority in the works at Dartford, and in this meantime he happened to receive a letter from the Duke Casimirus whom he had passed over sea out of England wherein, as he said, the Duke writeth to him that he would send him shortly out of Germany 6 very good workmen for the ore, and hereof Captain Frobisher giveth knowledge to her Majesty's Privy Council, and condemneth Jonas to be but a knave, and both he and his workmen to be fools, and ignorant in the works, and so caused the works entirely to stay from proceeding, and yet in the meantime himself practised with Jonas and Denham to have them join with him and his partners to proceed to work the ore for their own accounts according to the bargain offered by them, but Jonas and Denham (f. 91r) utterly refused to join with him in the works or any other business of theirs, but for the Company do offer their service to the best of their power, and by this means this bargain and offer of the workmen was overthrown, and also the request of Michael Lok for to work his own part of the ore was refused, and yet the Company themselves have not proceeded anything at all in the works at Dartford, but all lieth still dead as yet, to no small damage of themselves and many others, and great discredit of the matter without cause.

*Captain Frobisher's general disordered dealings*

And now to conclude these doings of Captain Frobisher, he is so arrogant and obstinate in his government at sea as the shipmasters Hall, Jackman, Davis, Gibbes and others will no more be under his government, and so insolent in his doings among the Commissioners as they are weary of his company, and so prodigal and disordered in the Company's business as many of the venturers are minded to meddle no more with him, and so full of lying talk as no man may well credit him in anything that he doth speak, and so impudent of his tongue as his best friends are most of all slandered of him when he cannot have his will, and finally, if his doings in these 3 voyages be well looked into, perchance he will be found the most unprofitable servant of all that have served the Company therein, as his accounts will declare.