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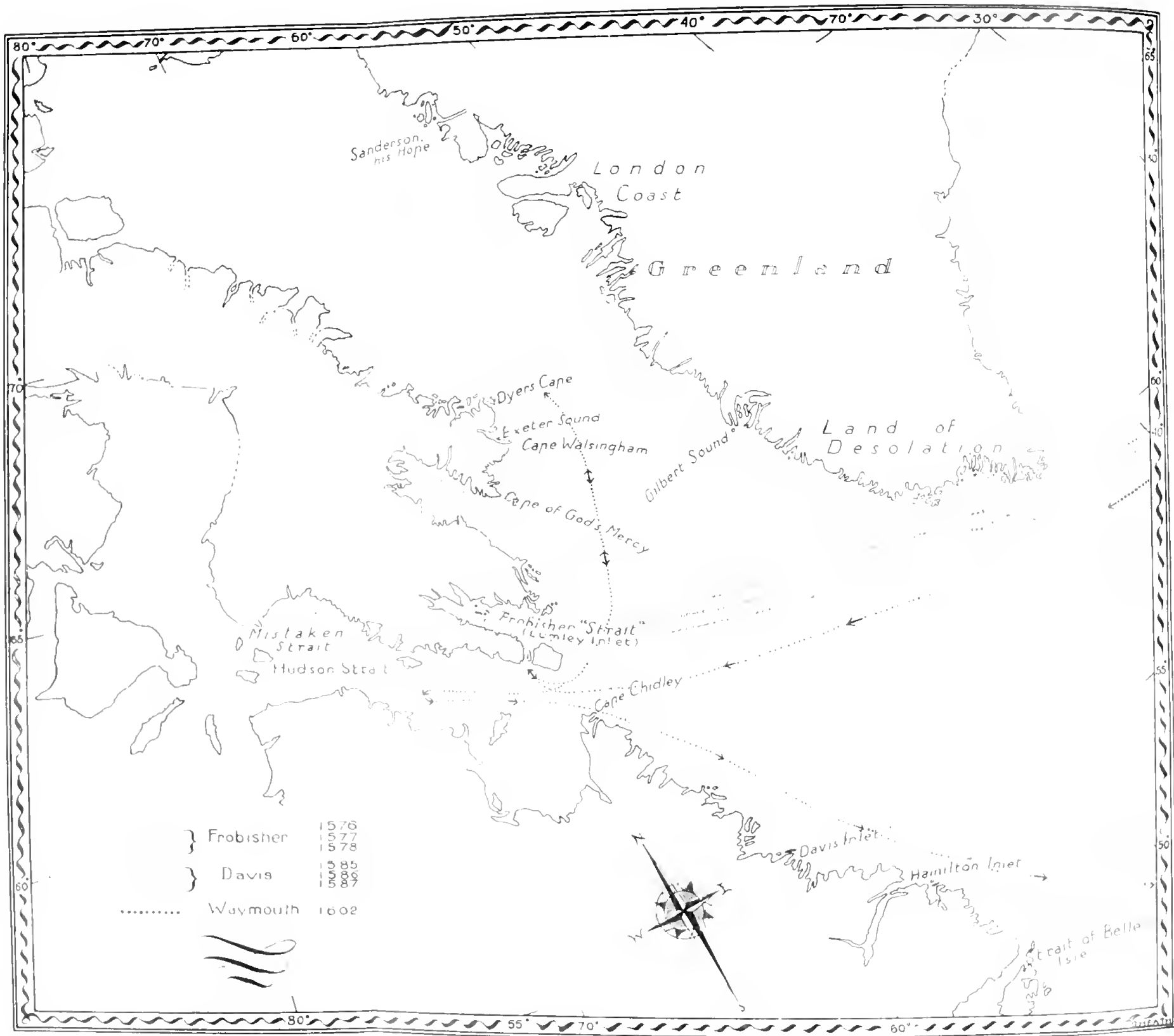


THE THREE VOYAGES OF MARTIN FROBISHER

GENERAL EDITOR: N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S.

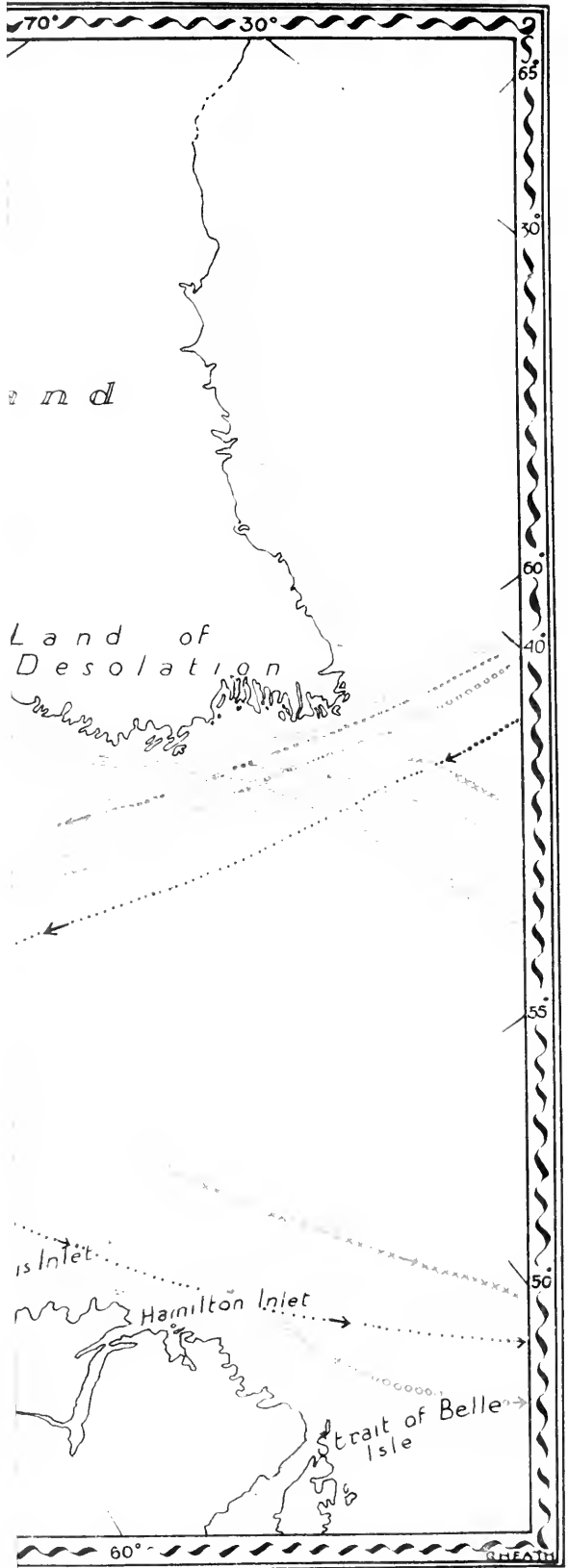
VOLUME II

2



}	Frobisher	1576
		1577
		1578
}	Davis	1585
		1586
		1587

..... Waymouth 1602





Best, George

# THE THREE VOYAGES OF MARTIN FROBISHER

In search of a passage to Cathay and India by the North-West,  
A.D. 1576-8. From the original 1578 text of George Best

Together with numerous other versions, Additions, etc.

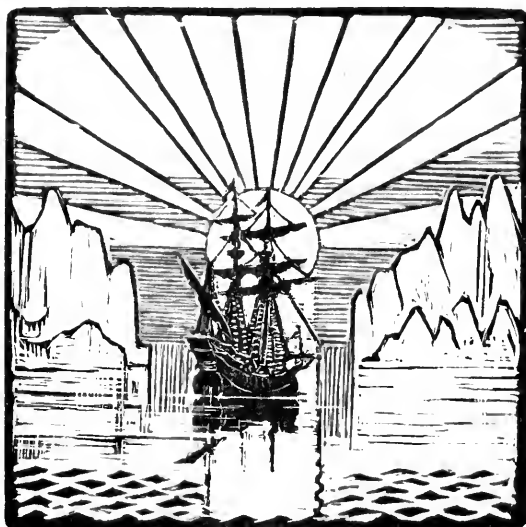
Now edited, with *Preface, Introduction, Notes,*  
*Appendixes and Bibliography,* by

VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON

A.B., A.M., PH.D., LL.D.

With the collaboration of ELOISE M<sup>c</sup>CASKILL, A.M.  
together with numerous maps and  
illustrations

IN TWO VOLUMES



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DIONYSE SETTLE'S ACCOUNT OF THE  
SECOND VOYAGE<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionyse Settle's account of the second voyage is printed from the London, Middleton, 1577 edition. (See *infra*, Appendix 3, p. 226.)





A true reporte of  
the laste voyage into the  
West and Northwest regi-  
ons &c. 1577. *worthy* achie-  
ued by Capteine Frobilher of  
the sayde voyage the first  
finder and Ge-  
nerall.

*With a description of the people  
there inhabiting, and other  
circumstances  
notable.*

Written by Dionyse Settle, one of  
the companie in the sayde voy-  
age, and seruant to the Right  
Honourable the Earle  
of Cumberland.

*Nil mortalibus arduum est.*

Imprinted at Lon-  
don by Henric Middle-  
ton. Anno. 1577.



¶ *A rythme decasyllabicall,*  
vpon this laft luckie voyage of worthie  
*Capteine Frobisher. 1577.*

**T**Hrough fundrie foming fretes, and storming streightes,  
That ventrous knight of Ithac' foyle did faile:  
Against the force of Syrens baulmed beightes,  
His noble skill and courage did preuaile.  
His hap was hard, his hope yet nothing fraile.  
Not ragged Rockes, not finking Syrtes or sands  
His stoutnesse staide, from viewing forreigne lands.

That Poets penne and paines was well employd,  
His braines bedeawd with dropps of Parnasse spring:  
Whereby renowne deserued he enioyd.  
Yea, nowe (though dead) the Muses sweetly fing,  
Melodiously by note, and tuned string,  
They found in th'cares of people farre and neere,  
Th'exceeding praife of that approued Peere.

A right Heroicall heart of Britanne blood,  
Vlyffes match in skill and Martiall might:  
For Princes fame, and countries speciall good,  
Through brackish feas (where Neptune reignes by right)  
Hath safely faild, in perils great despight:  
The Golden fleece (like Iafon) hath he got,  
And rich returnd, faunce losse or lucklesse lot.

O that I had old Homers worthy witt,  
O that I had, this present houre, his head:  
With penne in hand, then musing would I fitt,  
And our Vlyffes valiant venture spread  
In vaunting verfe, that when his corps is dead,  
(Which long may liue) his true renowne may rest,  
As one whome God abundantly hath blest.

*Abraham Fleming.*



¶ To the Right honourable and my singlar good Lord,

George Earle of Cumberland,

Baron Clifford, Lord of Skipton and Vesseie:

his humble seruauant Dionyse Settle, wifheth the  
fulnesse of all perfect felicitie.



**T** both is, and hath beene, (*Right Honourable*) the bountie of a noble mynde, not to expect remuneration or satisfaction for liberalitie frankly bestowed. It both is, and also hath beene accounted a great vice, to seeme vnthankfull, or at the least not somthing carefull, of whom, when, and how, we should receiue liberalitie. I am not obliuious, neither carelesse, when, and how, your Honour (about my expectation) nobly satisfied the request of me your humble seruauant. I am most assured, that the vertue of your noble heart expecteth nothing of me, but that your goodnesse might abound to my profite: vppon which occasion, and bicause I would not be accounted ingratefull, I haue both boldly passed the limittes of my duetie, and also vnlearnedly taken vpon me to set foorth some thing worthie notice, in this last voyage of our Capteine and Generall, Maister Martine Frobisher, your Honours worthie Countrie man: vnder whome (as your Honours vnworthie seruauant) I was one in the said voyage. By his great diligence, the voyage is worthily finished: whereby I am perswaded, that he will refell the rehearfall of those opprobrious wordes, namely, that, All euill cometh from or hath originall in the North: not onely he, but many worthie subiectes more.

I haue published this scantling, vnder the noble title of your Honor, to whom I offer the same in dedication: which, though it be not decorated with good learning, apte for the setting foorth of so notable a matter: yet, the same is beautified with good will and trueth. Wherein your Honour, (if it shall so please you) for recreation sake, may vnderstand, what people, countries, and other commodities we haue found out, since our departure from England, which haue not ben knowne before. Thus, presuming vpon hope and assuraunce of your Honours pardon for my bolde attempt herein, I rest humbly at your Lordships commaundement: wishing your time so spent in this world, that you may inioy the felicitie in the worlde to come. Amen.

Your Lordships most humble seruauant to commaund,

Dionyse Settle.



## To the Christian

*Reader.*



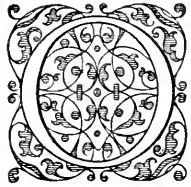
Vch countries and people, (good Christian Reader) which almost from the deluge, or at the least, so long as any humane creature hath had habitation on the earth, haue of late yeres, by y<sup>e</sup> industrie of diligent searhers ben explored: it hath likewise pleased God, y<sup>e</sup> they should be found out by those people, which for the temperature of their habitatiō, are most apt to atchiue the same. As for example, the Spaniards, the West Indies. Spaine is situated much more neere y<sup>e</sup> Tropike of Cancer, then other Christian countries be: wherby, the Spaniards are better able to tolerate Phœbus burning beames, then others whiche are more Septentrional thē they. Wherfore, I suppose them the most apte men for the inioying of the habitation of the West Indies: and especially so much, as is vexed with continual heate, or that is agreeable to their temperature, God hath ben pleased that they, as the most apt people, should both explore & inioy y<sup>e</sup> same. Semblably, y<sup>e</sup> Portugals, whose temperature is correspondent to y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards, God is also contented, that they haue explored Africa, euen through the burning Zone, both the West and South coast, with al y<sup>e</sup> coast of Asia, vnto the Oriental cape therof, and the Islands adiacent to them both: wherfore, both for their habitation, and temperature, I account them y<sup>e</sup> most apt people to atchiue y<sup>e</sup> same, and to reape the benefite, whereabout they haue taken no small paines and labor. In like maner, the French men, where y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards thought y<sup>e</sup> place not apt for their temperature, discouered Noua Francia, and other places in America: wherfore, I iudge them worthie the commoditie thereof, as people most apt to inioy and possesse the same. Lastly, it hath pleased God, at this present, by the great diligence & care of our worthie Countreiman, Master Martine Frobisher, in the 18. and 19. yeare of oure Queenes Maiesties reigne, to discouer, for the vtilitie of his Prince and Countreie, other regions more Septentrional, then those before rehearsed: which, from the beginning, as vnknowne till now, haue bene concealed and hidden. Which discouerie, I iudge most apt for vs English men, and more agreeing to our temperature, then others aboue rehearsed. I leaue the famous discouerie of Moscouie, and other countries on those partes, (whiche of late yeares haue bene explored by the industrie of other our worthie

countrimen) to the diligent Reader: whereby he may confider, that this our countrie, hath fostered vp men of no leffe value and excellencie, then thofe, which are intituled, The fecond, thirde, and fourth Neptune. And doubtleffe, hee, by whose endeouour this laft difcouerie of the world is explored, may bee celebrated as well with the title of Aeolus, as alfo of Neptune. By whose fingular knowledge and cunning, God hath preferred vs in this voyage, from bothe their cruell daungers.

Thus (Christiã Reader) thou maift perceiue, that the worlde, of late yeares, hath benee difcouered by fundrie regions of this our Europe: which God hath fo diuided in the exploring of the fame, that it feemeth apt and agreeable to the difcouerer, more then to any other, to inioy all fuch commodities as they yealde and affoorde. Confider alfo, that Christians haue difcouered thefe countries and people, which fo long haue lyen vnknowne, and they not vs: which plainely may argue, that it is Gods good will and pleasure, that they should be instructed in his diuine feruice and religion, whiche from the beginning, haue benee nouzeled and nourished in Atheifme, groffe ignorance, and barbarous behaiour. Wherefore, this is my iudgement, (in conclusion) that who fo euer can winne them from their infidelitie, to the perfect knowledge of his diuine institutions and feruice, hee or they are worthie to receiue the greateft rewarde at Gods hands, and the greater benefites from thofe countries, which he hath difcouered. Fare well.



¶ A true report of *Capteine Frobisher* his last voyage  
into the West and Northwest regions,  
this present yere 1577. With a description of  
the people there inhabiting.



IN Whitfunday last past, being the 26. of May, in this present yeare of our Lorde God 1577. Capteine Frobisher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Quéenes Maiesties shippes, called The Aide, of nine score tunne, or there aboutes: and two other little Barkes likewise, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Maister Fenton a Gentlemã of my Lord of Warwicks was Capteine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Maister Yorke a Gentleman of my Lorde Admerals was Captein, accompanied with feuen score gentlemen, souldiers and saylers, well furnished with victuals, and other prouisiõ necessarie for one halfe yere, on this his seconde voyage, for the further discouering of the passage to Cataia, and other countries therevnto adiacent, by West and Northwest Nauigations: whiche passage, or way, is supposed to be on the North and Northwest partes of America: and the sayd America to be an Islande inuironed with the sea, where-through our Merchaunts might haue course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our Northernmost parts of Europe, to those oriental coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefit then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that doe traffique the same. Oure sayde Capteine and Generall of this present voyage and companie, hauing the yere before, with two little Pinnifies, to his great daunger and no small commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performaunce thereof, is also prest (when occasion shall be ministred, to the benefite of his Prince and natiue countrie) to aduenture him selfe further therein. As for this second voyage, it séemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and countries, with sufficient commoditie vnto the aduenturers, which in his first voyage the yere before he had found out.

Upon which consideracions, the day and yere before expressed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwiche, where making an accomplishment of thinges necessarie, the last of Maye we hoyfed vp failles, and with a mery winde the 7. therof we arriued at the Islands called Orchades, or

*The Islands  
Orchades, or  
Orkney.*

vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. subiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made prouifion of freshe water: in the doing whereof, our Generall licenced the Gentlemen and Souldiers, for their recreation, to go on shoare. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cotages, with fhrikes and alarums, to warne their neighbors of enimies: but by gentle perfuasions we reclaimed them to their houfes. It féemeth they are often frighted with Pirates, or some other enimies, that moueth them to such fouden feare. Their houfes are very simplie builded with pibble stone, without any chimneys, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their familie, eate and fléepe on the one side of the house, and their cattell on the other, very beaftly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes and Cowe shardes. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with whiche they paye their Kinges rente, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fishe, which they drie in the winde and Sunne. They dresse their meate very filthily, and eate it without falt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their churche and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England, can better declare the dispositions of those people than I: wherefore, I remit other their vsages to their reportes, as yearely repairers thither, in their course to and from Island for fish.

Wée departed herehence, the 8. of June, and followed our course betwéene West and Northwest, vntill the 4. of Julie: all which time, we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment, we had when we were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe awaye the time: a thinge of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknown seas and longe Nauigations, especially, when both the winds, and raging furies, do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those partes not fixe wéekes, whilest the Sunne is néere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the Pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrés, it continueth the longer.

All along these seas, after we were 6. dayes sayling from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trées, which as wée iudged, were with the furie of great floudes rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fewel, but such as they take vp vpon their coastes. It féemeth, that these trées are driuen from some parte of the New found land, with the Current that setteth from the West to the East.

The 4. of Julie, we came within the making of Freeeland. From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing aboute the sea 30. or 40.

*The Orchadians  
vpon shal occa-  
sion flee their  
home.*

*Simple houfes  
in Orkney.*

*No wood in  
Orkney.*

*Fishermen of  
England haue  
daily trafique  
to Orkney.*

*In Iun. and  
Iulie, no night  
in those West  
and North-  
west regions.*

*Freeeland.  
Islandes of  
yce.*

fathomes, and as we supposed, fast on ground, where, with oure leade wée could scarce found the bottome for deapth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smelles of fwéete gummes, and pleafant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countries in more temperate Zone do yeeld, we tasted the most boisterous Boreall blasts, mixt with snow and haile, in the moneth of June and Julie, nothing inferiour to oure vntemperate Winter: a foudaine alteration, and especially in a place or Paralele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrés: at which height other countries more to the North, yea, vnto 70. degrés, shewe thêselues more temperat than this doth.

*Yce, snowe,  
and haile in  
Iune and Iulie.*

All along this coast yce lyeth, as a continuall bullworke, and so defendeth the countrie, that those whiche would land there incurre great daunger. Our Generall thrée dayes together, attempted with the shippboate to haue gone on shoare, whiche, for that without great daunger he could not accomplishe, he deferred it vntil a more conuenient time. All along the coast lye very highe mounteines couered with snowe, excepte in such places, where, through the stêpenesse of the mounteines, of force it must néedes fall.

*Yce defendeth  
Freeiland.*

Foure dayes coastinge along this Land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birdes, whiche we iudged to haue lost ȳ shoare, by reason of thicke fogges, which that countrie is much subiect vnto, came fléeing to oure shippes, whiche causeth vs to suppose, that the countrie is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shoare maketh shewe or signification.

*The shoares of  
Freeiland haue  
highe moun-  
teines.*

*Freeiland sub-  
iect to fogge.  
Little birdes  
signe and  
token of  
habitation.*

From hence we departed the eight of Julie: and the 16. of the same, we came within the making of land, whiche land our Generall, the yeare before, had named The Queenes foreland, béeing an Island, as we iudge, lying néere the supposed continent with America: & on the other side, opposite to ȳ same, one other Island called Halles Isle, after the name of the Maister of our shippe, néere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betwéene the which two Islandes, there is a large entrance or streight, called Frobishers streight, after the name of oure Generall, the first finder thereof. This said streight, is supposed to haue passage into the Sea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowne as yet.

*Queenes  
foreland.*

*Halles Isle.*

*Frobishers  
streight.*

It féemeth, that either here, or not farre hence, the Sea should haue more large entraunce, than in other partes, within the frosen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrarie tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantitie of yce, which commeth floating from this coast, euen vnto Freeiland, causing that countrie to féeme more vntemperate than others, muche more Northerly than they are.

I cannot iudge, that any temperature vnder the Pole, béeing the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination, halfe a yeare together and one whole day, (confidering, that the Sunnes eleuation furmounteth not 23. degrés and 30. minutes,) can haue power to diffolue fuch monftrous and huge yce, comparable to great mounteines, excepte by fome other force, as by fwift Currents and tydes, with the helpe of the faid day of halfe a yeare.

*Islands of yce  
comparable to  
mounteines.*

Before we came within the making of thefe Landes, we tafted cold stormes, infomuch that it féemed, we had chaunged Summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remoued vs from that opinion.

At our firft comming, the freightes féemed to be flutt vp with a long mure of yce, whiche gaue no little caufe of difcomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence, imminent daungers, and difficult attemptes féemed nothing, in refpect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and countrie,) with two little Pinnifes prepared of purpofe, paffed twife thoroughe them to the Eaft fhoare, and the Islands therevnto adiacent: and the fhippe, with the two barks, lay off and on something further into the fea, from the daunger of the yce.

*Captaine  
Frobisher his  
fpeciall care and  
diligence for  
the benefite of  
his Prince  
and Country.*

Whileft he was fearching the countrie néere the fhoare, fome of the people of the countrie fhewed themfelues, leaping and dauncing, with fraunge fhrikes and cryes, whiche gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall defirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caufed kniues, & other thinges, to be proferred vnto them, whiche they would not take at our handes: but béeing layd on the ground, & the partie going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing something of theirs to counteruaile y<sup>e</sup> fame. At the length, two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Maifter, who did the like to them, commaunding the companie to ftay, and went vnto them: who, after certeine dumbe fignes and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly efcaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not refpecting the reft of our companie, which were readie for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuerfe of them: we tooke the one, and the other efcaped.

*The order of  
the people  
appearing on  
fhoare.*

*Fierce and  
bould people.*

*One taken.*

Whileft our Generall was bufied in fearching the countrie and thofe Islands adiacent on the Eaft fhoare, the fhip and barckes hauing great care, not to put farre into the fea from him, for that he had fmall ftore of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempeft, chancing in the night, amongft and in the thickeft of the yce, which was fo monftrous, that euen the leaft of a thoufand had béene of force fufficient, to haue fhiuered oure fhippe and barkes into fmall portions, if God (who in all neceffities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not provided for this our

extremitie a sufficient remedie, through the light of the night, whereby we might well discern to flee from such imminent dangers, which wee auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4. houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islandes of yce, wee should haue lost our Generall and Maister, and the most of our best failers, which were on the shoare destitute of victualls: but by the valure of our Maister Gunner, being expert both in Nauigation and other good qualities, we were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would, with oure owne safetie, runne into the Seas, to the destruction of oure said Generall and his companie.

*Richard Coxe  
Maister Gun-  
ner.*

The day following, being the 19. of Julie, oure Capteine returned to the shippe, with good newes of great riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowelles of those barren mountaines, wherewith we were all fatiffied. A sudden mutation. The one parte of vs being almost swallowed vp the night before, w<sup>ch</sup> cruell Neptunes force, and the rest on shoare, taking thought for their greedie paunches, how to find the way to New found land: at one moment we were all rapt with ioye, forgetting, both where we were, and what we had suffred. Behold the glorie of man, to night contemning riches, and rather looking for death than otherwise: and to morrowe deuising howe to satisfie his greedie appetite with Golde.

*New found  
land.*

Within foure days after we had ben at the entraunce of the Streights, the Northwest and West windes disperfed the yce into the Sea, and made vs a large entrance into the Streights, that without any impediment, on the 19. of Julie, we entred them, and the 20. therof oure Generall and Maister, with great diligence, fought out and founded the West shoare, and found out a fayre Harborough for the ship and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Maisters mate, Iackmans found, and brought the ship, barkes, and all their companie to safe anchor, except one man, whiche dyed by Gods visitation.

*Iackmans  
found.*

Who so maketh Nauigations to these contries, hath not only extreme winds, and furious Seas, to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islandes of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

*Yce needefull  
to be regarded  
of seafaring  
men.*

We were forced, fundrie times, while the ship did ride here at anchor, to haue continuall watch, with boates and men readie with Halfers, to knit fast vnto such yce, which with the ebbe and floud were tossed to and fro in the Harboroughe, and with force of oares to hale them away, for indaungering the ship.

*Great watch  
with men and  
boates for yce  
indaungering  
the ship at  
anchor.*

Our Generall, certeine dayes searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commoditie to aunswere his expectation,

after he had made tryall thereof, he departed thence with two little barkes, and men sufficient, to the East shoare, being the supposed continent of Asia, & left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, Souldiers, and Saylers, vntill such time as he, eyther thought good to fend, or come for them.

*Stones glister  
with sparkle  
like Golde.  
A common  
Prouerbe.*

The stones of this supposed continent with America, be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like Gold: so likewise doth the sande in the bright water, yet they verifie the olde Prouerbe: All is not golde that glistereth.

On this West shoare we found a dead fishe floating, whiche had in his nose a horne streight & torquet, of lengthe two yardes lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollowe, into which some of our Saylers putting Spiders, they presently dyed. I sawe not the tryall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof, we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.

*The Sea  
Unicorne.*

After our Generall had founde out good harborough for the Ship and Barkes to anchor in: and also suche store of Golde oare as he thought him selfe satisfied withall, he sent backe oure Maister with one of the Barkes, to conducte the great Ship vnto him, who coasting along the West shoare, perceiued a faire harborough, and willing to found the same, at the enterance thereof they espyed two tentes of Seale skinnes.

At the sight of oure men, the people fled into the mountaines: neuerthelesse, our sayde Maister went to their tents, and left some of our trifles, as Kniues, Bels, and Glasses, and departed, not taking any thing of theirs, excepte one Dogge to our Shippe.

On the same day, after consultation had, we determined to see, if by faire meanes we could eyther allure them to familiaritie, or otherwise take some of them, and so attaine to some knowlege of those men, whome our Generall lost the yeare before.

*A craftie  
people.*

At our comming backe againe, to the place where their tentes were before, they had remoued their tentes further into the said Bay or Sound, where they might, if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. Wee parting our selues into two companies, and compassing a mountaine, came soudenly vpon them by land, who espying vs, without any tarying fled to their boates, leauing the most part of their oares behind them for haft, and rowed downe the Bay, where our two Piniffes met them, & droue them to shoare: but, if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to haue chased them.

*A fierce assault  
of a fewe.*

When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted oure men with their

bowes and arrowes, who wounded threé of them with our arrowes: and perceyuing them felues thus hurt, they desperately leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned them felues: which if they had not done, but had submitted them felues: or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue, (being their enimies as they iudged) we would both haue faued them, and also haue fought remedie to cure their woundes receiued at our handes. But they, altogether voyde of humanitie, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death, then otherwise to be faued by vs: the rest, perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the highe mounteines. Two women, not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong childe, we tooke. The olde wretch, whome diuers of oure Saylers supposed to be eyther a Diuell, or a Witche, plucked off her buskins, to see, if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hewe and deformitie, we let her goe: the young woman and the childe, we brought away. We named the place where they were slayne, Bloudie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorkes found, after the name of one of the Capteines of the two Barkes.

*Desperate  
people.*

*Ignorant  
what mercy  
meaneth.*

*Two women  
taken and a  
childe.*

*An olde woman  
a supposed  
Diuell or  
Witch.*

*Bloudie point.  
Yorks found.*

Hauiug this knowledge, both of their fiercenesse and crueltie, and perceiuing that fayre meanes, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiaritie, we disposed our felues, contrarie to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tentes, and made a spoyle of the same. Their riches are neyther Gold, Siluer, or precious Draperie, but their sayde tentes and boates, made of the skinnes of red Deare and Seale skinnes: also, Dogges like vnto Woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie néedeful for our vse.

*Faire meanes  
not able to  
allure them to  
familiaritie.*

*Boates of  
skinnes.*

Thus returning to our Ship, the 3. of August, we departed from the West shoare, supposed firme with America, after we had anchored there 13. dayes: and so, the 4. thereof, we came to our Generall on the East shoare, and anchored in a fayre Harborough named Anne Warrwicks found, vnto whiche is annexed an Islande both named after the Countesse of Warrwicke, Anne Warrwicks found and Isle.

*Oure departure  
from the West  
shoare.*

*The countesse  
of Warwicks  
found & Isle.*

In this Isle, our Generall thought good, for this voyage, to frayght both the Ship and Barkes, with fuche Stone or Gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, and this his second Nauigation to these contries, w<sup>th</sup> sufficient interest to y<sup>e</sup> venturers, wherby they might bothe be fatiffied for this time, and also in time to come, (if it please God and our Prince,) to expect a much more large benefite, out of the bowells

*Oure freight  
surmounteth  
the charges of  
the first and  
second voyage,  
with sufficient  
interest to the  
venturers.*

*Riches long  
concealed  
presently dis-  
covered by  
capteine  
Frobisher.  
By Capteine  
Frobishers  
diligence other  
men in-  
couraged to  
labor.* of those Septentrionall Paralels, which long time hath concealed it self, til at this present, through the wonderfull diligence, & great danger of our Generall and others, God is contented with the reuealing thereof. It rifeth so aboundantly, that from the beginning of August, to the 22. thereof, (euery man following the diligence of our General) we rayfed aboue grounde 200. tunne, whiche we iudged a reasonable freight for the Shippe and two Barkes, in the sayde Anne Warrwicks Isle.

*The countrie  
people shewe  
them selues  
vnto vs.  
The care  
which our  
Generall had  
to heare of his  
men that  
were lost.  
Signes for  
penne, ynck,  
and paper.* In the time of our abode here, some of the countrie people, came to shewe them selues vnto vs, fundrie times on ȳ maine shoare, néere adiacent to the sayd Isle. Our Generall, desirous to haue some newes of his men, whome he lost the yeare before, with some companie with him repayred with the Ship boat, to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, wherevnto he is perswaded to bring them. They, at the first shewe, made tokens, that thrée of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within thrée or foure dayes, they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men, whiche were liuing, with them.

*Cacough  
their King.* They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, and how he was carried on mens shoulders, and a man farre furmounting any of our companie, in bignesse and stature.

*Their vsage in  
traffique or  
exchange.* With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they woulde not take at our handes: but being layde vpon the shoare, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewise they doe, when they desire any thing for chaunge of theirs, laying for that which is left, so much as they think wil coüteruaile the same, and not comming neare together. It féemeth they haue bene vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioyning, or not farre distant from their Countrie.

*The people  
shewe them  
selues againe  
on firme land.* After 4. dayes, some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our Generall, very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Islande, with the boate, and sufficient companie with him. They féemed very glad, and allured him, about a certeine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a companie of the craftie villains to lye lurking, whome our Generall woulde not deale withall, for that he knewe not what companie they were, and so with fewe signes dismissed them, and returned to his companie.

*The people  
shewe them  
selues the  
third time.* An other time, as our said Generall was coasting the contrie, with two litle Piniffes, whereby at oure returne hée might make the better relation thereof, thrée of the craftie villains, with a white skin allured vs to them. Once againe, our Generall, for ȳ he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at oure comming néere the shoare, wheron they were



we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behinde great stoncs, & thofe thrée in fight labouring by al meanes poffible, that fome woulde come on land: & perceyuing wée made no haft by words nor friendly fignes, which they vfed by clapping of their handes, and béeing without weapon, and but thrée in fighte, they fought further meanes to prouoke vs therevnto. One alone layd flesh on the fhoare, whiche we tooke vpp with the Boate hooke, as neceffarie victualls for the relieuing of the man, woman, & child, whom we had taken: for ý as yet, they could not digeft oure meate: whereby they perceiued themfelues deceiued of their expectation, for all their craftie allurements. Yet once againe, to make (as it were) a full fhewe of their craftie natures, and fubtile fleightes, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken fome of our men, one of them counterfeyted himfelfe impotent and lame of his legges, who féemed to descend to the water fide, with great difficultie: and to couer his crafte the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in fuch places, where he féemed vnable to paffe, hée tooke him on his fhoulders, fet him by the water fide, and departed from him, leauing him (as it fhould féeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeite pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke fome of vs to come on fhoare, not fearing, but that any one of vs might make oure partie good with a lame man.

Our Generall, hauing compaffion of his impotencie, thought good (if it were poffible) to cure him therof: wherfore, hée caufed a fouldiour to fhoot at him with his Caléuer, which grafed before his face. The counterfeite villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and gott him to his bowe and arrowes, and the reft from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, flings, and dartes. Our Generall caufed fome Caléuers to be fhot off at them, whereby fome being hurt, they mighte hereafter ftand in more feare of vs.

This was all the aunfwere, for this time, wée could haue of our men, or of our Generalls letter. Their craftie dealing, at thefe thrée feuerall times, being thus manifefte vnto vs, maye plainely fhewe, their difpofition in other thinges to be correfpondent. We iudged, that they vfed thefe stratagemmes, thereby to haue caught fome of vs, for the deliuering of the man, woman, & child whome we haue taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrie man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire fomethinge long, and cut before, either with ftone or knife, very diforderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit vp with two loupes, fhewing forth on either fide of their faces, and

*A number of them hidden behind ftones to betray vs.*

*Their fifte meanes to allure vs to fhoare. Their feconde meanes.*

*Their thirde and craftieft allurement.*

*A craftie counterfet villaine.*

*Compassion to cure a craftie lame man.*

*Some hurt with our shot.*

*By thefe craftie trickes the reft of their life is eafy to be iudged*

*Their ftature and making.*

*Their apparell as wel women as men.*

the rest foltred vp on a knot. Also, some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, chéekes, and forehead, and the wristes of their handes, wherevpon they lay a colour, which continueth darke azurine.

*Their meate, drinke, and other necessitities.* They eate their meate all rawe, both fleshe, fishe, and foule, or something perboyled with bloud & a little water, whiche they drinke. For lacke of water, they wil eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleafantly as we will doe Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

*They eate the graffe whiche groweth in the countrie.* If they, for necessitities sake, stand in néede of the premiffes, such graffe as the countrie yéeldeth they plucke vppe, and eate, not deintily, or falletwise, to allure their stomaches to appetite: but for necessitities sake, without either salt, oyles, or washing, like brutish beasts deuoure the same.

*Barbarous behaiour.* They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comelineffe: but when they are imbrued with bloud, knuckle déepe, and their kniues in like fort, they vse their tongues as apt instruments to licke them cleane: in doing whereof, they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

*Dogges like vnto wolues.* They franck or kéepe certeine dogges, not much vnlike Wolues, whiche they yoke together, as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or traile: and so carrie their necessaries ouer the yce and snowe, from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfecte signes. And when those Dogges are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constreynd, for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as néedefull for them, in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

*Sinewes of beasts seruing them in place of thread.* They apparell themselues in the skinned of such beastes as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the fowle which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kinde of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

*Hoodes and taitles to their apparell.* They make their apparell with hoodes and taitles, which taitles they giue, when they thinke to gratifie any friendshippe shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendshippe with them. The men haue them not so fyde as the women.

*Their hose, and how they are worne.* The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the wast to the knée, without any open before, as well the one kinde as the other. Uppon their legges, they weare hose of lether, with the furre side inward, two or thrée paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose, they put their kniues, néedles, and other thinges néedefull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, whiche reacheth from the foote to the knée, wherevpon they drawe their said hose, and so in place of garters, they are holden from falling downe about their féete.

*Their gartering.*

They dresse their skinned very softe and souple with the haire on. In

cold weather or Winter, they weare ſ furre ſide inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none, but the ſaid ſkinnes.

Thoſe beaſtes, fleſh, fiſhes, and fowles, which they kil, they are both meate, drinke, apparel, houſes, bedding, hoſe, ſhooes, thred, faile for their boates, with many other neceſſaries, whereof they ſtande in néede, and almoſt all their riches.

*Their chiefe riches.*

Their houſes are tentes, made of Seale ſkinns, pitched with foure Firre quarters, foure ſquare, méeting at the toppe, and the ſkinnes ſewed together with ſinowes, and layd therevppon: ſo pitched they are, that the entraunce into them, is alwayes South, or againſt the Sunne.

*Their houſes of Seale ſkinnes and Firre.*

They haue other fortes of houſes, whiche wée found, not to be inhabited,<sup>1</sup> which are raiſed with ſtones and Whal bones, and a ſkinne layd ouer them, to withſtand the raine, or other weather: the entraunce of them béeing not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto, I thincke, they reſort for a time, to fiſhe, hunt, and fowle, and ſo leaue them for the next time they come thether againe.

Their weapons are Bowes, Arrowes, Dartes, and Slings. Their Bowes are of a yard long of wood, ſinewed on the back with ſtrong veines, not glued too, but faſt girded and tyed on. Their Bowe ſtringes are likewise ſinewes. Their arrowes are thrée péeces, nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with thoſe two ends, and the wood in the middſt, they paſſe not in lengthe halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers, the penne end being cutte away, and the fethers layd vppon the arrowe with the broad ſide to the woode: in ſomuch that they féeme, when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue likewise thrée fortes of heades to thoſe arrowes: one fort of ſtone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the ſecond fort of bone, much like vnto a ſtopte head, with a hooke on the ſame: the thirde fort of bone likewise, made ſharpe at both ſides, and ſharpe pointed. They are not made very faſt, but lightly tyed to, or elſe ſet in a nocke, that vppon ſmall occaſion, the arrowe leaueſe theſe heades behinde them: and they are of ſmall force, except they be very néere, when they ſhoote.

*Their weapons of defence.*

*Three fortes of heades to their arrowes.*

Their Darts are made of two forts: the one with many forkes of bone in the fore ende, and likewise in the middeſt: their proportions are not much vnlike our toaſting yrons, but longer: theſe they caſt out of an inſtrument of wood, very readily. The other forte is greater then the firſt

*Two fortes of dartes.*

<sup>1</sup> It is a cuſtom general with Eskimos to live in tents from the beginning of the ſpring thaws until the winter is ſo advanced that temperatures run about zero, Fahrenheit. Theſe houſes were, therefore (in all likelihood), uninhabited merely becauſe it was ſummer.

aforesayde, with a long bone made sharp on both sides, not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to be their most hurtfull weapon.

*Two sortes of Boates made of Leather.*

They haue two sorts of boates, made of Lether, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our Wherries, wherein sixtéene or twentie men may fitte: they haue for a sayle, drest the guttes of such beastes as they kyll, very fine and thinne, which they sewe together: the other boate is but for one man to fitte and rowe in, with one oare.

*They vse to fowle, fish, & hunt.*

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fowling, are with these sayde weapons: but in what sort, or how they vse them, we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

*It is to be supposed that their inhabiting is elsewhere.*

I can not suppose their abode or habitation to be here, for that neither their houses, or apparell, are of no such force to withstand the extremitie of colde,<sup>1</sup> that the countrie séemeth to be infected with all: neyther doe I see any signe likely to performe the same.

*Their tentes are moueable from place to place.*

Those houses, or rather dennes, which stand there, haue no signe of footway,<sup>2</sup> or any thing else troden, whiche is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tents, which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of suche victuals, as the countrie yeldeth, or bringeth foorth, they returne to their Winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertilitie, whiche I perceiue to be in that countrie.

*Their vse of yron.*

They haue some yron, whereof they make arrowe heades, kniues, and other little instrumentes, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and dartes withal, whiche are very vnapt to doe any thing withall, but with great labour.

*Wherin they delight.*

It séemeth, that they haue conuerfation with some other people, of whome, for exchange, they should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is brighte, or giueth a sound.

<sup>1</sup> Settle, not realizing that the uninhabited houses he has just described are the winter houses, is here merely saying that the summer dwellings (tents) of the Eskimos are not good enough for the winter. Similarly he is judging that their summer clothes would be inadequate for really cold weather.

<sup>2</sup> There is never visible in summer any "signe of footway" around Eskimo winter houses because, as said in a previous note, these houses are inhabited only during the severely cold part of winter. At that time the ground is, with the frost, as hard as concrete; besides, it is cushioned with snow and the only trails are necessarily in the snow, melting and disappearing when the snow melts. These considerations invalidate Settle's conclusions which immediately follow, that because there are no trails between any of the houses he saw, therefore none of them were being inhabited and the people, in consequence, must spend their winters in some other country.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idol they adore, wee haue no perfect intelligence. I thincke them rather Anthropophagi,<sup>1</sup> or deuourers of mans fleshe, then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fishe, which they finde dead, (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it, without any other dressing. A loathsome spectacle, either to the beholders, or hearers.

*Anthropo-  
phagi.*

*A filthy  
finding.  
A loathsome  
spectacle.*

There is no maner of creéping beast hurtful, except some Spiders (which, as many affirme, are signes of great store of Golde:) and also certeine stinging Gnattes; which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite, shortly after swelleth, and itcheth very sore.

*Signes of  
gold aure. r  
Stinging  
Gnattes.*

They make signes of certeine people, that weare bright plates of Gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

*Signes of gold  
from other  
people.*

The Countries, on both sides the freights, lye very highe with roughe stonie mounteynes, and great quantitie of snowe thereon. There is very little plaine ground, and no grasse, except a litle, whiche is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft-ground, such as we gett Turfes in. There is no wood at all. To be brieue, there is nothing fitte, or profitable for y<sup>e</sup> vse of man, which that Countrie with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit, there is great quantitie of Déere,<sup>2</sup> whose skinnes are like vnto Affes, their heads or hornes doe farre excéed, as wel in length as also in breadth, any in these oure partes or Countrie: their féete likewise, are as great as oure oxens, whiche we measured to be seuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are also Hares, Wolues, fishing Beares, and Sea foule of fundrie fortes.

*Description  
of the countries.*

*No grasse,  
like mosse.  
A Countrie  
that yeeldeth  
nothing with  
roote, fitt for  
the vse of man.  
Deere with  
skinnes like  
Affes.*

*Hares, Wolues,  
& fishing  
Beares.*

As the Countrie is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same, to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with rawe flesh and warme bloud, to satisfie their gréedie panches, whiche is their onely glorie.

<sup>1</sup> The charge of cannibalism is harped on by the Frobisher documents, but in each connection the want of proof leaps to the eye. The general literature on the Eskimos will show that among them cannibalism appears under the conditions which bring it among all peoples, those of famine. There is ceremonial cannibalism, too, as when a murderer eats, or takes one bite from, the kidney of his victim in the belief that the soul of the dead is thereby kept from seeking vengeance.

<sup>2</sup> That there is "no grasse, except a litle, whiche is much like vnto mosse", but that "there is great quantitie of Déere", is probably the first appearance in English of an ill-assorted pair of statements destined to recur in books of travel and in comments upon the Arctic for centuries. Settle has them in one paragraph, which constrains him to a "howbeit" before the second assertion. Strange indeed (as he noticed) that there should be a great quantity of herbivorous animals where there is such a small quantity of herbage. Most later writers have made the statements paragraphs or pages from each other and have failed to give sign that they were awake to the contradiction.

*A signe of  
Earthquakes  
or thunder.*

There is great likelyhood of Earthquakes, or thunder: for that huge and monſtruous mounteynes, whoſe greateſt ſubſtaunce are ſtones, and thoſe ſtones ſo ſhaken with ſome extraordinarie meanes, that one is ſeparated from another, whiche is diſcordant from all other Quarries.

*No riuers,  
but ſuch as  
the Sunne  
doeth cauſe  
to come of  
ſnowe.  
A probabilitie,  
that there  
ſhould be  
neither ſpring  
or riuers in  
the ground.  
Springes the  
original of  
great waters.*

There are no riuers, or running ſpringes, but ſuch, as through the heate of the Sunne, with ſuch water as deſcendeth from the mounteines and hills, whereon great drifteſ of ſnowe doe lie, are ingendred.

It argueth alſo, that there ſhould be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter, is ſo froſen within, that that water, whiche ſhould haue recourſe within the ſame, to mainteine Springes, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is ſéene otherwhere. Such valleies, as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time, by the operation of the Sunne, deſcendeth from great abundance of ſnow, whiche continually lyeth on the mounteines, and hath no paſſage, ſinketh into the earth, and ſo vaniſheth awaye, without any runnell about the earth, by which occaſion, or continual ſtanding of the ſaid water, the earth is opened, and the great froſt yeldeth to the force thereof, whiche in other places, foure or ſiue fathoms within the ground, for lacke of the ſaid moyſture, (the earth, euen in the very Summer time,) is froſen, and ſo combineth the ſtones together, that ſcarcely inſtruments, with great force, can vnknitte them.

*The ſtones  
froſen within  
the earth 4. or  
5. fathoms.*

Alſo, where the water in thoſe vallies can haue no ſuch paſſage away, by the continuaunce of time, in ſuch order as is before rehearſed, the yearely deſcent from the mounteines, filleth them ful, that at the loweſt banck of the ſame, they fall into the next vallie, and ſo continue, as fiſhing Pondes or Stagnes in the Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard froſen: as by ſkarres that remaine thereof in Summer, may eaſily be perceiued: ſo that, the heate of Summer, is nothing comparable, or of force, to diſſolue the extremitie of colde, that commeth in Winter.

*The heate in  
Summer not  
comparable  
to the cold in  
Winter.  
Springes vnder  
the force of the  
froſt within  
the earth.  
The earth on  
occaſion of  
froſt kept the  
warmer.  
Springes  
nouriſh gold.*

Neuertheleſſe, I am aſſured, that belowe the force of the froſt, within the earth, the waters haue recourſe, and emptie themſelues out of ſighte into the ſea, which through the extremitie of the froſt, are conſtreyned to doe the ſame, by which occaſion, the earth within is kept the warmer, and ſpringes haue their recourſe, which is the onely nutriment of Gold and Minerals within the ſame.

There is much to be ſaid of the commodities of theſe Countries, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let paſſe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

Thus coniecturing, till time, with the earneſt induſtrie of our Generall and others (who by al diligence remaine preſt to explore the truth of that

*An end of  
coniecturing  
till further  
truth and triall.*

which is vnexplored, as he hath to his euerlasting praise found out that whiche is like to yéelde an innumerable benefite to his Prince & countrie:) offer further triall, I conclude.

The 23. of August, after wée had satified our mindes with frayght sufficient for oure vessels, though not our couetous desires, with such knowledge of the countrie people and other commodities as are before rehearsed, the 24. therof wée departed therehence: the 17. of September we fell with y lands end of England, and so to Milford hauen, from whence our General rode to the Court, for order, to what port or hauen to conduct the shippe.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one, the 29. of August, the other, the 31. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit, God restored the one to Bristowe, and y other making his course by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage wée lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homeward cast ouer borde with a furge of the sea.

*Shippes satified with burthen, but mens mindes not contented. Our departure from these Countries.*

*Howe, and when, we lost our 2. Barkes, which God neuertheless restored.*

¶ Could declare vnto your Honour, the Latitude and Longitude of such places and regions, as wée haue béene at, but not altogether so perfect as our maisters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to sea faring men, which sée me not altogether straunge, I let passe to their reportes as men most apte to sett forth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the countries on both the shoares vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the Peoples language: as also for fundrie respectes, not néedfull as yet to be declared.

*The conclusion.*

Countries new explored, where commoditie is to be loked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the explorers, then an vncerteine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our General named fundrie Islands, Mounteines, Capes, and Harbours after the names of diuers Noble men, and other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shoare, as also on the other: not forgetting amongst the reste your Lordship: whiche hereafter (when occasion serueth) are to be declared in his own Mapps or Charts.

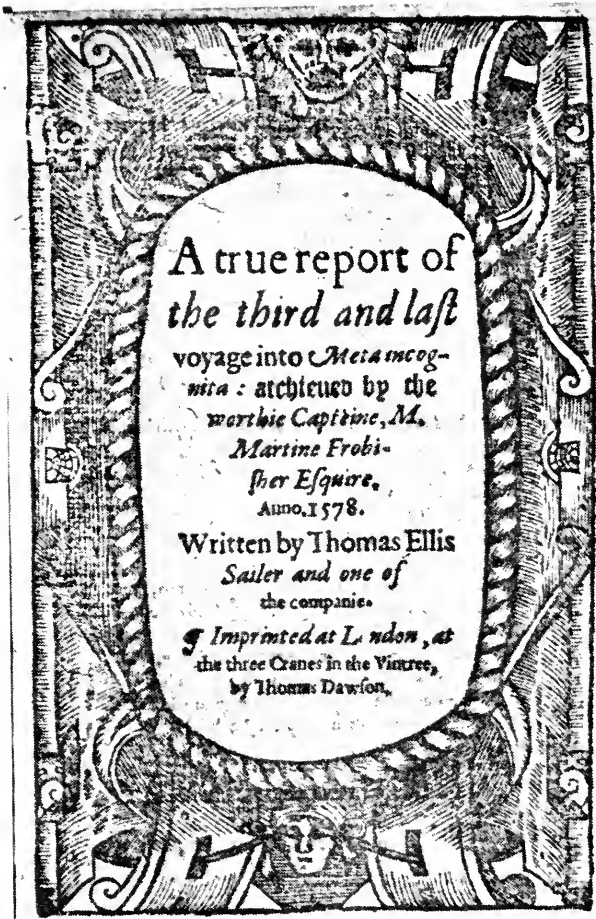




THOMAS ELLIS'S ACCOUNT OF THE  
THIRD VOYAGE<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ellis's account of the third voyage is printed from the rare edition, London, 1578, in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. (See *infra*, Appendix 3, p. 227.)





A true report of  
*the third and last*

voyage into *Metamog-*  
*nita* : atchieued by the  
worthie Captaine, *M.*  
*Martine Frobi-*  
*sher Esquire.*  
Anno. 1578.

Written by Thomas Ellis  
Sailer and one of  
the companie.

Imprinted at London, at  
the three Cranes in the Viarree,  
by Thomas Dawson.



*A rythme decaſyllabicall, comparatiue,  
and congratulatorie.*

I N forreigne foile Vlyſſes lead his life,  
Yeares foure times fiue, till gliſtering gray he grew :  
Home when he came, Penelope his wife,  
Her hoarie husband chaunged ſcarſely knew :  
Nay, of his face and fauour taking vew,  
An allien he appeared in her fight,  
Yet lookt his Ladie long vppon her knight.

A toothleſſe curre, all ruggie and vnshorne,  
Remembring well his Maiſters friendly face,  
Though twentie winters he abrode had worne,  
He yawnes, he fawnes, he leapes from place to place,  
(As free and frolicke as a hound in chace :)  
Vvith fouden ioy furpriſde at his returne,  
(Poore curre) a kinde of loue in him doeth burne.

A mumping nourſe, farre ſpent, all ſkinne and bone,  
Suſpecting true the thing the dogge foretold,  
Did watch a time to make the matter knowne,  
If he Vlyſſes were, a Gray beard old :  
His feete to feele and finger (Beldam bold)  
Shee did preſume, and knew her Maiſter fo,  
Euen by a wart which grewe vppon his toe.

O bliſſefull Brute, farre better be thy lucke,  
The powers ſupernall proſper ſtill thy faile :  
Of fowre affaulte the ſweetneſſe who ſhould fucke,  
But he, whoſe paines in perill did preuaile?  
Long laſt thy lucke, thy fortune neuer faile,  
Not as Vlyſſes aged and vnknowne,  
But Gallant like arriue among thine owne.

*Abraham Fleming.*



## The Preface.



Or as muche (right noble & worthie Countrimen) as I am assured, that at this our safe arriuall and returning from the Northwest partes, nowe called by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, *Meta incognita*, and lately found out by the trauell and industrie of the right worthie & aduenturous Capteine, *Maister Martine Frobisher Esquire*, that you will be no lesse earnest and desirous, to learne & enquire, than attentiuē to knowe and heare, as well of our trauelles, troubles, toyles, and daungers, as of our labours, aduentures, happes, and good successe, together with the prowesse and industrie, of our Generall, with the residue of his companie, and also the order of our voyage, the commoditie of our Contrie, the fashion of the people, with the vse & orders of the same, with all others thinges thereto appertaining or belonging: then we will be readie and willing to declare and make manifest the same, with the circumstances vnto you.

I therefore, as one not of the best learned, or ablest: whose knowledge I confesse to be small, and of none accompt, in respect of others that were present: but as one most prone and willing to satisfie and answere your desire and expectation, seeing that it is our chaunce and fortune, to be one of the first arriued, and hearing that those which landed before vs, haue hitherto sette forth nothing, whereby your serious affection might be satisfied, thought it not amisse, but rather meete and conuenient, with all expedition to accomplish the same, knowing, that the nature of man is always desirous of newes: although I know right well, that manie learned and skilfull Gentlemen were present in our companie, whose bookes, as well for eloquence, as found iudgement, I am not worthie to beare: yet because I know not the time of their arriuall and returne, because the Seas are various, the windes fickle, the tempestes rigorous, & the passage dangerous, that nothing can bee brought to effect, or done, before the appointed time assigned from the celestiall throne. And though perchance there be some men, that will say, my iudgement was to small, and my learning to simple, to take in hand a matter of such weight and importance: I will geue place and agree vnto them. For why? my simple wit and iudgement, cannot attaine and reache vnto the flowing style of graue *Plutarch*, nor yet the eloquence of the noble *Tullie*: I being a Sailer, more studied and vsed in my Charde and Compasse, and other thinges belonging

to Nauigation, than trayned vp in *Mineruas* Court, or taught by the sage Philofophers the fathers of eloquence, whose sweete and sacred fappe I neuer fucked. But yet, becaufe I knowe, that the best part of men, will weigh my good will, rather than finde fault with my simple skill. For them, and not for the other, I thought good to take in hand to write these fewe lines, containing in breefe the fumme & effect of all the accidences and chances that happened and befell, from the beginning of this our voyage, (being nowe the thirde, that our worthie Generall hath made, vnto those parts,) vnto this our arriuall againe in our natiue countrie.

*Thomas Ellis.*



## ¶ The third and last voyage into

### *Meta Incognita.*



Hese are to let you knowe, that vpon the 25. of Maic, The Thomas Alline, being the Viceadmerall, whose Captein was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Maister, Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmerall named The Hopewell, whose Capteine was Maister Henric Carewe, the Maister Andrew Dier, and certaine other shippes, came to Graues end, where we anchored & abode the comming of certaine other of our fleete, which were not yet come.

*M. Yorke.  
Christopher  
Hall.  
The Hopewell.  
Capteine  
Carew.  
Andrew Dier.*

The 27. of the same Moneth, our fleete being nowe gone together, and all thinges prest in a redinesse, the winde fauouring, and Tide seruing, we being of failes in number 8. waide anchors, and hoised our failes toward Harwich, to meet with our Admerall, and the residue, which then and there abode our arriual: where we safely arriued, the 28. thereof, finding there our Admerall, where we, with the discharge of certeine peeces, saluted (according to order and dutie) and were welcomed with the like courtesie: which being finished, we landed: where our Generall continued mustring his Souldiers and Miners, and setting thinges in order appertaining to the voyage, vntill the last of the saide Moneth of Maie, which day we hoised our failes, and committing our selues to the conducting of almightie God, we set forward toward the West Countrie, in such luckie wise, and good successe, that by the .5. of June, we passed the Dursies, being the vtmost part of Ireland, to the Westward.

*Harwich.*

*Dursies.  
Ireland.*

And here it were not much amisse, nor farre from our purpose, if I shoulde a little discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, at our landing at Plimmouth, as also the meeting of certeine poore men, which were robbed and spoiled of all that they had, by Pirates and Rouers: amongst whom was a man of Bristowe, on whom our Generall vsed his liberalitie, and sent him away with letters into England.

*Plimmouth.*

*Bristowe.  
England.*

But because such thinges are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that, from the which I haue digressed, and swarued, I meane our shippes nowe sailing on the fourging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne winde, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westernne blastes, vntill the .20. day of the foresaid Moneth of June, on which day in the morning we fell

*Frizeland.* with Frizeland, which is a very high and cragged land, & being almost cleane couered with snowe, so that we might see nought but the craggie rockes, and the toppes of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mistes. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas, like mountaines, some small, some bigge, of fundrie kindes of shapes, and such a number of them, that we coulde not come neere the shoare for them.

Thus failing alongest the coast, at the last we sawe a place somewhat voyde of yce, where our Generall, (accompanied with certaine other) went a shoare, where they sawe certaine tentes made of beastes skinnes, and boates much like vnto theirs of *Meta incognita*. The tentes were furnished with fleshe, fishe, skinnes, and other trifles: amongest the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or else a trafficke with some other nation.<sup>1</sup> The men ranne away, so that we could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because he would haue them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement, that his men should take nothing away with them, fauing onely a couple of white Dogges, for which he left pinnes, pointes, kniues, and other trifling thinges, and departed, without taking or hurting any thing, and so came a boord, and hoised sailes, and passed forwardes.

*The courtise  
of our  
Generall.*

But beeing scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist, that we coulde not see one another: wherypon we stroke our drummes, and founded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night, till the next day, that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the shippes thus failing together all that day, vntill the next day, being the .22. of the same: on which day we sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the daunger thereof.

*Master  
Kinderslie.  
Bartholomew  
Bull.*

But one of our small barkes, named The Michael, whose Captein was Maister Kinderslie, the Master Bartholomew Bull, lost our companie, ino-muche that we coulde not obtaine the sight of her many days after, of whom I purpose to speake further anon, when occasion shalbe ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued on our course, vntill the .2. of Julic, on which day we fell with The Queenes foreland, where we sawe so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Streights: yet at the last we gaue the aduenture, and entered the yce.

<sup>1</sup> As noted, *ante*, Best has these same alternatives of artificers or traffic, while Settle has it merely that it seems "they haue conuersation with some other people, of whome, for exchange, they should receiue" the iron.

Being in amongst it, we sawe The Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with The Iudith, whose Captaine was Maister Fenton, the Maister Charles Iackman, bearing into the foresaid yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large, God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, & being in, wandered vp and downe the Streights, amongst the yce, many dayes, in great perill, till at the last, (by the prouidence of GOD) they came safely to harbour in their wished port, in The Countesse of Warwickes found, the .20. of Julie aforefaid, 10. dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shoare found where the people of the Countrie had bene, and had hid their prouision in great heapes of stones, being both of fleshe, and fishe, which they had killed: whereof we also found great store in other places after our arriuall. They found also diuerse engines: as bowes, slings, & dartes. They found likewise certeine peeces of the Pinnisse which our Generall left there the yeare before, which Pinnisse he had soonke, minding to haue him againe the next yeare.

*The Michael.*  
*The Iudith.*  
*M. Fenton.*  
*Charles*  
*Iackman.*

*The Countesse*  
*of Warwickes*  
*found.*

Now, seeing I haue entreated so much of The Iudith, and The Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other shippes, and will speake a little of the storme which fell, with the misshappes that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

At the first entrie into the yce, in the mouth of the Streights, our passage was very narrowe, and difficill: but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce, for the most part: being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs, and inclosing vs, as it were within the pales of a Parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our failes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were feigne to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euerie houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues, and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it woulde make the strongest heart to relent.

*Our entranee*  
*and passage,*  
*&c.*

At the last, the Barke Dionyse, being but a weake shippe, & brused afore amongst the yce, being so leake that she no longer could tarrie about the water, sank without fauing any of the goodes which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole fleete, that we thought verily we should haue tasted of the same fauce. But neuertheless, we seeing them in such daunger, manned out boates, and saued all the men, in such wise, that not one perished, (God be thanked.)

*Barke*  
*Dionyse.*

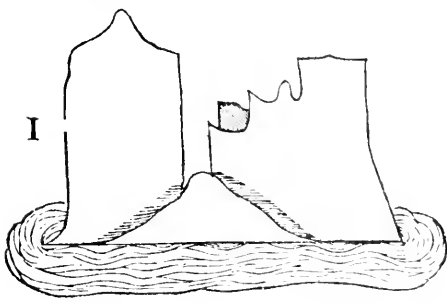
*Narowe  
shippes for  
safetie.* The storme still increased, and the yce inclosed vs, that we were faine to take downe toppe and toppe mastes: for the yce had so enuironed vs, that we could see neither land, nor Sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cutte our gables, to hang ouer boorde for fenders, fomewhat to ease the shippes sides, from the great and drierie strokes of the yce: some Capstan barres, some fending off with Oares, some with planckes of .2. ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the shippes. But the rigoroufnesse of the tempest was fuche, and the force of the yce so great, that not only they burst and spoiled the foresaid prouision: but likewise so raced the sides of the shippes, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the heartes of many to faint.

*Gods prouidence.* Thus continued we all that difmall and lamentable night, plunged in this perplexitie, looking for instant death: but our God, (who neuer leaueth them destitute which faithfully call vpon him,) although he often punisheth, for amendments sake, in the morning he caused the windes to cease: and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceiue, about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of winde, which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, he prouided better for vs than we deserued, or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent vs a fresh gale at West, or at West Southwest, which set vs cleare without all the yce. And further, he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day, as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment, consolation.

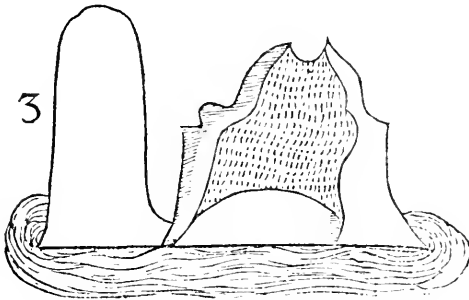
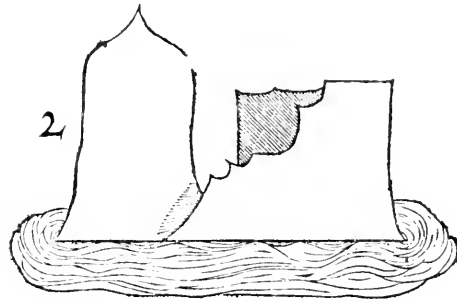
Thus we ioyfull wightes, being at libertie, tooke in all our failles, and lay a hull, praising God for our deliuerance: and staide to gather together our fleete, which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before, & the shippe which was lost, then at the last we hoised our failles, and lay bulging off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce, that we might get into the Streights.

*A mountaine  
of yce ap-  
pearing in  
hundrie figures.* And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a maruellous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer we sawe: for we iudged him to be neere a foure score fadams aboue water, and we thought him to be a ground for any thing that we could perceue, being there nine score fadams deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile, of which Island I haue, as neere as I coulde, drawne and here set downe the true proportion, as he appeared in diuerse shapes passing alongest by him.

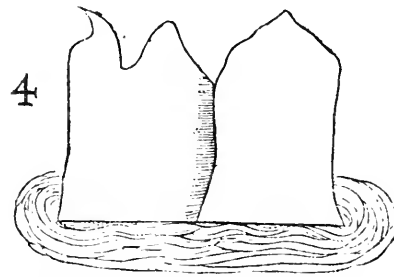
At the first sight of this great and monftruous peece of yce, it appeared in this waye



In comming near unto it, it fhewed after this fhape



In approaching right againft it, it opened in fhape like unto this, fhewing hollow within



In departing from it, it appeared in this fhape

¶ These foure being but one Ifland of yce,  
and as we came neere vnto it, and departed  
from it, in fo many fhapes it appeared.

Alfo the .5. of Julie, there fell a hidious fogge and mift, that continued till the .19. of the fame: fo that one fhippe could not fee another. Therefore, we were feigne to beare a fmall faile, and to obferue the time: but there ranne fuch a current of a Tide, that it fet vs to the Northwest of the Queenes forelande: the backefide of all the Streightes: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no light either of Sun or Starre) we fcarfe knewe where we were. In this fogge the .10. of Julie, we loft the companie of The Viceadmerall, the Anne Francis, the Buffe of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy. The .16. day, one of our fmall Barks, named The Gabriel, was fent by our Generall to beare in with the land, to

*A fogge of  
long con-  
tinuance.*

*The Gabriel.*

*The people offer to trafficke with vs.* descrie it, where being on lande, they mette with the people of the contrie, which seemed very humane and ciuil, and offered to trafficke with our men, profering them foules, and skinnes, for kniues, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with the other of the Streightes.

Then we bare backe againe, to goe with The Queenes forelande: and the .18. day we came by .2. Islandes, whereon we went on shoare, and founde where the people had bene: but we sawe none of them. This day we were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as wee were at the first. For through the darkeneffe and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost runne on rockes and Islandes, before we sawe them: But God (euen miraculously) prouided for vs, opening the fogges, that we might see clearely, both where, and in what daunger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or else, without faile, we had ruinously ranne vpon the rockes.

When we knewe perfectly our instant case, we cast about, to get againe on Sea boorde, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praised God. The cleare continued scarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

*Warning peeces of safe passage discharged.* Then The Reareadmerall, and The Beare got themselues cleare without danger of yce and rockes, strooke their failes, and lay at hull, staying to haue the rest of the fleete come foorth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselues, from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time The Reareadmerall discharged certeine warning peeces to geue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set them selues free, which they did that day.

Then hauing gathered our selues together, we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast, till the .19. day of Julie: at which time the fogges brake vp and disperfed, so that we might plainly and clearely beholde the pleasant aire, which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mistes: and after that time, wee were not much encombred therewith, vntill we had left the confines of the countrie.

*A faire sounde betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans sounde.* Then we espying a faire sound, supposed it to go into the Streightes, betweene The Queenes foreland, and Iackemans sound, which proued, as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe The Gabriel, to discover it, who passed through with much difficultie: for there ran such an extreme current of a Tide, with so horrible a gulse, that with a fresh gale of winde they were scarce able to stemme it: yet at the length with

greate trauell they passed it, and came to the Streights, where they met with The Thomas Alline, The Thomas of Ipswich, and the Buffe of Bridgewater: who all together aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obtaine their wished port. But they were so encombred, that with muche difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, The Thomas Alline, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they founde harbour, and there mored their shippes, vntill the 4. of August, at whiche time they came to vs in The Countesse of warwicks found. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake, which caused her to cast againe to Sea boorde, and so was mended.

We failed along still by the coast, vntill wee came againe to The Queenes foreland, at the point wherof we met with part of the gulfe aforesaid, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters do credibly report) doeth flowe .9 houres, and ebbes but 3. At that point we discouered certeine lands Southwarde, to the which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to ferch. Then being come to the mouth of the Streights, we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulging vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her companie. Wee met then also The Francis of Foy, with whome againe wee intended to venter and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retire and gett vs on Sea boord.

There fell also the same day, being the 26. day of Julie, such an horrible snowe, that it laye a foote thicke vpon the hatches, which frose as fast as it fell.

*An horrible  
snowe fell  
in Julie.*

We had also at other times, diuers cruell stormes, both of snowe and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrie: yet for all that, we were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that long lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to geue the onfet.

The 28. day therefore of the same Julie wee assaid, and with little trouble (God be praised) we passed the dangers, by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, we hull in the cleare, till the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkeness of the night: at which time wee set forward towards our wished port: by the 30. day we obtained our expected desire, where we found The Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no small ioy vnto our Generall, and great consolation to the heuie heartes of those wearied wightes.

*The time of  
our setting  
foreward, &c.*

The 30. day of Julie wee brought our shippes into The Countesse of Warwicks founde, and mored them, namely these shiips, The Admerall,

The Reareadmerall, The Francis of Foy, The Beare, Armenell, The Salomon, & The Buffle of Bridgwater which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore, vpon The Countesse Island, where he fet his miners to work vpon the mine, geuing charge with expedition to dispatche with their lading.

Our Generall himfelfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuerse times made rodes into fundrie partes of the Countrie, as well to finde newe mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrie. He found out one mine, vppon an Island by Beares found, and named it The Countesse of Suffex Island. One other was founde in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the shippes were sent funderly, to be laden. In the same rodes he mette with diuerse of the people of the Countrie, at fundrie times, as once at a place called Dauids found: who shotte at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onfet, being not about three or foure in number, there being of our Countrimen about a dozen: but seeing themfelues not able to preuaile, they tooke themfelues to flight: whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to fuche craggie cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

We also sawe of them at Beares founde, both by Sea and Land, in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chaunced to bee in the found, (as they came diuers times,) because the harbor was not verie good, the ship laded, and departed again then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not onely shew them selues standing vppon highe cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their botes, very neere to vs, as it were to bragge at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Capteines and Gentlemen of the shippes, to accompanie and attende vpon him, with the Capteine also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and The fleebote hauing lost vs the 26. day, in the great snowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good oare, wherwith they laded them selues, and came to seeke the Generall: so that nowe we had all our shippes, sauing one Barke, which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who compelled (by what furie I knowe not,) forsooke our companie, and returned home without lading.

Our Generall acompanied, with his Gentlemen, (of whom I spake) came altogether to The Countesse of Suffex Island, neare to Beares found. where he manned out certein Pinnisses, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriual, fled away with all speede, and in hast left



certeine dartes and other engines behind them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

The next morning, our Generall perceiuing certeine of them in bote vppon the Sea, gaue chase to them, in a Pinnisse vnder faile, with a fresh gale of wind, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he failed, the further off he was from them: which well shewed their cunning & actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approaching, our Generall commanded to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Sea boord with our ship: for whilest we were in the countrie, we were in continuall danger of frising in: for often times we had stormes and tempests, often snow and haile, often the water was so much frofen and congeled in the night, that in the morning we could scarce rowe our botes or Pinnisses, especially in Diers found, which is a calme and still water: which caused our Generall to make the more haste, so that by the 30 day of August we were all laden, and made all things readie to depart.

But before I proceed any further herein, to shewe what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a little to M. Capteine Fenton, and those Gentlemen, which should haue enhabited all the yeare in those countries, whose valiant minds were much to be commended, that neither feare of force, nor the cruell nipping stormes of the raging winter, neither the intemperature of so vnhealthfome a Countrie, neither the sauagenesse of the people, neither the fight and shewe of fuche and so many straunge Meteores, neither the desire to returne to their natiue soile, neither regarde of friendes, neither care of possessions and inheritances: finally, not the loue of life (a thing of all other most sweete) neither the terrour of dreadfull death it selfe, might seeme to bee of sufficient force, to withdrawe their proneffe, or to restraine from that purpose, thereby to haue profited their countrie: but that with most willing heartes, venturous mindes, stout stomachs, & singular manhod they were content there to haue tarried, and for the time (among a barbarous and vnciuill people, Infidels and miscreantes) to haue made their dwelling, not terrified with the manifolde and imminent daungers which they were like to runne into: & seeing before their eyes so many casualties, whereto their life was obiect, the least whereof would haue made a milkoppe Therfites astonished and vtterly discomfited: being I say thus minded and purposed, they deserue speciall commendation: For doubtlesse, they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withstood their willingnesse, & if that fortune had not so frowned vpon their intentes.

*Gentlemen  
shoulde haue  
enhabited the  
Countrie.*

*Deferued  
praïse and  
commendation.*

For the Barck Dionyse, which was lost, had in her much of their house,

which was prepared and should haue bene builded for them, with many other implementes. Also The Thomas of Ipsewich, which had moste of their prouision in her, came not into the Streightes at all: neither did we see her, since the day we were separated in the great snowe, (of which I spake before.) For these causes, hauing not their house, nor yet prouision, they were disapointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their shippes, and so came away with vs.

*An house  
erected and  
garnished  
with diuerse  
trinkets.*

But before we toke shipping, we builded a litle house in The Countesse of Warwickes Island, & garnished it with many kindes of trifles, as Pinnes, Pointes, Laces, Glasse, Kombes, Babes on horsebacke and on foote, with innumerable other such fanfies & toyes: thereby to allure & entice the people to some familiaritie against other yeares.

*An outrageous  
tempest.*

Thus hauing finished all things, we departed the contrie, (as I said before:) but because The Buffe had not lading enough in her, she put into Beares sound to take in a litle more. In the meane while, The Admerall, and the rest, without in the Sea, stayed for her. And that night fell such an outrageous tempest, beating on our shippes, with such vehement rigor, that anchor and gable auailed naught: for we were driuen on rockes and Ilandes of yce, infomuch that (had not the great goodnesse of God bene miraculously shewed to vs,) we had bene cast away euery man. This daunger was more doubtfull and terrible, than any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one ship, (I thinke) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also gables, some botes, some Pinniffes: some anchor, gables, botes, and Pinniffes.

*Our shippes  
seuered by a  
storme.*

This boysterous storme so seuered vs, one from another, that one ship knewe not what was becom of another. The Admerall knew not where to finde the Viceadmerall or Reareadmerall, or any other shippe of our companie. Our Generall being on lande in Beares sounde, coulde not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe a boorde The Gabriel, where he continued al the way homewarde: for the boysterous blastes continued so extreame and so long a time, that it sent vs homewarde: (which was Gods fauour towards vs,) will we, nill we, in such hast, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in companie of other, but were separated. And if by chaunce, any one shippe did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of Saile, or mette (as they often did:) yet was the rigour of the winde so hidious, that they could not continue companie together the space of one whole night.

*Our entring  
the coastes  
daungerous.*

Thus our iourney outwarde was not so pleasaunt, but our comming thither, entering the coastes and countrie, by narrowe Streightes, perillous yce, and swift tides, our time of aboade there in snowe, and stormes, and

our departure from thence, the .3. of August, with daungerous blustering windes and tempestes, whiche that night arofe, was as vncomfortable: separting vs so, as we failed, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, whiche day we fell on The Englishe coastes, betweene Scylla and The landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriuall, &c.

Thus hauing finished my purpose, and performed my promise, I ende with these rude lines, compiled with the rusticall style of rurall God Pan, because I want Apollos skill: neither haue I euer sucked the fugged sappe of eloquence, trusting that euerie one, who is of good disposition, will accept my willing hart, and not despise my simple skill. As for the other sort of men, which haue bene fostered in Momus schole by Maister Zoilus: I weigh them as they doe deserue: and yeelding thanks to God, beseech him (for Christ Jesus sake) to preferue our noble Queene, and graunt her Nestors long and happie yeares, with her noble Counsell, and Commons, in all her litle Islandes: and to our Generall long life, good health, and fortunate succeffe, in all his voyages, to the profite and commoditie of our natiue foile and Countrie. Amen.

¶ *Thomas Ellis* in praise of  
*Maister Martine Frobisher.*

IF Græcians stoute did right extoll  
their worthie wightes of fame,  
And gaue to them great honours high,  
which did deserue the fame.  
If they had cause for to aduance,  
Alcides for his might,  
Which did subdue eache sturdie foe,  
and monster fierce in fight:  
Which brought from Hesperis Isle the fruite  
which glittered like to golde,  
And did enriche his countrie foyle,  
with heapes of golden mold.  
Or if that they deseruedly,  
enrolld the valiant factes,  
Of the aduenturous Iason braue,  
with all his noble actes:

## THE THREE VOYAGES OF

And all his noble Knightlie troope,  
 from Colchis Isle, the which  
 Did bring away the golden fleece,  
 his Countrie to enriche.  
 If these (I say) with flickering fame,  
 were lift to loftie skie,  
 That euen till now in these our dayes,  
 their fame a fresh doth flie :  
 Why should not then our Frobisher,  
 who farre doeth them surmount,  
 With golden trumpe of thundering fame,  
 be had in like account?  
 His heart as valiant is, as theirs :  
 his hazardes, were more harde :  
 His good successe, doth theirs surpasse :  
 if they be well comparde.  
 The glittering fleece that he doth bring,  
 in value sure is more,  
 Than Iasons was, or Alcides fruite,  
 whereof was made suche store :  
 And cruell monsters he doeth tame,  
 and men of sauage kinde,  
 And seareth out the swelling Seas,  
 and countries straunge doth finde :  
 And bringes home treasure to his lande,  
 and doth enrich the fame,  
 And courage geues to noble heartes,  
 to seeke for flight of fame.  
 Giue place, therefore, you Græcians now,  
 and to me geue assent :  
 This worthie wight excelles your impes,  
 the which before him went.

*Thomas Ellis.*

*John Stanley to his friend  
Thomas Ellis.*

**M**Y friend, I haue your booke perufde,  
 and well haue waide your paine :  
 Wherein you haue no toyle refusde.  
 the voyage to make plaine,  
 That Frobifher hath finished,  
 who well deferues to bee  
 Amongft the beft canonized,  
 that euer wight may fee.  
 He doeth the Trumpe of Fame obtaine,  
 and fhall doe all his daies :  
 And you for taking of this paine,  
 do merite to haue praife.  
 You neede not feare the flattering traine,  
 of craftie Sycophant,  
 Nor yet the enuious carping tongues.  
 which Zoilus fchole doe hante.  
 No Momus can your booke controll,  
 wherein is nought containd,  
 Saue only truth, and trauelles, which  
 in voyage were fuftaind.  
 As for your ftyle, if any one,  
 a fault therewith doe find,  
 Let him goe mend it, if he can,  
 or breath his venomous winde.  
 Or elfe I fay (as once was faid,)  
 vnto a clowting fotte,  
 Which fought a fault in image braue,  
 Apelles fame to blotte :  
 Thou fowter vile, why medleft thou,  
 where thou haft nought to doe?  
 Thy only charge to fhoes belongs,  
 paffe not therefore the fhoe.  
 And thus (my friend) I make an end,  
 accept my willing mind,  
 And eke good will, though want of skill,  
 in this my verfe you finde.

*John Stanley.*

*John Kirkham in the praife of  
M. Martine Frobisher.*

YOU Muses guide my quiuering quill,  
 Calliope drawe neare,  
 Sicilian Nymphes accord my fute,  
 and to my heftes giue eare :  
 Your facred aide, a while I craue,  
 my fhiuering fenfe to ftay,  
 Such haught exploytes I take in hand,  
 that men to me may fay,  
 Thy ragged rimes, and rurall verfe,  
 can not afcend fo hie :  
 To touche the top of Martines praife,  
 which fleeth to higheft fkie.  
 Where whirling fpheres doe it refound,  
 and dewifhe ftarres containe,  
 With thundring trumpe of golden fame,  
 in azure aire fo plaine :  
 Whofe hautie actes not heauens alone,  
 contented are to haue,  
 But earth, and fkies, the fourging feas,  
 and Syluane Ecchos braue,  
 Do all refound with tuned ftring  
 of filuer harmonie,  
 How Frobisher, in euery coaft,  
 with flickering fame doth flie,  
 A Martiall Knight, aduenturous,  
 whofe valure great was fuch,  
 That hazardes hard he light esteemd,  
 his countrie to enrich.  
 No chaunces dire could him difmay,  
 no doubt could daunt his hart,  
 No peruerfe haps could force him feare,  
 nor yet his minde reuart.  
 He fhund no tedious trauelles hard,  
 but toild with troublous paine,  
 Till he the way to golden Fleece,  
 to Brittane had made plaine :

A Fleece in value that exceeds,  
 the Fleece of Colchis ground,  
 Or golden fruite of Hesperis land,  
 Which Hercules out found.  
 Though Perceus stout from Indians blacke  
 a conquest braue did bring,  
 Yet well he may to Frobisher,  
 giue place in euerie thing.  
 Though Iafon fauage bulles did tame,  
 and Alcide monstres flew,  
 Yet now they must of right geue place,  
 and venture fourth a new,  
 If that they will obtaine the branche,  
 and twift of Oliue tree,  
 For all thats past, for to geue place,  
 to Frobisher we see.  
 He monstres fierce hath brought to wracke,  
 and fauage men doth tame,  
 And seekes to bring them to the trueth,  
 if Fates permit the fame.  
 His toylsome trauelles nought he weighed,  
 his life he light esteemd,  
 To doe his natiue countrie good,  
 as by his ventures seemd.  
 He ventred not to knowen coastes,  
 nor landes deuoid of feare,  
 Nor ciuill realmes he seemd to touch,  
 nor to his Countrie neare.  
 To vncoth coastes his steppes he bent,  
 and places distant farre,  
 Euen to the colde congealed Pole,  
 and Northerne frosen starre :  
 Where Boreas boyfterous blasts still blow,  
 and nipping Saturne colde,  
 With fleeting snowes and hoarie frostes,  
 his mansion house doeth holde.  
 Where rigorous stormes do alwaies beate  
 in feare and cruell wife,  
 And heape vp mightie mountaines huge,  
 of colde congealed yce :

Where dreadfull daungers are not scarce,  
     where pleasures few are found,  
 Where sauage beastes deuoyde of sense,  
     doe runne like men on ground.  
 Where neither Iason, Hercules,  
     nor Perfeus hautie grace,  
 Durst euer once attempt to seeke,  
     or come in any case:  
 But this our Knight which fearde no force,  
     Whose fame can neuer die,  
 Though that his sprites shall perce at last,  
     the loftiest place in skie.  
 An Hector stout he is on land,  
     Vlysses on the seas,  
 Whose painfull pilgrimage hath brought,  
     vnto his countrie ease.  
 The noble heartes that went with him,  
     are likewise to be praifd,  
 Whose hautie courage to the heauens,  
     with shrilling trump is raifde.  
 But for because my barraine Muse,  
     In drouisie dregges is drown'd,  
 Of foggie mistes of ignorance,  
     wherein no sense is found:  
 Which neuer climb Olympus cleere,  
     nor sawe Parnassus hill,  
 Nor learnd yet of the Muses nine,  
     the sweete and sacred skill.  
 I will no further striue to swim,  
     against the waues that wend:  
 Nor yet to climbe the hautie cliffes,  
     Where I can not ascend:  
 Nor scarce the lerned Nymphs themselues,  
     which Ida mount do vewe,  
 Nor all the welles of Hellicon,  
     his praise at large can shewe.



The *Authour* to the *Reader*.

WHAT fo you be that do perufe,  
 this little booke of mine,  
 Looke not to heare the dulcet tunes,  
 of facred Mufes nine:  
 Nor yet to vew graue Tullies phrafe,  
 nor Plutarches flowing ftyle:  
 Who fo pretendes affuredly,  
 he fhall himfelfe beguile.  
 For why: I neither can, nor meane,  
 fuch thinges to enterprife,  
 But voyage laft of Frobifher,  
 to fhew I doe deuife:  
 Whofe praife my pen can not depaint,  
 nor fimple fenfe forth tell,  
 Nor fcarfly thofe that haue ben trainde,  
 about Mineruas well.

*Thomas Ellis.*

*FINIS.*



EDWARD SELLMAN'S ACCOUNT OF  
THE THIRD VOYAGE<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, Appendix 3, p. 228.



# Account of the Third Voyage

by *Sellman*.



Edward Sellmann wrote this booke; and he delivered yt to Michael Lok, the 2 of October 1578, in London:—

The 2 of May 1578, we departed from Bristoll with the *Ayde* and the *Gabriell*, Christopher Hall, and Robert Davis M<sup>s</sup>.

The 6 faid we arrived at Plymouth, where we stayed to take in our myners.

The 19 faid we departed from Plymouth, with the *Ayde*, the *Fraunces*, and the *Moone of Foy*, the *Admirrell*, and the bark *Denis*, and arrived at the Downes the 24<sup>th</sup> faid and the faid at midnight we departed thence and arrived at Harwiche the 22 faid to stay for the reste of the fleete, where we found the *Thomas* of Harwich.

The 27 faid, there arrived at Harwich, the *Thomas Alin*, the *An Fraunces*, the *Hopewell*, the *Beare Lester*, the *Judith*, the *Gabriell*, and the *Michael*, the *Salomon* of Weymouth came to us to Harwich, and the *Emanuel* of

The 31 faid the *Aide* with all the above named ships departed from Harwiche with the winde at N.E. making our passage towards the west coast and arrived at Plymouth the 3 of June.

The 3 of June, 1578, at night we departed from Plymouth, with the winde west hand at east, and to the westwards of the Cape 7 leags we had sight of a bark of Bristoll with whome after we had spoken, they declared that they came out of Spayne and were robbed by 2 French men-of-war, and five of their companye flayne, their lading was oyle and sack, they spoiled them of all their victuall allso and left them nothing to eate of but oyle beryes: The Generall gave them 3 sackes of bisket, and j barrell of butter, peas and chefe to releve them withall, by which bark I wrote a letter, and fent it to Mr. Kitchen to be conveyed to my master, Mr. Michael Lock, advertising him of all the fleets arrivale upon the coast of Zealand.

The 7 faid we failed N.W. and by W. the winde at S.E. a fyne bearing gale, with the winde fometimes at N.E. fometimes at E. fometimes at S.W. still keping our course (for the most part) N.W. and by W. and N.W. untill the 19 faid at none, at which time we went in 60 degrees of latitude, and to the eastwards of Friseland, 30 leags, by the reckening of some 40,

and 50 by others, and bearing N.W. and by W. and W.N.W. of us at the going down of the funne, but at that time we had not made the land perfect, and so sayling untill mydnight, we came nerer unto yt and made yt perfectly. At which tyme we shot of a pece of ordonance to geve the flete warning thereof: I judge the voyage is better to be attempted, followed and used by the west parts, then by the north parts, as well for the avoyding of much cold within the north passage we had, as also redyer windes to follow our said viadge, as by the falling out of this passage doth appere.

The 20 of June, 1578, earely in the morning, the Generall caused a small pynnas to be hoysed out of the *Ayde*, and with her he passed a boord the *Gabriell*, and did beare in with the land sayling alongst yt, untill he found a sound to enter in upon the south side of the land, which sound after he was entred, called yt Luke's Sound, by reason of one Luke Ward that went with him a land; in which sound they found people and tents, but the people fled from them, and they entred their tents, finding thereby by all things therein that they are a people like the people of Meta Incognita with like boates of all sortes, but the Generall doth take them to be a more delicat people in lodging and feeding then the other: They found of their seals which they had taken fundry, and other victuall which they could not tell what flesh or fish yt was: At their said tente they found also 40 yong whelps, whereof 2 they brought away with them, they are also like the dogs of the place afore named: Some of our men that were with the Generall aland did see in their tente nayles like scupper nayles, and a tryvet of yron, but the Generall toke order with the company, that none should bring any of their things away: The Generall hath named this iland West England, and a certayn hedland upon the south side, he hath called yt Furbufhers foreland, with other names he hath geven to particular places which I know not.

The said at night we departed thens with the winde N.E. and sayled W.N.W. towards the Streits untill 9 or 10 a clock the 21 said.

The 21 said the winde N.W. we sayled N.E. and by E. towards the said West England to make better discovery of yt, bycause yt served not us to procede of our pretended viage, and so sayling till 3 a clock, yt fell caulme, being 16 leags from yt: About 6 a clock the winde at N.N.E. we sayled N.W. and by W. towards the fraits.

The 22 the winde at E.S.E. we sayled N.W. and by W. untill none, and then we met with great store of yfe, of broken ilands in great peeces, which we iudge to be the ilands dissolved, that were there seene the last yere and driven upon the N.W. coast, by reason of the easterly windes

which we had comming hitherwards, and for that we coveted to discover more of the north west coast by reason of clere weather which we had, we were the rather put amongst them, and thereby to clere ourselves of them againe, to sayle fouth, S. and by W. and S.W. for the space of 3 or 4 howres with a great gale of winde: And we feared the coast to lye out more westerly then we could make yt by reason of foggy weather and thereby might have bin driven uppon a lee coast, but after we found ourselves clere of the yfe we sayled agayne N.W. and by W. with the winde at S.E. untill the 25 said, and then the winde came W. and we failed N.N.W. untill the 27 said, at which time we came amongst as well great ilands of yfe, as also great quantity of broken yfe of both sides of us being shotte within channells' of them, whereby yt was iudged that we were open of the straits, and we made fundry foggy land to be the Queens foreland, and thereuppon did beare the bolder in amongst them, at which tyme we found our selves in the latitude of  $62\frac{2}{3}$  and some  $62\frac{1}{2}$ . And the 28 said they observed the latitude by the funne and found them in  $62\frac{2}{3}$  of latitude and afterwards had sight of 2 ilands to the northwards of Warwicks foreland, and after had sight of the same foreland, we being to northwards of yt 14 or 16 leags. And the said day we lay to the ofwards fouth-east and fouth-fouth-east: And the 29 said fouth-west, the winde at W.N.W. untill the 30 said, and then we sayled fouth and by E. and S.S.E. untill we came in the latitude of  $61\frac{2}{3}$  the first of July, at which tyme we had the winde at S.S.E. and then we failed in W. And the 2 said we had sight of the Queens foreland and sometimes did beare in N.W. and by W. and N.W. finding stragling over all the straits and after we did beare in further uppon the fouth side we found great quantity of yfe driving together, yet we had fundry channels to pas betwene them, and after that we sent the pynnas from the ship to discover the best way our passage amongst them, and so we followed with divers other of the fleete after the pynnas, untill she could not pas any furder, fynding the yfe all closed about us, and afterward sent our boate and pynnasses of divers of the flete to breake a small neck of yfe for passage farder places that we did see clere: and at that tyme the winde began to blow vere boystrous at the S.S.E. and caused the sea to heave and fet very cruell; at that instant we were divers of the flete in a great channell indifferent free of yfe, in which channell we determined to spend the night with bearing small sayles, being environed with yfe: The bark *Denis* at that tyme plying up and down, did strike uppon a great yfe and there perished, so that the boates which were sent to breake the yfe for passage, returned to her to save her men and presently after the ship did sink down right;

divers of the flete, notwithstanding with small fayles did ply up and down in the same channell, and others as they could fynde all that night, but we in the *Ayde*, and the *Thomas Alin* did forsake yt, bearing no fayle, but lay adrift amongst the yfe all the night, being terribly tormented therewith untill 11 of the clock, the 3 of July, occupying our men with oares, pikes and other powles to break the force of the yfe from beating of the ship as much as we might, notwithstanding we had terrible blowes therewith, and were preserved by the mighty power of God from perishing, contrary to our expectations. The winde afterwards comming to the S.W. and having the \_\_\_\_\_ with us, we did drive out, sometye setting fayle and sometimes a hull fouth east: And being allmost out of the danger of the yfe, we did discrye the most of the flete, which rejoyced us very much: And the said 3 day about night, some of us talking with others did understand we were all in safety, except onely the *Michael* of whome as yet we cannot understand where she ys, we did arme the bowe of the ship with fundry planks of 3 inches thick and with capstayne barrs and junks, for that the yfe stroke terribly against that place of her in so much that some of the planks did perish with the blowes: The rest of the flete except one or two more did not pas the like myfery, by reason they did kepe the channell betwene the yfe with small fayles, which we could not do, for that our ship was long, and could not work with her as others did: And besides that yf we had kept that channell with fayle, where the rest did, we had burded one an other and thereby perished, as we had like to have don by the ship of Weymouth (owner Hugh Randall) in boording of us that night by drift and forcing upon us by yfe, the boyftrous winde that then did blow did cause us to unrig and take down both our topmasts for the ease of the ship, the which topmasts we did hang over boord allso to save the ship from the yfe.

The 4 said being in the morning clere without the streicts and the winde at west, we did fayle S.S.W. bearing alongst the coast of America, fynding yfe driving from the coast as though yt were long hedges into the sea to the eastwards, we fayled as aforesaid untill 4 a clocke at afternone, and then we layde yt a hull, untill 6 aclock the 5 said, and then we failed southwest alongst America coast, the winde at W. northwest untill the 5 said at night about 6 aclock at which tyme we had sight of the coast, and very huge ilands of yfe, higher than ever we did see any, at which time we did cast about and did lye north of the land, the winde as before untill the 6 said at night, at which time we were within the streicts and did perfectly make the Queens forelande; to the southwards of the Queens foreland, we had sight of a head of a land, being from yt about 20 leags,



which untill we had taken the latitude of yt we made yt to be the Queens foreland all but the Master Robert Davis onely, but he would not agree to yt, nor so allow yt, alledging fundry reasons to prove the contrary by his marks when he saw yt a few dayes before. The 6 said being as aforefaid shot within the Queens forelande on the south side, the winde came up to the S.S.E. and did blow a great gale, and the weather waxed thick and foggy, and therefore all the night we layde yt a hull. And upon the 7 said following we had sight of the north shore as we toke yt: And the 8 and 9 we did beare wyth yt and alongft yt lying north and by west, but did not make yt perfectly; some imagining rather that yt was the S. side of the Queens foreland (as afterwards yt proved in dede), and Master Hall of the same opinion, but yf yt fall out so, they were deceyved with the setting of the tides. The Generall and our master could not be dissuaded, but doth still make yt to be the north shore, the Generall assuring himself thereof to this present (the 10 said) that yt is so, and Jame Beare allso, but being foggy and darkened with mystes, they cannot yet make yt perfectly, I pray God fend yt clere, that we may make yt perfectly: Alongft the said shore in sight and out of sight by reason of fogs, we did runne in by the judgement of the master 35 leags bearing fayle and hulling, and there did remaine hulling being dark and foggy untill the 16 said, at which tyme we had yt somewhat clere, and thereupon did beare towards the shore to make yt, at which tyme we did fall with the opening of a found which we made the Counte's Sound and did beare in with yt, all men that had seene it the yere before (except two, called Stobern and Bert) allowed yt to be the same, which afterwards proved the contrary: The 17 said we toke the altitude of the funne and found us but in the latitude of 62 and 10 minuts, and thereupon found the error which we were in, then knowing that we were upon the S. side of the S. shore called the Queens foreland, and with the winde at W. we did beare out agayne, and the 18 said being shot out so far as to the masters judgement that we had sight of the Queens foreland being E. from us and then running alongft till we brought yt thwart of us the weather being foggy, notwithstanding we did alter our course more northerly and brought us to be impatched with great quantity of yfe and dark weather, being allso shot very nere the shore, still thinking that we had byn at the Queens foreland, and altering our course more northerly, did bring ourselves hard aboard the shore, at which tyme yt pleased God to geve us sight of yt, and thereby found yt did not lye as the Queens foreland did, fynding us deceyved and not so far shot as the said foreland, but being imbayed upon a lee coast and in sight of divers ilands and rocks, not knowing

how to escape with life, and in the depe of 50 faddoms of water, so that we could not well anker, but yet fometimes in mynde to anker yf we could have got a poynt of an iland which we made unto, and then fearing allso we shold have had byn put from our anker, or greatly impatched with yfe which we were allso amongst and then caulme, and could not get of from the rocks or ilands which we did see, did strike all our sayles to anker, but before we were all ready to cast anker, the Eternall God (who delivereth all men being in perills) did fend us a gale of winde to beare of from the said ilands, but afterward we wished that we had ankered there, for that when we were of a small way from yt we founded and found us in but 7 faddoms of water and hard rocks, we lying under sayle towards the west which was our best way, for fure we were we could not dubble the land to the eastwards, the winde being at S.S.E. and the land lying E.S.E. and W.N.W. we after yt pleased God to fend us 10 faddoms and then 17, and then 25, and so into 30 and 40, and allso did sende us the winde at W.S.W. so that we did lye S.S.W. of into the sea untill we came into 120 faddoms with our sayling and towing out with our boates, still having the eb with us untill night and then being caulme and little winde, we did strike our sayles and did lye a hulling, so that the flud did port us in towards the shore againe untill we came into 80 faddoms, and then we were forced to make a brude of cabells, and did anker untill the eb did come being the 19 day of July in the morning, at which tyme we did fet sayle with a small gale of winde, the winde at S. and by E. and did sayle S.W. and by W. the weather still foggy. The 20 said the weather began to clere, the winde westerly, at which tyme we had sight of the ships that were before in our company, and towards the afternone we came to speake with some of them, and they declared that some of our company were in 2 faddoms of water uppon the lee shore, being in great danger amongst the rocks and broken grounds, and delivered by Gods allmighty power thus twife from periffhing, towards night yt waxed somewhat foggy agayn, and a little before night we having sight of a point of land, bearing E.S.E. of us making yt the Queens foreland, we did beare with it in such fort as we thought to go clere of yt, and the land lying out farder then we had sight of yt, we being not so far shot out of the streict that we were in by 20 leags which 20 leags we were in furder then we made account of, being entred within yt at the least 60 leags, fell agayn in danger of that land in the night, but kept us of from yt, by our sounding lead: And in the morning the 21 said yt waxed clerer, and then we made the land of the Queens foreland perfect and towards night opening a great bay at the wester end of the fouther parte of that land, which we

imagined to go through into the Streicts of Frobusher, which to make triall thereof, the *Gabriell* was sent to discover, and we bearing about with the easter end of yt the 22 towards night, had sight of the *Gabriell* coming into the streicts through that found passage at the Cape of Good Hope, so that it is proved that the land of the Queens foreland to be an island; the *Gabriell* having order to passe to the Countesses Sound, did beare in towards yt, and we followed untill we could not passe any farder for yfe lying so thick, and the *Gabriell* being within the yfe, did still beare up into the streicts, and we forced to retire outwards agayn, being very much impatched therewith all the whole night.

The 23 said we had sight of the *Anfraunces*, whose company we lost as before said, and when we came to the speeche of the captayne and master, they declared they had layn of and on open of the streicts 12 dayes and could not entre for fogs and yfe, and was in danger before that uppon the lee shore of the S. side after she departed from us.

The 24 said the Generall being mynded to beare into the streicts, bycause the *Gabriell* passed up in our sight, supposing allso the *Tho. Alin*, the *Fraunces of Foy*, the *Emanuell* of Bridgewater, the *Judith*, and the *Michael*, to be above in the found; notwithstanding the great quantity of yfe, we were impatched withall the 23 said, and the winde at S.W. a good and reasonable gale, did mynde to beare up into the streicts agayn this present, alledging that the said wynde had brought out all the yfe, whereof great quantity we did see blown uppon the lee coast: but yt pleased God to send us a messinger out of the streicts called the *Fraunces of Foy*, who did kepe company with the *Tho. Alin*, and the *Emanuel* of Bridgewater, and did enter into the streicts the 19 said and the 20 said, being shut up as far as Jackmans Sound, did put over with the Countes Sound among very much yfe and were environned therewith, frosen and shut up therein, being marveylously tormented therewith, not onely with yfe comming down, but allso with yfe carried up with the winde and tyde. This *Fraunces of Foy* (I say) was a blessed messinger of God, sent to us to warn us of the daungers that she and the others passed, who still did leaye the *Tho. Alin*, the *Busse* or *Emanuel* of Bridgewater, and the *Gabriell*, last come unto them in great danger, being carried towards the coast lee in the frosen and thick yfe as the winde did carry them. God deliver them for his mercyes sake and for his blessed sonne Jesus Christes sake. The Master *Tho. Noris* of the said ship the *Fraunces of Foy*, before Master Hall, and he with others entred the streict was in a found uppon the N. side of the Queens Foreland, where they were they found very good ovr by our judgements to the sight, and therefore the Generall is gone this morning a land to seke the

fame, purposing to go into the said sound with all our 9 ships now in company untill tyme may serve us to go farder and other our ports of lading. The 25 at night we did beare into the streicts and then had sight of the *Emanuel* of Bridgewater. And, comming to the speche of them, the master of her affirmed that the yfe did ly very thick over all the streicts, so that we could not attayn to the Countess Sound as yet; the Generall, notwithstanding, wold geve no credit thereunto, but did beare in with the streicts to make triall thereof the 26 in the morning, and finding great store of yfe did retire back or out agayn with the winde at north and much yfe following us. At that tyme (the 25 said) these ships did entre in with us, the *Emanuel*, the *Armonell*, the *Hopewell*, and the *Beare*, and 5 others of the flete did put to sea, having the winde then at the S.E. and east, which was a scant winde for them to dubble out the foreland, being nere the land.

The 26, at night, we came back to the sea againe and brought the foreland of us fouth-west.

The 27, towards night, the winde at west, we did beare in towards the foreland, and did lye of and on all the night.

The 28, in the morning, we did beare agayn into the straight, the winde westerly, bearing inwards still untill we were repulsd and forced to put out agayn by reason of much yfe driving out, but the *Hopewell* finding some clerer flade then we could do, did still beare in. God send her good hap. And then we did seke to recover the wether shore which was the foreland, the winde at W.N.W., blowing somewhat boystrous.

The 29, in the morning, we did beare into the streict agayn with winde at W., a small leading gale, and sometimes at W.S.W., we lying up N.W., passing up amongst great quantity of yfe, sometime thick, and sometime thinner, and so did still procede, bearing inwards untill the 30 said at none, keping about the middle of the streict. And in the morning the 30 said we were thwart of Yorks Sound, which I affirmed to the Generall to be so: but he denyed yt, saying that we were not shot up as high as Jackmans Sound by 16 leags, at which instant the Generall went up to the top and descried Gabriels Iland, making yt to be Penbroke Iland, going into the Countess Sound; and so directing his course with yt, Christopher Jackson, the trumpetter, being in the top, did make yt playnly Gabriels Iland, and also made the Countess Sound, to the which the Generall yelded, and then presently did allter his course, and embarked him self in a pynnas with sayles and oares, bycause yt did blow but little wynde for the ship, and gave us tokens to follow him, and so signified to us thereby that yt was the right place or found as before is said. Into

the which he entred with his pynnas, and being entred therein fownd there the *Judith* and the *Michael*, and caufe them to fhote of certayn peces of ordonance, to geve knowledge there were certayn of our flete which comforted us very muche; but we imagined thofe fhips to be the *Tho. Alin* and the *Gabriel*; for we did think verily the *Judith* and the *Michael* could not have efcaped the dangers that they were in, being not of our company a month or more.

The 30 of July, at night, we entred into the mowth of the Cownteffe Sound, and there came to us fent from the generall, Charles Jackman, to bring in the *Ayde*, and for that yt fell caulme we came to an anker in the entring thereof, being ebbing water abowt 9 of the clock at night, the mafter, his mate, and Charles Jackman going then to fupper, gave charge to the company to looke well owt for yfe, driving towards the fhip, willing them to prevent yt in tyme; and before the mafter had half fupped, one of the company came to the mafter to know whether they fhould watche half watche or quarter watche. The mafter gave order to watche halfe watche, charging them to loke well owt for yfe; but the watche neglecing their duties, there came driving thwart the halfe of the fhip a great pece of yfe, and the weather being caulme did ly uppon the cabell  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an howre before we could be clere of yt fretting the cable in fuche fort, that yf yt had put us from our anker we had byn in danger of rocks lying not far from us. God be honored, there chaunced no hurt of yt. Notwithftanding, I thought yt good and my duty to fay fomething unto the watche of their negligence therein, bycaufe the charge of the vyage did depend upon the favegard of the *Ayde* being the Admirall, whereuppon I rebuked one Holmes, a quarter mafter, and Hill, bote fwayn mate, charging them they fhould aunfwere their negligent loking to fo greet a charge, but they with one other called \_\_\_\_\_ did will me to meddle with that I had to do, \_\_\_\_\_ demaunding whether I had commiffioned to fpeake or deale therein, and this did Hill, and \_\_\_\_\_ willed me to get me to my cabben, and wold not be checked at my hands. I aunfwered them, whither I had commyffion or not, I wold tell them their duties, and go to my cabben when I did fee caufe, and thus with multiplying of words they abufed me very much, which I was fayn to put up at their hands. The mafter can beare no rule amongft them, bycaufe he is not cowntenanced by the General, and therefore all things hath fallen owt the worfe with us, and that hath caufed me to fpeake more earnestly in this caufe; for weyther the boat fwayn, nor any officer yet hitherto hath byn obedient to the mafter, and the difobedience of the officers, doth caufe the company allfo to difobey and neglekt their duties. We had not byn

above 2 howres at an anker, but that there came very muche yfe driving inwards towards us: at which time, I being still abrode, and the masters mate also, I said to him, yt were good to way our anker to prevent the danger of the yfe; and presently he called vp Charles Jackman, and they caused the company to way the anker with the winde easterly, a smale gale; and after they had purchafed home their said anker, there came yfe uppon us, but they setting sayle before the anker was catted, the yfe stroke the flock of the anker through the bow of the ship, that the water came in fiercely, in so muche that we had water in hold 4 fote above the sealing within an howre or les. And our pumps being unready, could not free the ship of yt, but kept yt still at a stay, the leak being stopped as well as they could with beffe and other provisions. And thus we remayned pumping and freeing of the ship with buckets from 12 a clock at night, being the 30 of July, until 9 a clock in the morning, the 31 said, at which tyme we were come into harbour. And then provision was made to beare the ship over of the one side, and the hole mended with lead untill we may come better to yt.

There came into the Cowntesse Sound in company with us and in our sight, the *Hopewell*, the *Fraunces of Foy*, the *Armonell*, the *Emanuell*, the *Salomon* of Weymouth, and the *Bear*. The *Judith* and the *Michael* came into this fownd the 21 of July, and for the space of 3 wekes before they continually were tormented up and down within the streicts amongst the yfe, and could not by any meanes get this place nor clere themselves of the yfe: the *Judith* being bilged with yfe in the bowes, having 2 great holes made in her, every howre loking when they shold perish therewith, but God delivered them, geving them fayre weather to work for their savegard.

The fyrst of August the Generall did order to make tents uppon the iland of the myne for the myners to succour them in their working there, and then began their work.

The second said, the Generall with 2 pynnasses, passed to Beares Sownd, to bring prooffs of the owr there, and to vew what quantity there was to be had, and returned agayn at night, being distant from the Cowntesse Sound 9 leags.

The said, at night, the *Gabriel* came into the Cowntefs Sound and Master Hall in her to vew whither the streicts were clere of yfe, and left the *Tho. Alin* in a fownd nere Oxford mount untill his return thither agayn.

The fyrst of August the *Fraunces of Foy* toke in 2 pynnasses, ladings of owre, and the 2 day as much.

The said the Generall, with 4 pynnasses and boates with a                    men, foldiers, and marriners, and Denham with him, went to Jonas Mownt,

to feke for owr, and brought fundry famples, whereof as yet no affay is made, but of the riche owr that Jonas fownd the laft yere, we could not light of any fuche.

The 8 of Auguft the *Thomas Alin* and the *Gabriel* arrived here towards night, by whome we could not here of the *Thomas of Ipswiche*, the *Anfraunces*, and the *Mone*. I pray God fend us good newes of them.

The 9 faid, the Generall with the *Gabriell* and the *Michael*, with mariners, myners, and foldiers, departed towards Beares Sound to get owr, for that the myne in the Countefs Iland fayled.

The faid, the moft part of the myners and foldiers were removed to a place called Fentons Fortune, being at the entrance of Counteffe Sound to the eaftwards. And yt was reported that there were a 1000 tunnes to be had there; but Mafter Denham, at his returne from thence, this prefent at night, fayeth he can not fee how 40 tunnes will there be had, and that with great travayle to bring yt to the fea fide.

The 11 fayd, the mafter, Robert Davis, Thomas Morice, mafter of the *Fraunces of Foy*, and I in company with them, travyled with a pynnas to the northwards of the Cownteffe Sound, about 4 myles alongft the coaft, and there fownd a myne of black owr, and allfo an other of red and of fundry fortes of both, of which forts we brought enfamples, whereof Denham made proof; and the 13 faid Capten Fenton and Denham paffed thyther, liking the place very well, and afwell our mariners as the mariners of the faid *Fraunces* were there fet to work, and by the 15 faid we had gotten aboard the *Ayde* of the black fort and fome of the red about 15 tunnes.

The 15 faid, towards the evening, the *Gabriell* and the *Michael* came to the Counteffe Sound, both laden with owre from Beares Sound, and the 16 faid discharged yt into the *Ayde*, their lading was adjudged to be about 50 tunnes of owr.

The faid, all fuch myners and foldiours as were fent from the Counteffe Sound to Fentons Fortune, were removed to the myne that we found to the northwards, which was better liked than yt of Fentons Fortune, where, in the tyme they were there was but 60 or 70 tunnes of owre, they being myners and fouldiours that wrought their 6 dayes 60 perfons.

The 16 faid, the Generall and Denham with him, is gon to a fownd called Dyers Paffage, which is uppon the fouter land of the Cowntefs Sound, to vew a myne there, fownd by Andrew Dyer, and to make affayes thereof.

The faid, God called to his mercy Philip, who had charge of certayn apparell brought in by the Generall for the marriners and myners, and

also one of the bark *Denys*, men called Trelos, one also owt of the *Armonell*, and an other owt of the *Fraunces of Foy*, all buried upon Winters Furnace this present day.

The 18 sayd, the *Gabriell* and the *Michael* departed hence to Beares Sound to lade owr and to bring yt hither to the *Ayde*.

The 19 sayd, the *Solomon* of Weymouth departed towards Beares Sound to take in her lading of owr.

The 20 sayd, the *Beare* departed towards Dyers Passage to lade there.

The 19 sayd, the *Hopewell* departed towards Dyers Passage to lade there.

The 21 sayd, the *Buffe* of Bridgewater departed to Dyers Passage to take her lading of owr there.

The 21 of August, the *Fraunces of Foy* was full laden, part of the owr of the Countesse Iland, and the rest of the owr of the myne to the northwards of the Countesse Sound, carrying in all tunnes by estimation 140, whereof 70 from the Countesse Iland, and the rest as aforesaid.

The 19 sayd, Capten Fenton came to make complaint to the Generall of the boatswayn, and others of the *Aydes* mariners, for disobeying him in certayn service to have byn don for the furdurance and dispatche of the ships lading at two severall tymes, his speches tending to due punishment for the same, and after long recitall of their abuses, did loke that the Generall should have ayded him therein, and to have commanded due punishments for their deserts. The Generall not taking order, therefore Master Fenton and he did grow to hoat speches, by whome eche others credit came by him, and he denying the same, left their former matter, and fell to reason upon the same with many hoat words, in somuche that in the end, the Generall affirming he preferred Master Fenton to be the Queens servant, and he denying, alledging that the Generall did not well to rob them that did prefer them both to that service; and then at Master Fentons departure, he said he had offered him great disgrace in that he would not punnish the offenders which he complained of, but rather did animate them against him in neglecting of yt, which he could not take in good part, being his lieutenant generall, and recommending them to do nothing but their duties in their Maiesties service.

The 22 sayd the *Gabriel* arrived here at the Countess Sound being ladden with owr from Beares Sound, and discharged yt a boord the *Ayde*, bringing tunnes 25 by estimation.

The sayd, here at the Countess Sound arrived a pynnas of the *An Fraunces*, wherein Captayn Best came, leaving the *An Fraunces* and the



*Mone of Foy* at anker in a fownd nere the Queens forelande, and they reported that they had not sene the *Thomas of Ipswich* this 14 dayes, with the said pynnas they came costing up allongst the fowth coast to seke us, and did seke us in Jackmans Sound and Yorks Sound and passed up as far as Gabriels Iland and returned hither this present, bringing them samples of owres, much like that of Winters furnace, and doth purpose that Denham shall make tryall thereof, and fynding yt good, they will lade of yt, having great plenty of yt as they report, they have by report passed great troubles sins they departed from us, by dangers of yse, and rocks, I pray God fend us good newes of the *Thomas of Ipswich*.

The 23 said the Generall, Captayn Fenton (his lieutenant), Gilbert York, and George Beste, gentlemen, assembled themselves together, Christopher Hall, and Charles Jackman, masters, with them, for causes touching their instructions, and amongst other matters, did call in question the abuses of the botefwayn and one Robynson used towards the Generalls said lieutenant, and after yt had byn argued of amongst the said Commissioners, the Generall referred the punishment thereof to them to determine; then they called the said offenders before them, who acknowledged their abuses, and upon their submission, as also affirming they did not know Capteyn Fenton to be the Generalls said lieutenant, they were pardoned and forgiven.

The 23 said of August, the *Michael* arrived here laden with ovr from Bears Sound bringing tunnes 25 by estimation and discharged yt aboard the *Ayde*.

The 24 said the *Sollomon* of Weymouth arrived here laden with ovr of Bears Sound and with ovr taken in her before her departure hence, all tunnes by estimation 130 tunnes, whereof Bears Sound tunnes 60, and of the Countesse Iland Suffex myne 60 tunnes, and Wynters furnace tuns 10.

The Generall departed this present towards Bears Sound in a pynnas and will return hither agayn before he go up into the Streights.

The said Captayn Beste departed with his pynnas toward the Queens foreland to a fownd where the *An Fraunces* and the *Mone* resteth and stayeth his comming. The said *Fraunces* and *Mone* by their marriners reports were almost laden with ovr before their comming hither, the samples thereof hath byn proved and are reasonably well liked of Denham, and therefore I here order is taken that the *Moone* shall discharge all her ovr into the *An Fraunces*, and that the said *Mone* shall take in all such here as the *An Fraunces* hath discharged there a land which was provided for Captayn Fenton and his company, and as wynde and weather shall serve

to come hither with the same, and at Bears Sound she shall have her lading of ovr provided.

The said the *Thomas Alin* departed hens, having taken in here 100 tunnes of ovr had at the north myne called the Countesse of Suffex Myne, and the rest of her lading she is to take in at Beares Sound, and to that end she is gon thither where she is to lade 60 tuns more.

The 26 at night the Generall returned from Bears Sound with the pynnas that he departed from hens. And the 27 in the morning he passed with the same up into the Streict as well to discover mynes as allso to take of the people yf he may conveniently have them.

The 27 said at night the *Thomas Alin* arrived here from Bears Sound being fully laden.

The 28 said in the morning the *An Fraunces* arrived here from a fownd called being nere the Queens foreland and laden with ovr of that place.

The said at night, the Generall returned with fowle weather and the winde easterly with rayne and snow and so continued till the 30 towards night.

The 31 said in the morning we wayed and made fayle from Countesse of Warwick Sound with the *Ayde*, the *Thomas Alin*, the *Bear*, the *Salomon*, the *Armonell*, and the two barks, and for that yt fell caulme, we ankered all that night at the mowth of the fownd, being all night caulme and the *Fraunces of Foy*.

The fyrst of September 1578 in the morning the *Gabriell* and the *Michael* did put into Bears Sound to lade there.

The said the Generall with a pynnas departed towards Beares Sound to provide 10 or 12 tunnes of lading more for the *Ayde* and to fend yt owt to us with boats and pynnasses.

The said the *Ayde* and all the other ships aforefaid wayde, the winde northerly, bearing alongst towards Bears Sound with a small gale, and about none ankered thwart of Bears Sound.

The 28 of August before, God called to his mercy Roger Littlestone the Generalls fervant, who by the judgement of the surgian had the horrible disease of the pox.

The last of July at night, God called to his mercy Anthony Sparrow, one of the quarter-masters of the *Ayde*.

The *Fraunces of Foy*, the *Armonell*, the *Thomas Alin*, the *Beare*, the *Salomon* came all laden owt of the Countesss Sound, the *Ayde* lacked 10 or 12 tunnes but laden of fundry mynes as before is said.

The *An Fraunces*, the *Hopewell*, and the *Judith* arrived with us thwart of the said Bears Sound the fyrst of September and kept under fayle by us.

The first of September said we receyved      tunns of owre into the *Ayde*, and all the myners this present at night were ready to come aboard from thens.

The      said at night the winde chopping up to the N.W. a small gale and the sea growing thereby, forced us to way and made fayle, bearing of S.W. untill we came into 23 faddoms, and then ankered agayn, staying for the comming of the Generall, and about 2 howres after, our ship did drive, our anker being broken, which caused us to fet faile agayn and did beare of W. and W. and by S. and afterwards did lye a hull, staying for the Generall, the winde still growing of great force at N.N.W. caused us to fet our forefaile agayn, bearing of fowth towards the foreland the second day of September and towing our gondelo at starn, she did split therewith and so we were forced to cut her of from the ship and lost her and then we did strike our sayle and spooned before the sea S.E. untill the Queens foreland did beare of us, the Generall is condemned of all men for bringing the flete in danger to anker there, thwart of Beares Sound onely for 2 boates of owre and in daungering him self allso, whome they iudge will hardly recover to come aboard of us, but rather forced to go with the barks or the *Emanuel* of Bridgewater into England; of the whole flete, there is now in our company, or to be seen but 6 failes.

Master Hall went aland after the ship came first to an anker thwart the said Beares Sound, and did geve him counsaill to make haft a boord before night: God fend him well to recover us and all his company.

The *Ayde* hath lading of owr in her as followeth:—Of Beares Sound tunnes by estimation 110; of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 20.

The *Thomas Alin*, owr in her as followeth:—Of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 100; of Beares Sound owre, tunnes 60.

The *Hopewell*, owr in her as followeth:—Of Dyers Passage or Sound, tunnes 140.

The *Fraunces of Foy* hath our laden in her as followeth:—Of the Cowntefs of Warwiks myne, tuns 50; of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 80.

The *An Fraunces* hath owr in her as followeth:—Of the Queens foreland, tunnes 130.

The *Mone of Foy* hath owr in her as followeth:—Of the Queens foreland, tunnes 100.

The *Beare Leycestre* hath owr laden in her—Of Dyers Passage, tunnes 100.

The *Judith* hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 80.

The *Gabriell* hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of Beares Sound, tunnes 20.

The *Michael* hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of Beares Sound, tunnes 20.

The *Armonell* hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of Fentons fortune, tunnes 5; of the Countefs of Warwicks myne, tunnes 5; of Winters furnace, tunnes 5; of the Counteffe of Suffex myne, tunnes 85.

The *Emanuel* of Bridgewater hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 30; of Dyers Passage, tunnes 20; of Beares Sound, tunnes 60.

The *Salomon* hath owr laden in her as followeth:—Of the Countefs of Warwicks myne, tuns 10; of the Countefs of Suffex myne, tunnes 60; of Beares Sound, tunnes 60.

Forasmuch as the Counteffe of Warwick myne fayled being fo hard stone to breke and by iudgement *yelded not above a hundreth tunnes*, we were driven to feke mynes as above named and having but a fhort tyme to tarry and fome proofs made of the beft owr fownd in thofe mynes above-faid, men were willed to get there lading of them and every man fo employed him felf to have lading, that many fymple men (I iudge) toke good and bad together: fo that amongft the fleets lading I think much bad owr will be found.

If the owr now laden doth prove good, at the mynes and places above-faid is plenty thereof, but gotten with hard labour and travayle: uppon the Counteffe of Warwick's Iland Capteyn Fenton hath hidden and covered in the place of the myne all the tymber that came hither for the howfe, and divers other things, to whose note I refer me.

Allfo he hath caufed to be buylded a little howfe uppon the fame iland and covered yt with boords to prove how yt will abyde or ftand untill the next yere and hath left in yt fundry things.

The fecond faid of September, the Queens foreland bearing from us to N.W. and by north, there paffed by us thefe fhips bearing to feawards we lying a hull: the *Hopewell*, the *Fraunces of Foy*, the *Beare Leyceftre*, the *Armonell*, and the *Salomon*, the *Armonell* at that instant loft her boat and one man; the *Salomon* loft her boat before her comming by us. All which fhips the 3 present in the morning was owt of our fight homewards bound lying to feawards S.S.E. with the winde at N.W. a great gale of wynde.

The fecond faid at night came unto us our pynnas with 8 mariners in her who came from Beares Sound that morning, and bearing over with the S. coaft with 18 mariners in her, landed uppon certayn ilands to loke to feawards for us, and after them came the Generall in the *Gabriell* and in their company the *Judith* and the *Michael*, our men at that instant aland and loking for us, did fery 2 fhips one under fayle and the other

at hull, whereof we in the *Ayde* was one and the *Armonell* the other, the under fayle and we a hull, allfo betwene us and them was the *Mone of Foy*, our men which were landed as beforefaid embarked them felves agayn in theyr pynnas an did beare after the *Gabriell*, the *Michael*, and the *Judith*, and did put aboard the *Gabriell* and *Michael* all the 18 mariners and then being fomewhat nearer the *Judith* did put a man allfo aboard her: and having order before of the Generall, the mariners remayning in the pynnas did beare from the *Judith* towards the *Mone of Ffoy* willing them to remayn with her, but they having a bold pynnas with fayles afterwards espying us a hull, but not knowing us to be the *Ayde* did owt fayle the *Mone of Foy* and at the closing up of the evening we made the faid pynnas to be the *Michael* and the *Moone* to be the *Gabriel* and fometymes lying spooning before the fea and fometymes thwart remayning their comming up at length we fownd yt the pynnas as abovefaid: then they bringing us newes that the Generall was comming in the bark abovefaid and in the company of the ships allfo aforefaid with the *An Fraunces* allfo, the faid night we did ly a hull and did hang owt lights for them all night long to shew him and burnt a pike of wylde fyre to the end they might the better fynde us we hoping to have had them a boord long before day; but when day was come, we loking owt for them could not see any of them but the *Mone of Foy*: then we iudging they had overshot us or did afterwards spone before the fea 3 or 4 howres, and the *Thomas Alin* then being to seawards and wyndwards of us came bearing toward us and after we had spoken with them, they allfo iudged them to be a hed of us and then we made our fayle with our corfes and foretopfaile, the winde at N.W. a great gale, and we fayled S.S.E. and towards night the winde came at W.S.W. and we fayled allfo S.S.E. the winde fomwhat flacked our lesser still keeping company with the *Thomas Alin* and the *Mone of Foy*.

The second faid allfo our mariners of the pynnas declared that they at their comming over from Bears Sound did see the *Emanuel* of Bridgewater in great danger to be lost to the leewards of the fownd and did strike their fayles uppon the last of the flud to anker as they did iudge amongst the rocks, and then yt was not likely they shold ride to escape all the next eb, the winde at N.N.W. and a very great gale: God be mercifull unto them.

The faid allfo they declared that the captayn of the *An Fraunces*, George Beste, was with his pynnas in Beare's Sound laden with owr and the number of myners and mariners in her about 30 persons: they rowed with the faid pynnas towards the *Michael*, but whither they boorded her, they cannot tell, and at that instant the *Michael* had the *Thomas Alins*

pynnas at her starn, which the mafter said he wold cut of yf she did hinder him his comming owt as yt was thought she wold do: and afterwards our said men did see the *Michael* without any pynnas at her starn, and thereby do iudge that the *An Fraunces* pynnas and her men remayned in the said fownd and are in dowl of their getting their ship.

The 4 said still keping our course homewards S.S.E. the winde at N.W. a reasonable bearing gale: in the morning our company did hale up our pynnas which we towed at her starn to clere the water owt: the sea thrust her up with great force against the starn of the ship whereby she perished, and so they did cut of the tow ropes: she came up with such force, that yf she had byn strong as she was but weak, she mought have put the ship also in danger striking in some plank; the blow was such that a company were commaunded to loke whether we had hurt thereby or not, but God be thanked we had none.

The 5 said at night in a storme we lost the company of the *Mone of Foy*.

The 6 said Thomas Batterby God called to his mercy.

The 10 said, being in the latitude of  $53\frac{1}{2}$ , about 2 of the clock after midnight, our mayn yard did break a fundre in mydds which to recover in we did beare some with our forefaile before the winde, the winde at S.W. and presently did put owt 2 lights and shot of a pece to geve the *Thomas Alin* knowledge of our mishap, but yt shold seme they loked not owt for owr light nor pece, but still carry all their failes and in the morning we could not see her: the sayd yard was peryshed 5 or 6 dayes before striking of yt tarrying for them at which tyme yt gave a great crak, but we could not finde where yt was, nor what yt was that craked.

The 11 said yt was amended and strenghtened with a plank and anker stocks and woulded with ropes, and then we brought a new mayn faile to the yard: and about 7 of the clock at night we did fet faile with yt with a reasonable gale of winde and immediately yt being but weakly fillhed gave a great clak and therewithall we stroke yt agayn and so rested with it all that night.

The 12 said yt fell caulme and then we fished the said yard and woulded yt with ropes in fundry other places and so strenghtened yt very strong so that we had the use of yt agayne.

The 14 said at 3 of the clock at afternone, the winde at fowth S.E. began very fiercely and so encreased all that night growing to a terrible storme contynuing untill the 15 said to 8 a clock but altered uppon fundry points increasing that yt was not sayle worthy, whereuppon we were forced to spone before the sea without sayle and at the end of the second watche, the seas was so terribly grown that one sea came so fast after the other, the

one carrying up her head and an other came with such force that yt brake in all the starn of the Generalls cabbin and did beare down with yt the cowbidge head of the said cabben, striking allso one Fraunces Austin from the helme, who called to the company for help fearing we shold have perished, but withall spedde yt was amended, God be prayfed, and we by his Godly providence wonderfully delivered.

The 17 said God called to his mercy George Yong myner.

The 19 said being in the latitude of 52 degrees we encountred with the *Hopewell* being to leewards of us they declared that the *Beare* and the *Salomon* were to weatherwards of us, and that they were seperated in the great storme from the *Armonell* and the *Fraunces of Foy*: the *Hopewell* lost her boat and a cable and an anker at her comming from the streit.

The 21 said we had sight of 3 sayles being in the latitude of 51, whereof 2 was to leewards of us and one to weatherwards, we did suspect them to be men of war by their working, and therefore we did hale clofe by the winde to speak with the weathermost ship, and being inowgh in the weather of the leeward ships did ly les in the winde untill the weathermost ship did come within our knowledge, and then we did fynde her to be the *An Fraunces* at the shutting in of the evening and did lose sight of the other 2 sayles, but we iudge them to be of our company, the winde was then at N.W. and by W. by the *An Fraunces* we had understanding the Generall to be in the *Gabriell*, and was seperated from their company the 14 said in a storme, they iudge them to be a head of us: the *Judith* and the *Michael* they left in company together, which they iudge to be a starn and allso the *Mone*, they spake with her and left her a starn allso. And the *Buffe* of Bridgewater they left at an anker to leewards of Beares Sound amongst the rocks. God fend good newes of her, she was left in great perill.

Owt of the *An Fraunces* we received men of ours this instant 22 said.

The 23 said we lost the company of the *Hopewell* and the *An Fraunces* in a storme, which began the 22 at 6 a clock at night and continued till 8 of the clock the 24 in the morning, the winde at west and west N.W.

The 24 said God called to his mercy Water Krelle and Thomas Tort.

The said we fownded and had 70 faddems oofy sand, whereby we iudged us to the northwards of Silly, and afterwards sayled fowth east all that night, the winde at north stormy weather.

The 25 said God called to his mercy Thomas Coningham.

The 27 in the morning we had sight of the Start, 5 leags of, God be prayfed therefore and make us thankfull for delivering us from innumerable dangers this present vyage.

The said, God called to his mercy Corneyles Riche a Dutchman.

The 28 of the said God called to his mercy John Wilmet.





SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

From *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*

Edited for the Hakluyt Society by

Rear-Admiral Richard Collinson.

London, 1867.



(a) *The First Voyage.*

1. Expenses & Equipment of the *First Voyage.*

The following account of the expenses of the First Voyage is abstracted from the report of the Commissioners on the Public Records, folio, 1837.

The amount of subscription to the first voyage amounted to £875.

*Bill for Maps and Nautical Instruments.*

	£	s.	d.
Paid for a book of cosmographie in French of Andreas Thevet . . . . .	2	4	0
Paid to Humphry Cole and others—			
For a greate globe of metal in blanke in a case . . . . .	7	13	4
For a great instrument of brasse named Armilla Tolomei or Hemispherium . . . . .	4	6	8
For an instrument of brasse named Sphera Nautica . . . . .	4	6	8
For a great instrument of brasse named Compassum Meridianum . . . . .	4	6	8
For a great instrument of brasse named Holometrum Geometricum . . . . .	4	0	0
For a great instrument of brasse named Horologium Univerfale	2	6	8
For a ringe of brasse named Annulus Astronomicus . . . . .	1	10	0
For a little standing level of brasse . . . . .	0	6	8
For an instrument of wood a stafe named Balestetta . . . . .	0	13	4
For a very great carte of navigation . . . . .	5	0	0
For a great mappe univerfall of Mercator in prente . . . . .	1	6	8
For three other small mappes prented . . . . .	0	6	8
For 6 cartes of navigation written in blacke parchment whereof 4 ruled playne & 2 rounde . . . . .	2	0	0
For a Bible Englishe great volume . . . . .	1	0	0
For a cosmographical glasse & castell knowlege . . . . .	0	10	0
For a new World of Andreas Thevett Englishe & French . . . . .	0	6	8
For a Regiment of Medena (Spanishe) . . . . .	0	3	4
For Sir John Mandevylle (Englishe) . . . . .	0	1	0
For 20 compasses of divers forts . . . . .	3	3	0
For 18 hower glasse . . . . .	0	17	0
For a astrolabium . . . . .	3	10	0

The following drugs shew the contents of a ship's medicine chest in Queen Elizabeth's reign:—Ambra Grisi oriental, Cibetti, Masche oriental, Agallorbi, Ligne Aloes, Rubarbi agarisi, Turpenti, Dragridii, Cipri India, Turmerick, Calam aromatica, Irios, Galanga, Myrrha fine, Mastichus, Argenti viti, Ladderi, Aumne Gomme, Oppoponax, Oppen, Alloes, Bellzonica, Styra Calmuc, Myrobboralia chebue Bellerichi, Indioru citrini, Ledoria, Spica Nardi, Cardamomi, Ligne Rhode, Colucuthes, Magarite, Boli oriental, Lapis Lazuli, Cantatri Citemi, Corralina, Coralli Rubili, Borax, Camphora, Castorium.

Among the payments made by Michael Lok for the furniture of the first voyage the following occur:

	£	s.	d.
For bote hyre of Mr. Furbisher following his buffynefs alle this tyme . . . . .	10	10	0
Paid to Ducke upholster for beddinge for Mr. Captayne Frobiser	3	16	5
Paid for a bottell of aquavite for Mr. Frobiser paid it to his manne Borrowes . . . . .	0	10	0
Paid to Mr. Frobiser on accompte as followithe for beare and breade at launchinge of the <i>Gabriell</i> and for maryners dyners then . . . . .	0	19	0
Paid to Nicholas Cooke for aquavite 3 hogheads paid to Anthonye Duffilde bruer . . . . .	13	18	0
Paid for v tonne of beare at 42s. bought of my Lord Admiral by Arthur Pett . . . . .	10	10	0
Paid to Mr. Frobiser at divers tymes for his paynes takeing on this voyage & his endeavor untill his retorne which was paid to clere him out of England one the voyage . . . . .	80	0	0
Paid for divers implements of household necessarye for the shippes furniture as followithe:—			
For a great kettle pan brasse with yron ball . . . . .	0	18	0
For a great bassone of brasse to bake one . . . . .	0	6	8
For a bakinge pan of yron with cover . . . . .	0	2	8
For a chaffinge dish of brasse . . . . .	0	4	0
For a skimer of brasse . . . . .	0	1	4
For a greate potte of yron for meat . . . . .	0	6	8
For a little pane brasse with handle yrone . . . . .	0	1	4
For a tryvet yrone . . . . .	0	1	4
For ij fringe panes . . . . .	0	5	0
For a dripping pane yron . . . . .	0	2	0
For a grydyron . . . . .	0	1	0
For ij spyttes . . . . .	0	3	4
For a payre of potte hokes . . . . .	0	0	8

For a flyfe of yron . . . . .	0	0	8
For a flefhoke of yron . . . . .	0	0	8
For ij hokes yron flat . . . . .	0	0	8
For a clever great choppinge knyfe of yron . . . . .	0	1	6
For iij wooden platters Mufkovia painted . . . . .	0	1	6
For a great baffone or ewar of pewtar . . . . .	0	6	8
For iij pynte bottes of beare & wyne . . . . .	0	5	4
For a faltefellar of pewtare . . . . .	0	1	0
Summe of all the faid charges of furnyture of the faid fhippes outwardes cofte as followithe :—			
For implements howhold . . . . .	8	11	0
For wages of men . . . . .	213	17	0
For instrumentes of navigacione . . . . .	50	14	0
For vyttelles . . . . .	387	14	10
For ordonans munition . . . . .	100	8	4
For tackeling of fhippes . . . . .	172	5	6
For buyldinge the fhippe <i>Gabriell</i> & the pynace (newe) . . . . .	152	0	4
For the fhippe <i>Mickael</i> with furnitur of her bought . . . . .	120	0	0
			<hr/>
Somme outwardes of fhippinge...	£1205	11	8

## 2. *Mr Lok, Captain Frobisher, and the Ore.*

[*Colonial*, 27. *Otho E.* viii, fol. 41 (42).]

Passed *Anno* 1577.

[The] gracious favor of Allmighty God hath byn [alwaies my Pro]tectōr theſe xlv yerēs in manner following [and I truſt the] fame will ſtill protect me allſo the reſt of my [life to] his glory, to others benefit, and to the cum[fort of] me and myne.

My late father Sir William Lok, knight, alderman of [Lon]don, kept me at ſchools of grammer in England [un]till I was xiij yerēs olde, which was A.D. 1545, [and] he being ſworn ſervant to King Henry VIIJth [as] his mercer; and allſo his agent beyond the ſeas [in] dyvers affayres, he then ſent me over ſeas to Flan[d]ers and France to learn thoſe languages and to know the world. Synce which tyme I have contynned theſe xxxij yerēs in travaile of body and ſtudy of mynde, following my vocation in the trade of merchandife, whereoft I have ſpent the firſt xv yerēs in contynuall [t]ravaile of body, paſſing through almoſt all the cun[t]ries of Chriſtianity, namely owt of England [i]nto Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, Germany, France, Spayne, Italy, and Grece, both by land and by ſea, not without great

labours, cares, dangers and expences of many incident; having had the charge (as capitayn) of a great ship of burden 1000 tunns by the space of more then iij yerres in dyvers voyages in the Levant Seas wherewithall I returned into England. In which travailes besides the knowlege of all those famous 'common' languages of those cuntries I fought also for the knowlege of the state of all their commonwealths chiefly in all matters appertaining to the traffique of merchants. And the rest of my tyme I have spent in England under the happy raigne of the Quenes Majestie now being. Where by a certayn forcible inclination of mynde I have byn drawn continually as my vocation and care for my family wolde. Cofmo[graphy] arts appertening as in voiaiges I could get for my mony. And [also] acqyryng by dyvers conferences with many [foreign] nations, travaillers and merchants fa[miliar knowledge] of the state of the whole worlde as might [appert]ayn to the benefit of myn aturall cuntry w[ith the] maintenance of myselfe and my family by the tr[ade in] merchandise according to my vocation. And as [Horatius] sayth: Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos: Pauperiem fugiens per faxa, per mare, per ignes. The diligent merchant runneth to the furdest Indians flying poverty by roks, by seas, by fyers; as by m[a]nifold notes thereof in writing and remaining still by m[e], which being put together wolde not be contained in an[y] hundred shetes of paper that I have made for my own pryvate satisfaccion yt may appere. Whereby I am perswaded of great matters. And of late by God's good providence renewyng myne old acquayntance with Martyn Frobisher gentleman; and fynding him sufficient and ready to execute the attemp[t] of so great matters, I ioyned with him, and to my power advanced him to the world with credit and above myne own power for my parte furnished him with things necessary for his fust voyage lately made to the northwestward for the discovery of Cathay and other new cuntries, to thintent the whole world might be opened unto England which hitherto hath byn hydden from yt by the slowthfulnes of some and policy of other. In the which voyage allready made by that way are discovered such new lands as the world now doth talk of which very shortly by God's grace the world shall playnly see to yelde to the Quenes Majestie great honor, and to the whole realm infinit treasor and benefit, which God graunt and make us thankfull.

And bycause that of late dayes fynes the return home of Martyn Frobisher, dyvers men speake dyversly of his dooings.

Moneth of

Anno 1574.

[Mart]yn Frobisher brought a letter under the [c]ertayn of the Quenes Majesties most honora[ble Privy] Cownsaile directed to the Company of Mosco[via] containing this effect: That, forasmuch as [the discovery] of the cuntry of Cathay by sea wold be t[o En]gland, a matter of great commodity, and they being a

[cum]pany priveleged and encorporated for the discovery of [n]ewe trades. Against whose privelege they would not [at]tempt any matter without their licence. Therefore [I ex]horted and perfwaded them to attempt that matter now [o]nce agayn, themselves, after xx yeres allready past, fyns their first enterprife thereof. Or els, to grant their licence to others which are defyrous now to 'attemp' at[t]tempt the fame. Uppon the receipt of which letter the said Cumpany affembled themselves at their Court, to confyder the fame: And thereunto made answere by their letter, requiring to have conference with the parties that were defyrous to attempt that matter that thereby they might determyn what were mete to be done therein. Wherupon the sayd Martyn Frobisher agayn repayred to the sayd Cumpany with order for himselfe and others not then named to have conference with them; and theruppon the Cumpany appointed certayn of them selves, namely, Mr. George Barn, now Shrief of London, William Jowerson and Steven Borough, mariner; and me, as their agent, having the charge of all their bufynes to understand the ground of this case. And in the conference of the matter, we perceiving the purpose to be to the northwestward, and no good evidence shewed by the parties for the proof of the matter: upon one relation therof made to they Company, they suspected some other matter to be meant by the parties. And forasmuch as they themselves with their very great charges allready had discovered more than half the way to Cathay by the northeastward, and purposed to doo the rest so sone as they might have good ad[vice] [a]ny good [gr]eatly hurtful to them to to any others. And therefore appo[inted] Heyward their Governour, and man and me to certify the right honora[ble Lord] [Bur]ghley, Lord High Treasurer of England of [the f]tate of the matter; which they did in the p[re]fence of] Martyn Frobisher afore sayd. Yet neverth[elefs] very shortly afterward by the fute of the say[d] Martyn Frobysher, an other letter was brought [to the] Cumpany, requiring them either to attempt the matt[er] them selves or to grant licence to other to doo yt by the northwestwards, wherupon for dyvers confyderations then moving the Cumpany they did grant licence and privelege therof to me and Martyn Frobisher and such other as would be venturers with us in the sa[me] as appereth by the writings under their common sea[l], dated in the moneth of February, Anno Domini 1574.

Wherupon presently we made such preparation for ship[s], and all other necessaries as we could. But for lak of sufficient mony thereto in due tyme the enterprife was stayed that yere. Nevertheles, by the good assistance of the mony and favour of dyvers persons of honour and worship, and others hereunder named the matter toke such effect the yere following that we furnished two small barks of xxv tuns the pece: the one named the Gabriell, wherof was Master Christofer Hall of Lyme-hous, mariner. And the other named the Michaell wherof was Master Owen Gryffyn of , mariner. And a small pinnes of x tun with a close dek to sayle with them. And with them passed the sayd Martyn Frobisher for capitayn and

pylot; and with them in all 34 persons, whose names be hereunder: who departed together from Gravefend, on their voyage, the xijth day of June, Anno Domini 1576. And, although the world in all the yere, and other tyme before hering talke of this purposed enterprife, did not beleve that yt wolde take any good effect; but rather the most of the others which were of [wi]fdom and dignity in the common the enterprife and assift the fame as tyme. Wherin I will now speake p[recifely and f]ay the truthe that every mans good dede [may have] his iust commendation. The learned man, Mr. John Dee, hering the common [report] of this new enterprife and understanding of the prepa[rations] for furniture of the ships being thereby perfwa[ded] that it would now procede, and having not byn acquaint[ed] with our 'new enterprife', purpose in any parte before, [abo]ut the xxth day of May, Anno 1576, of his own good na[tu]re favoring this enterprife in respect of the service and commodity of his naturall cuntry came unto me, desy[r]ing to know of me the reasons 'and' of my foundation and purpose in this enterprife, and offering his furdurance thereof with such instructions and advife, as by his learning he could geve therein. Wherupon I conceived a great good opinion of him: and therefore apointed a tyme of meeting in my house, wherat were present Martyn Frobysher, Steven Burrough, Christofer Hall, with other. Where freely and playnly I layd open to him at large my whole purpose in the traffike of merchandise by those new partes of the world for the benefit of the realm by many meanes as well in the cuntries of East India, yf the sea this way be open as also otherwise, though that this 'ne' new land should chance to bar us from the sea of India. And also declared such coniectures and probabilities as I had conceived of a passage by sea into the same sea of East India by that way of the northwest from England. And for the proof of these two matters I layd before him my booke and authors, my cartes and instruments, and my notes thereof made in writing, as I had made them of many yeres study before. Which matters, when he had thus hard and sene, he answered that he was right glad to know of me thus much of this matter, and that he was greatly satisfied in his desyre about his expectation, and that I was so well grounded in this [pur]pose he sh[e]wed me all[fo] his own. And also shewed me I did very well like. And afterw[ards] [the while] the ships remayned here, he toke pay[ns] to learn the rules of geometry and cosmography for [the informat]ion of the masters and mariners in the use of [the in]struments for navigation in their voyage and fo[r] ca[se]ualties happening at sea which did them service whereby he deserveth iust commendation. Also [Sir] Humfrey Gilbert, knight, hath byn of many yeres (as I am enformed) a great good willer to this like enterpr[ise]. And synes I came acquainted with him which was abo[ut] Easter last, Anno Domini 1575, I have hard him make dyvers good discourses in the favour thereof, and also his go[od] will and study therein doth well appere in the booke which he made and put in prynt in the monthe of May, Anno 157, for the mayntenance of the good hope and likelyhood in this



enterprife of new difcovery. Whereby men may fee many good caufes to move them to like well thereof. Although to fay the very truth without geving any offence: neither that boke comming out fo late nor yet his former difcourfes, being none others than were wel[l] known to us long before, were any manner of caufes o[r] instructions to the chief enterprifes of this new voyage of difcovery to attempt the fame or to direct us therin. And William Burrough, although he was not fo well perfwaded of this enterprife, that he would venter his money therein: yet, in refpect of the fervice of his cuntry, he did take paynes to procure a mafter and many mariners for the fhips. And gave his good advife in the furniture of the fhips: and did consent unto the opinion and mynde of the capitayn in the direction of the fhips courfe in the voyage which was to very good purpose. And befides thefe men, I know none other worthy of name for any thing done by them to the help of this enterprife, but onely the venturers which did help the fame.

[*Otho*, E. viii, fol. 45 b (47); *Colonial*, 35.]

I crave pardon with the reading of this writ[ing] xiiij day of October laft, Mr. Fro[byfher gave me a] f[ton]e aboard his fhip: Saying, that acco[r]ding to his promi[fe] he did geve me the fyrft thinge that he founde [in the new l]and, which he gave me openly in the prefence of two [other] men, whome I know not. But Rowland York and many [others] were then in the fhip; and they for the ftrangers the[ro]f brake off a] pece which they caryed away with them. Within the fpace of one month after, I gave a fmall pece to [Mr.] Williams, faymafter of the Towr, not telling what nor wh[ence]. He made proof and aunfwered that it was but a marquetite f[ton]e. And theruppon, I gave an other fmall pece to one Wheler g[old] fyner by Mr. Williams order. He aunfwered alfo tha[t] he made proof and founde it but a marquetite fton. And alfo an other fmall pece to George Nedam: he aunfwered alfo that he made proof and colde fynde no mettall therin.

Herewithall I ftayed, making fmall account of the fton, and at more leysure mufing more thereon. In the begynning of January I delivered a fmall pece thereof to John Baptista Agnello, not telling what nor from whence. But prayed him to prove what mettall was therein. And within three dayes I came to hym for aunfwer. He fhewed me a very little powder of gold: Saying, it came therowt, and willed me to give him an other pece to make a better proof. I did fo, and within three dayes agayne, he fhewed me more powder of golde. I tolde hym I wold not beleve it, without better proof. He asked an other pece to make a better proof: Saying, that he wold make anatomy thereof, I gave it him: Saying, that I marveyled much of his doings, fith I had given peces to other iij to make proof who could fynde no fuch thinge therin: he aunfwered me, 'Bifogna fapere adulare la natura', and fo I departed.

The xvij day of January he sent me by his mayde this little scrap of paper written, No. 1, hereinclodfed; and thereinclodfed the grayne of gold, which afterward I delivered to your majesty, &c.,

1577.

[*Colonial*, 34. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxii, No. 25.]

*Mr. Lockes* Discours touching the Ewre, 1577.

To the Quenes Moste Excellent Matie,

Moste humbly I crave pardon, in troublinge yo<sup>r</sup> matie w<sup>th</sup> the readyng of this wrytynge.

In the xiiij day of Octobar laste, Mr. Furbofher gave me a stone, aboard his shyp, sayenge, that accordynge to his promesse, he dyd gyve me the fyrst thyng that he found in the newland, w<sup>ch</sup> he gave me openly in prefens of 2 yonge gentlemen whome I knowe not; but Rowland York was then in the shyp, and they for the straungenes therof brake of a pece w<sup>ch</sup> they caried awaye w<sup>th</sup> them.

Within the space of one monthe after, I gave a small pece thereof to Mr. Williams, saymaster of the Towar, not tellynge what nor whens. He made proffe, and answered that it was but a markefyte stone. And another small pece to one Whelar, goldfyner, by Mr. Williams order. He answered also that he made proffe and found it but a markefyte stone, and another small pece to George Nedam; he answered also, that he made prooffe and could fynd no mettall therein.

Herewithall I stayed, makynge small account of the stone.

And at more leyfure mufynge more theron, in the begynnyng of Januarie, I delyvred a small pece thereof to John Baptista Agnello, not tellynge what nor from whens, but prayed hym to prove what mettall was therein; and within iij dayes I came to hym for anfwere. He shewed me a very litle powder of gold, sayenge it came therout, and wylled me to gyve hym a better pece to make a better prooffe. I dyd so, and within iij dayes agayne he shewed me more powdar of gold. I told hym I would not beleve yt without better prooffe. He asked another pece to make a better prooffe, sayenge that he would make anatomie therof. I gave it hym, sayenge that I marvayled moche of hys doynge, fythe I had gyven peces to other iij to make prooffe, who could fynd no fuche thinge therein. He answered me, 'Bifogna sapere adulare la natura'. And so I departed.

The xvij day of Januarie he sent me by his mayde this lytle scrap of paper hereinclodfed, wrytten, No. 1, and thereinclodfed the grayne of gold w<sup>ch</sup> afterwarde I delyvred to yo<sup>r</sup> Matie.

And herevppon I had large conferens dyvers tymes w<sup>th</sup> hym parfawdyng, exhortinge, and conjuringe hym by many causes of great importaunce betwene us, to tell me the trewth hereof. He fatiffyed me by all dewtyfull meanes of honesty and of Christianitie that it was trew. Whervppon he entred into many discourfes w<sup>th</sup> me, yf we might have sum quantyte therof, for our owne use, and

ernestly exhorted me to secreatnes, and greatly pressed me to knowe where it was had I desyred respyte of a few dayes, to confyder what were best to be done in the matter.

The xxiiij day of Januarie, havynge resolved my fellfe of my dewtye towardes yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> I dyd retorne to John Baptista, to avoyde suspicion of doble dealynge w<sup>th</sup> hym, at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme he entred agayne w<sup>th</sup> me, to have sum quantyte therof for our owne accountt. Then I delt w<sup>th</sup> hym sumwhat playne, and told hym, that it would be a hard matter for us to have ytt, for that in trewth it was had in the new land discovred by Mr. Furboisher, wherof there is priviledge graunted to a companye. Wherto he answered, that sum devyse might be made to lade it as stones, for ballast of the shyp. Whervvpon agayne I toke furder tyme to confyder what might be done therin. And at my departynge he exhorted to secreatnes, and specially to concealle his knowledge hereof.

The next day Mr. Furboisher at my table at dynner, was very desyrous to know what was found in the stone he gave me. I answered, that I had gyven prooffes to iij or iiij, and they found nothings in ytt, favyng one man found tynne and a litle sylver therin, w<sup>ch</sup> was worthy of the fetchynge awaye, wherat he was very glad.

The xxviiij day, I delyvred to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> in wrytynge, the very trewe information of all that I had knowen herein. And the same daye Mr. Secretary Walfyngham, in yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> name fayd unto me, that in my wrytynge I dyd promes a thinge w<sup>ch</sup> I had not delyvred. I answered the very trewth of my meanyng, that bycaus the bulke therof was sumwhat great, I dyd reserve it to a second speche w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>, at which tyme I dyd purpose to have declared more of this matter, and presently I dyd delyver it to hym. And he said yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> had told hym the effect of my wrytynge, and therefore he wylled me to tell hym the circumstance of this matter. I told hym presently the effect of all this herebefore wrytten, and that John Baptista was the man, but that he would not be acknowen to be the man. Neverthelesse I sayd he might know the matter of hym by others then by me. Whervvpon he answered me, that he dyd thynk it to be but an alchamist matter, such as dyvers others before had byn brought to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> by others without trewethe. And in my presens he brake the stone into iij or iiij peces, wh<sup>ch</sup> he sayd he would delyver to dyvers men to make prooffes. And so he lycensed me to depart to London that night.

The xxxi day of Januarie, John Baptista sent for me agayne, as shall appere by his second wrytynge hereinclosed, at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme he devyfed that a ship might go secretly out of sum place, and bryng the thyng to another place farre from London. But I answered that was not possible, for that none knowe the place but C. Furbisher and the ship master, who would not be corrupted. Then he thought to revele it to the captayne. I said I thought he would reveale it to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but I devyfed w<sup>th</sup> hym, that I would send a ship to the place in company of

the captayne under culler of fysshynge, and when the captayne were gone through to Kathai, the ship should lade this thinge for ballast, and retorne hether. He allowed well of this devyfe, and so I departed for that tyme.

The i day of Februarie, I returned to Mr. Secretarie, who sayd to me that he had gyven peces of this ure to certayne very excellent men, and that sum found nothinge therein, but one found a litle sylver, and that Mr. Dyar had made prooffe therof, and found the lyke, and that hym fellfe had seene the proffe made, wherby he was parfwaded to be so, and that Baptista dyd but play the alchemist w<sup>th</sup> me. I answered that yesterday I had spoken agayne w<sup>th</sup> Baptista, and that he dothe styll confyrme to me his former sayenges, and wyll justefie the same, but Mr. Secretarie would not beleve me. Wheruppon I prayed hym to confyder better of the matter, for that I was well assured that it was trew, wheruppon he lycensed me to retorne to London.

The iiij day of Februarie, I went agayne to John Baptista, as well to intertayne hym w<sup>th</sup> sum matter to avoide suspicion of doble delynge untill I might have answere of Mr. Secretarie of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> plesure herein, as also to urge more matter wherby more tryall of the trewth might be had. And I moved hym to know how he would deale w<sup>th</sup> me, yf I should fynde meanes to send a ship for this ure. After longe discourfyng he resolved, that he had a frynde that would furnishe a ship at his charges, and that yf I would gyve hym a man to shew hym the place where he might have 100 tons hereof, he would gyve me £20 of money for every ton, within iij monthes after the arivall therof here, and would put me in good assurans for the parfomans therof, and at the arivall in London he woulde teache me the art, yf he should chaunse to dye. I told hym I would take tyme to consider whether he should send a ship, or I send a ship.

The vi day of Februarie, I returned to Mr. Secretarie, and gave hym in wrytyng, this offer made to me by Baptista. He answered, it was but devyfes of alchamists, for that Baptista was but poore, and not able to put suretyes, nevertheles he sayd he would confyder of the matter. And so I returned to London.

The xiiij day I went to Baptista, and put of tyme, hopinge for better answere of Mr. Secretarie. I said to Baptista that I was informed by a frynd learned in the lawes, that we have a lawe termed trefor trouvee, wherby it is not lawfull for any subiect to dealle in fuche a matter as this, without lycens of the prynce, and therefore (meanynge to dryve hym to dyscover the matter to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>, wherby you might be certified of the trewth) I sayd ther must be sum meanes found, to have a lycence of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> for a ship to passe thether, or ells there is daungier bothe of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> dyspleasure, and also of the companye who are privileged therin, wherin I sayd I woulde travaylle, yf he could not. He answered, he had a frynd in the courte by whose meanes he would move yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> therof.

The xvj day I went agayne to Mr. Secretarie for answere. He sayd the matter had no good foundation, excepte good suretyes might be put for performance,

also that he had agayne caufed others to make prooffe, and that there was no fuche thing found therin. I faid that I did marvaile moche therat; for that Baptista dothe styll iustifie the matter, and for prooffe therof. I would become bound to her Matie for the fame. He faid he would not wishe me to venture so farre upon the worde of an alchamist. And so the matter rested untill answere might be had from yo<sup>r</sup> Matie.

The xxvij day I had a letter from Baptista, w<sup>ch</sup> is the third writinge hereinclofed, wherby yo<sup>r</sup> Matie may parceave, what answere he received upon his fute to have lycens for a ship to passe thether. Wheruppon he would have proceded w<sup>th</sup> me, that I should fend a ship thether in secreat, accordinge to our first talke. Nevertheles, I perswaded hym that he should wryte a lettar to yo<sup>r</sup> Matie, wherby to gyve you knowledge of his meanyng in sendyng a ship thether, and to dyfclose part of the matter to yo<sup>r</sup> Matie. Wherin my meanyng was, that uppon this occasion I thought yo<sup>r</sup> Matie would have appointed sum to hvae had full conferens w<sup>th</sup> hym, to have serched the trewth of this great matter to your satisfiacion.

The vi day of Marche, I went agayne to Baptista, to know what answere he had from yo<sup>r</sup> Matie to his lettar. He faid the answere was dilatorie, so as he had no more courage in that fute. Wheruppon I faid to hym, that I had a frynd in the court, by whose meanes I would attempt to have a lycens to fend a ship, for that without that lycens I durst not deale therin. He bad me prove.

The vii day of Marche, I went agayne to Mr. Secretarie, and told hym theeffect that I had passed with Baptista, and he faid that yf Baptista would put good suretyes for the parformans of payment, he would warrant me to have lycense for a ship of 100 tons to fetch this ure. Wheruppon I returned to Baptista as in myne owne name to know what assurans I should have. He faid I should have very good assurans to my contentement; but named no man, which I reported agayne unto Mr. Secretarie, and offred my owne bond, and the ure to be delyvred into yo<sup>r</sup> Maties custodye at the arivall.

In this mean tyme entringe more deeply into the matter, and confyderynge that the weightynes therof would be myne utter undoyng yf the matter were not good, I went agayne unto Baptista, and more effectually dyd enter into talk of the maner of the contract to delyver hym c. tons of this ure. Wheruppon he offred me to pay xxx li. a ton, being delyvred here at my charges, and the best assurans that I could then gett was to have the ure in myne owne custodye, and for the rest I must credit his honestie. That the ure was of sufficient valew to make me ryche, I was so well perswaded of his honestie, that I was fully resolved to put the whole matter in hafard, theruppon makynge this account w<sup>th</sup> my selfe that the charges of the ship and the men to dyg the ure would cost me x li. the ton, and I would gyve to y<sup>r</sup> Matie for the lycens x li. the ton, and the other x li. the ton should be to reliefe me and my children, yf that yo<sup>r</sup> Matie would not deale w<sup>th</sup> this matter for yourselfe.

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The xi day, I came agayne to Mr. Secretarie, and gave hym my request in wrytinge. That yf it were so that y<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> could not be satisfied of the trewthe of this matter, and were not mynded to deale therein for yourselffe, that for the triall of the matter I would venture on it at my charges. Yf it would plese y<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> to gyve me lycens to bryng hether iij c tons of this vre at my cofes and charges, I would pay y<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> iij m li. of money within one yere after the arrivall, and for assurans would gyve my bond, and the ure into y<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> custodie. He said this demand was to great. I remytted it to his owne moderation. He promyfed he would move yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup>, and said I should have lycens for a reasonable quantyte, which I dyd beleve verely to obtayne, confyderynge the manyfold refusall had more then x tymes; and the great dycredite of my playne report made of the trewthe of the matter from tyme to tyme, accordinge to my dewtye, and the reportes he had of others to whome he had put the ure to proffe, who found no gold.

The xvi day of Marche I came agayne to Mr. Secretarie for anfwere. He said he had no leyfure as yet to move yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> thereof, but he would doo. He asked of me yf M. Furbisher knew of this matter, I said no, nor none other parson by me, but onely yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup>, and he and Baptista, which is the very trewthe.

In this meane tyme I was dayly urged by Baptista to fynishe the contract betwene us as yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> may perceave by his iij billes, No. 4, 5, 6, hereinclosed. Whereuppon, at the xix day of Marche I fynished and subscribed the same, as yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> may perceave by the same contract hereinclosed, hopynge that eyther by yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> lycens, I should be able to parforme the same, or ells that by yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> favour I should be dycharged therof againste the said Baptista, fythe I dyd it onely for the better tryall of the trewthe of this great matter, and dyd declare theeffect of all my doynge therin dayly vnto Mr. Secretary. And when I came to the houffe of Baptista to subscribe the same contract, I found thereat subscribed the name of Sir John Barkley as suretye for Baptista to parforme the covenantts; a thyng very straunge unto me, for that I never in all my lyffe had spoken w<sup>th</sup> Sir John Barkley, neyther before nor after.

The xx day, I came agayne to Mr. Secretarie, to know yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ies</sup> plesure. He said he had moved yo<sup>r</sup> Mat<sup>ie</sup> in the matter, but had no anfwere. He asked agayne yf M. Furbysher knew of the matter, I said no. He wylled me to imparte it to hym. I said I would, and so I dyd. He prayed me to get hym another pece of the vre. I said I would.

The xxii day, I came to Mr. Secretarie, and brought hym another pece of the vre. He wylled me in his name to carrye it to one Geoffrey, a Frenchman, and to tell hym that it came out of Ireland, and to wyl hym to make a proffe therof, and he to bringe reporte to hym. I dyd accordingly delyuer it w<sup>th</sup> the message, and fynce that howar I never saw the same Jeffrey, nor never beffore, but Mr. Secretary hathe told me that he found nothinge therin, but a little fylver, as I remember.

The xxviiij day Marche, I was w<sup>th</sup> others at howffe of Sir William Wyntar in commyffyon by letters from yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> Honourable Privye Councell had by my procurement to confyder vppon all matters requisite for the furnytur and dyspache of M. Furbisher for Kathai, w<sup>ch</sup> busynes beinge done for that daye, Sir William Wyntar wylled me to come to hym the next mornynge to talk w<sup>th</sup> hym in a matter of importanncce. I came. He entred w<sup>th</sup> me in secret, prayenge me to tell hym what I had found of the state of the vre brought home by M. Furbisher. I refused that conferens, sayenge I knew not the matter, nor dyd vnderstand his meanyng. He said he knew the matter as well as I, and that he desyred this conferens vppon good meanyng towards me. I refused hym agayne, sayenge I knew nothyng, nor would tell nothyng. Then he vrged me agayne, sayenge that yf I would not tell hym, he would tell me. Then I asked hym, yf he had spoken w<sup>th</sup> Sir John Barkley of late. He sayd yea. Then I said, he might know moche of the matter. He answered that he dyd know the whole matter. I answered I thought he dyd not know all. And then presently he told me the whole effect of all my contract made w<sup>th</sup> John Baptista in wrytinge, and furder told me that Sir John Barkley had opened the same to Sir William Morgan, and Sir William Morgan vnto hym, and ther vppon he and they and others had made proffes therof in a howffe at Lambethe, and also hym fellf in his owne howffe w<sup>th</sup> his owne man, the prooffes wherof in gold he shewed me presentlye in his chamber wyndowe, sayenge that it was moche rycher then I was informed of, and that it was a matter to great for hym and me to deale withall, and belonged onelye to the prynce. Then I told hym that I was of hys mynde, and that therefore accordynge to my dewtye I had already informed yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> therof longe before, accordinge to the trewth that was informed me by Baptista, but that I was not credited therin, and that this was (as styll it is) vnknown to Baptista and to Sir John Barkley. Wherat he was moche abashed, and sayd God hathe brought us together this daye for fuum good, for otherwyse I should have done sumwhat herein that should have hurte bothe you and me. And then he sayd that it was our dewty that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> should knowe hereof, and that hym fellfe would certyffy yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> hereof, so as you should be right well assured that it was trew. And said agayne that it was a farre greattar treasour then was known; which thyng in deed fynde that tyme I have perceaved, by a prooffe therof w<sup>ch</sup> I have seene made by the same workmen, w<sup>ch</sup> holdethe more than iiij onces of golde in c.lb. weight of vre, w<sup>ch</sup> at iij*li*. of money the once amounted xiii*li*. of money the c w<sup>ch</sup> is ccxl pounds of money for every ton of the vre. And it is very likely that where this vre laye on the face of the earthe, there is farre more ryche vre vnder the earthe. But of this matter I thynke yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> have byn fully certyffed by Sir William Wyntar and C. Furboisher, but onely I put in mynd of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> parte of my first wrytyng deyled, that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> gyve order in this matter in secreto quanto si puo et con fortessa, et con expeditione, leaft forayne prynces sett footte therin. Whervppon that yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup>

may the better confyder, I befeche yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to beholde the fituation of the world in this fmall carta herewithall prefented trewly thoughe groffely made accordynge to my fkyll.

And thus by this means of the doynge of Sir John Barkley and Sir William Morgan dealynge therin w<sup>th</sup> others their parteners, and w<sup>th</sup> the Douchemen their workmen vterly without my knowledge, or ells by the meanes of others, who have pece of the vre for prooffes of others, and not of me, the fecreatnes of this great matter is difcoured fo as it is abroade.

And bycaufe that I doo vnderftand, afwell by aletter hereinclofed received from Baptifta dated the iiij April, as alfo by credible report of others, that the blame is layed all on me, as author of the fpeche that now is abroade of this great treafour. I doo by this wrytynge purge my fellfe of that vntrew furmyfe. And I doo call to wytnes heaven and earthe, that herein I have fymply and trewly fett downe in wrytynge, the maner of all my procedynges in this matter. And I do yelde into the handes of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> all my goodes and my lyffe at yo<sup>r</sup> pleafure, yf other then this can be proved to be done by me in this matter.

And moft humbly cravyng pardon of yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> for this my prefuntion and befechyng the fame to accept my dewtyfull trew meanynge. I befeche the lvyngge God to perferve yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> longe to raygne over us, w<sup>th</sup> all happynes.

I humbly befeche yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to reftore me the wrytynges of Baptifta when as you are well fatiffyed in this matter.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> moft humble fubjecte,

MICHAEL LOK.

The 22 April, 1577.

### 3. Lok's Contract with *Agnello*.

[*Colonial*, 34. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxii, No. 25, i.]

No. 1.

Questo poco oro e cauato fuori di quell poca minera mi mandaçi, ó vero mi donasti, di forte che si truoua effer in ogni cento lib. oz. j.  $\frac{1}{4}$  di oro finissimo, et largamente.

Jn<sup>o</sup> Bap<sup>ta</sup> Agnelo, Italiano, in Santa Helena in Londra. Adi 18 Janaro 1576. De la Mimera di Tramontana Maistro. nuovo.



## No. 2.

Mag<sup>co</sup> et Honor<sup>do</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Lok se vi piacerea venir fin qui, io ho di gia penfato al cafo nostro, et fara di forte che penfo ne restarete fatiffatto, et mi vi racco<sup>do</sup>.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatt<sup>a</sup> Agnello.

Adi 31 Janaro.

## No. 3.

Mag<sup>co</sup> et Honor<sup>do</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Loko. Hieri hebi rispofa da fua Mag<sup>ta</sup> quale mi fece dire che fe io gli haueffi dimandato quello io difiderauo, inanci che lei haueffi concesso el priuilegio che uoi fapete, mi hauerebe concesso quanto io defiderauo, ma che effendo detto priuilegio passato et confirmato, non lo volena romper, per tanto fara buono lasciar l'impresa. Credo che il primo acordo facemo voi et io farebe stato buono per voi et per me senza cerchar fini oltra. Ogni cosa per il meglio. Et con questo me vi racco<sup>do</sup> di cuore. Questo di 27 Feb<sup>o</sup>. del. 77 à natiuitate.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatt<sup>a</sup> Agnello In Casa.

## No. 4.

S<sup>r</sup> mio Mag<sup>co</sup> mi fara grato intender quello habiamo à fare accio l' amico mio si possi preparare per la giornata ha do fare, per tanto vi prego faciamone vna fine, et mi vi racco<sup>do</sup>.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatt<sup>a</sup> Agnello. In Casa.

## No. 5.

S<sup>r</sup> Lok. Hieri vi scriffi l'vltima mia resolutione defiderandoui di darmi vltima rispofata dell' animo v<sup>o</sup> et nō ho poi inteso altro. Hora perche l' amico mio se ne va damatina in paese, fon forciato al risoluerlo del tutto per tanto se per tutto hoggi nō mi risoluate del tutto: pretendo che tutto quello habiamo di tempo in tempo conferito insieme sia del tutto ancillato, riō vi delete poi di me et mi vi racco<sup>do</sup>.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatt<sup>a</sup> Agnello.

## No. 6.

Mag<sup>co</sup> et Honor<sup>do</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Lok.

Confiderando mediante le parole vostre mi diceffi hieri, circa la confidencia hauete in me per il negocio nostro, non posso mancare di darui causa che non fiate del tutto fatiffatto ancora che voi non lo rechiedete, vidi io adonque che quando farete fare l' obliigo d'accordo tra noi, fate vi sia vn fpacio di fosō con vn figillo per vn amico mio quale fara figurta per me di supplire, et m. . .tenire tutto quello io vi ho promesso, accio non parlata che morendo io non possiate ottenefe el defiderio vostro. Et questo vorei fuffi fatto dimane mero marti alla

piu longa, et farmi fapere à che hora potrete effer qui accio io anco poffi fare che l' amico mio fia qui, et con queſto mi vi racco<sup>do</sup> fi cuore.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatt<sup>a</sup> Agnello. In Caſa.

[*Colonial*, 34. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxii, No. 25, ii.]

Contratto fatto d'accordo fatta tra Michele Lok, Inghileſe, mercante, di Londra di vna parte, et Giouan Baptiſta Agnello, Vinetiano, reſidente in Londra di altra parte, come ſeguita.

Detto Michele Lok ha venduto et vende a detto Giouan Baptiſta Agnello la quantita di cento tonelli (ſi tanto ſi puo hauerve) di vinti centanari il tonello, cioe di libre cento et duodeci del peſo di Londra per ogani centanaro di terra o altra materia minerale di forte tale quale detto Michele ha dato al detto Giouan Baptiſta vna pezza per moſtro, laquale pezza ſta poſta in vna ſcatoletta ſigillata con ſigilli lori, et detta ſcatoletta ſta poſta dentro vna caſſetta ferrata con due ferrature et le chauè di quelle ſono in cuſtodia loro, et detta caſſetta è dato in mano et cuſtodia di \_\_\_\_\_ per guardarla a vſo loro per moſtro quando fara biſogno. La quale detta terra, o meteria minerale di forte ſopra detta, o altrimenti di forte tale quale detto Giouan Baptiſta o altro per lui uuole truouare et eligere in la terra nuouamente diſcorparta per Martin Forbiſer, o in gli altre terre circonuſine da diſcoprire, detto Michele promette a ſua ſpeza fare cauare di terra, et carigare in nave, et portare a Londra (Dio mandando la naue a ſaluamento) et iui conſignare a detto Giouan Baptiſta, lui pagando ſi come promette di pagare al detto Michele il precio di trenta lire moneta d'Inghilterra per ogni tonello di quella, fra termino di xij meſi dipoi conſignata in Londra, cioe ogni tre meſi la quarta parte dela valuta al precio ſopra detto di quanto montara la quantita conſignata di tempo in tempo. Et per piu cauſione et ſecurta di detto Michele, il detto Giouan Baptiſta, promette et ſi contenta che la detta terra et altra materia minerale reſtara in mano et puotere di detto Michele come roba ſua propria fin che il ſia fatiffatto di detto pagamento di danari, eccetto la parte di quella che detto Michele ha da conſignare al detto Giouan Baptiſta auanti mano per laurare ſopra il quale di poi ſi hauera di fare il pagamento ſopra detto di tempo in tempo. Et piu il detto Giouan Baptiſta promette al detto Michele di inſegnare a liu o a un altro che per lui fara affegnato, il uero muodo et Arte che detto Giouan Baptiſta vſara per cauare gli metalli dal detta terra o materia minerale, fra termino di ſei meſi dipoi la conſignatione dela prima parte di detta terra o materia minerale in Londra, et ancora darelì in ſcritto gli regoli et vero muodo di detto arte. Et per complire queſto contratto il detto Michele et il detto Giouan Baptiſta mutualmente l'un a l'altero ſe obligamo loro perſone et heredi et tutti beni di complire quanto di ſopra hamo promeſſo. et vogliano che queſto contratto et ſeritto ſia di tanto vigore et forſa quanto faria il meglio et piu valido ſcritto et obligatione che ſi

puoteria fare fecondo gli leggi d'Inghilterra o di altri leggi qual si vuoglia per accomplimento di quello. Et in fede di tutto ambe due hanno sotto scritti et figillati questo et un altro simile copia con loro mano proprio. Fatto adi xix di Marco, Ann<sup>o</sup> 1576, in Londra, by me,

MICHAEL LOK.

Jo. Giouābatta Agnello prometo confirmare quanti di sopra è detto et per fede de cio ho sotto scritto di mia propria mano et fogelato di mio fugello. [Seal.]

I, Jhon Barkeley, knighte, doo bynde my selfe, my heyres, executors, and affings to fullfyll all these covenants, articles, and agremts here above written to, and w<sup>th</sup> one Mychaell Lock, of the citie of London, merchant, w<sup>ch</sup> one Jhon Baptyfte Agnello hath promysed and here above covenanted to and w<sup>th</sup> the above said Mychell Locke, yn as ample mann<sup>r</sup> as the sayde Jhon Baptyfte ys bownde by the aforefayde covenants to fullfill the fame, yn wytnes wherof I have wrytten and fynghed thys byll w<sup>th</sup> my owne hande and name, and fealyed the fame also w<sup>th</sup> my feale of armes even the 19<sup>th</sup> day of Marche, An<sup>o</sup>. Dm. 1576, by me,

JHON BARKELEY.

[Seal.]

[*Colonial*, 34. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxii, No. 25, iii.]

Mag<sup>co</sup> et Honor<sup>do</sup> Sr Lok,

Mic venuto all' orecchie vn certo tuono inaspettato quale mi ha fatto inaraffiglia re molto, confiderando la promessa vostra mi facesti di tener el negocio nostro secreto la qual cosa non hauete fatto, anzi hauete cercato per tutta Londra se vi fassi qual cuno sapeffi far quello ch' io ho fatto, senza proposito alcuno, et mancando della fede: piu oltra hauete pro ferto alla Regino di dargli piro dieci per tonello di vna ccerta vostra minera, fondandoffi sopra le mie parole, il chi fu contra quello mi prometesti. Et se pur si doucua prescrire à sua Ma<sup>ta</sup> qualcosa, io l' harei potuto farc con piu fondamento et honesta che non hauete fatto voi, perche io gli harei parlato con sostancia et del mio et non farni bello delle mie forti che come hauete fatto voi. Et piu mi prometeste di venir à fugellare el vostro scritto, et non l' hauete fatto. Et anco mi prometeste di portarmi el restante della vostra minera, et non l' havete maneo fatto, per il che io confiderando tutte queste vostre qualita io son deliberato di non sequitar piu oltra, per tanto vi prego rimandatemi el mio scritto, et cercato chi meglio vi parera, ch' io per me non me ne voglio piu impaciare in conteniuno, et vi protesto oli non mandar per detto minera per mio conto ch' io non la voglio hauer in conto niuno. Et con questo miracco<sup>do</sup> di cuore, et prego Dio vi dia miglior fortuna con altri. Questo di x Aprile del 77. In casa.

H<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup> Giouābatta Agnello.

Al Molto Mag<sup>co</sup> Sr Michiel Lok.

1577 Jn<sup>o</sup> Bap<sup>ta</sup> Agnello. Rec<sup>d</sup> the 3 April, 1577.

(b) *The Second Voyage.*

## I. Frobisher's Petition.

[*Colonial, East Indies*, No. 28. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, No. 31.]

*Mr. Martin Furbishers* Petition to her Maj<sup>ie</sup> to be granted to her in respect of his Travail allready, and hereafter to be bestowed in discoverie of new Lands.

**That** it maye please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> in respect of the late discoveries I have made to the north west, and my greate charges and travaill performed therein to graunte to me and myne heires, for ever under yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> letters p<sup>at</sup>entes, the high Admirall-shipp by sea, as well of all those seas alreadie by me discovered or hereafter to be discovered, as also duringe my life the government and order by land of suche people of what nature soever they shalbe that shall inhabitt in any parte of those discoveries made or to be made by me and the same to be executed by my self or sufficiente deputie w<sup>th</sup> suche consideration of fee or allowunce for the execution therof as shall beste please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to bestowe on me for the same.

Ffurther, that it maie please yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to graunte me duringe my life for my travaill and service performed in thies discoveries fyve p<sup>ow</sup>ndes of the cleare gaine of every c<sup>um</sup>. that shalbe brought owte of the landes or islandes discovered or hereafter to be discovered by me to the north west. And after my deathe to myne heires forever xxx, 5, of every c<sup>um</sup>. of cleare gaynes to be brought as afore said.

Item, that I maie make free yerelie, duringe my life, of this voyage, six persons, so that for the firste yere they comme not in w<sup>th</sup> above c<sup>um</sup>. stocke, and after to adventure as all others shall do by order.

And also that every shipp freighted yerelie into thies new discoveries in consideration of the greate care I must take of them bothe in appointinge apte men to take charge of their shippes, and also must instruct them by fondrie orders and observations how to holde companie w<sup>th</sup> me shall, duringe my life, give me one toone freight of every c. toones to be brought from those places to be paide me in monie by the owner or owners of those shippes accordinge to the value they shall receive or to carrie me the freight of one toone at my choise.

2. Expenses & Equipment of the *Second Voyage*.

[*Colonial, East Indies, No. 32. Domestic Eliz., cxix, No. 33.*]

A Bryef Note of the Cofte and Charge of the iij Shippes and Furnytur  
for the Second Voyage for *Cathai*, etc.

	<i>li.</i>	
For the fhyp Ayde, to the Quenes Matie . . . . .	75 <sup>o</sup>	0 0
For the ij barkes Gabriel and Michael, w <sup>th</sup> almaner furnytur and ordonans . . . . .	400	0 0
For new buyldinge and tranflating the fame fhips and for new tackelyng and implementes . . . . .	650	0 0
For ordenans and munytion new bought . . . . .	550	0 0
For vyttelles . . . . .	950	0 0
For wags of men . . . . .	650	0 0
For neceffaryes, for the mynes and workmen . . . . .	150	0 0
For marchandyfe, for traffyke, and provifion . . . . .	300	0 0
Sum of all . . . . .	<i>li.</i> 4400	0 0

This account is but gessed very nere the trewth for that thaccounttes are not yett brought in perfectlye.

And the whole stock of the venturars fett downe in certayntye as yet dothe amonte but . . . . . 3000 0 0

Wherof is yet received but . . . . . *li.* 2500

And fo thear lachethe in stock of the venturars to fupplye this whole charge . . . . . *li.* 1400 0 0

Ffor the w<sup>ch</sup> fumme of *li.* 1400, the venturars are to take order presentlye to dyfcharge the debt owinge to dyvers men for thinges had for the furnytur of the faid fhyps and voyage, whiche is moft humbly befeched by Michael Lok, who hathe gyven his promeffe to them for the payment therof by order of the Commyffyoners.

[*Colonial, No. 29. Domestic Eliz., cxi, No. 49.*]

A Note of the Provifion and Furnytur neceffarye for the Second Voyage  
for the dyfcourye of *Kathai*, &c.

A great peece of this charge cut of, for thare went but one fhippe and two  
barckes in this viage.

	<i>li.</i>
A fhyp of cxi ton burden, w <sup>th</sup> tackelinge, ordenans, and munition . . . . .	1000
A fhyp of cxx ton burden, w <sup>th</sup> tackelings, ordenans, and munition . . . . .	800

ij barkes of burden xxv ton eche, w <sup>ch</sup> were in the first voiage, w <sup>th</sup> their tackelinge, ordenans, and munition, w <sup>ch</sup> now they have, and others to furnyshe and repayer the same, all . . . . .	45 <sup>o</sup>
v fhallop, botes, w <sup>th</sup> their takle and furniture, wherof ij w <sup>th</sup> clofe overlaps at xx <i>li</i> the pece, and iij open, at x <i>li</i> the pece . . . . .	70
A ship of c ton burden, to be fraighted for fyfthinge, in the Straytts where Furbysher was, and from thens to retorne, w <sup>th</sup> one of the barks in valew . . . . .	—
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> Sum of the shyps 2320 <i>li</i>

The vyttels for the 180 men, for the said ij shyps and ij barkes, for xviiij monthes, at xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> . the monthe, for eche man . . . . .	li2160 0 0
To fay in one ship 70 maryners, another 60 maryners, in the ij barkes 30 mariners, and twenty men of offyces and artyfyce. The wages before hand of thofe 180 men, for their provision, at iiij <i>li</i> the man, one w <sup>th</sup> another . . . . .	li600 0 0
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> Sum of all this—li5080 0 0

The marchandyse for stock, clothes, 50 carfeys, 200 cottons, 40 frizes, 10 tyn ijm. leade, ijm. coppar, and kettels ijm. and all other marchandyse . . . . .	li1200 0 0
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> Sum of all—li6280 0 0

That it would please the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> to graunt her letters patentts of priviledge in the Corparation to the fyrst Venturars and their successors, in ample maner.

That it would please Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> also to graunt auctoritie to Mr. Frobysher, for the government of the men in obediens.

That warrant may be graunted to take vyttells at reasonable pryces, and to prest men at reasonable wagys, and to take shyps at reasonable prayfement for the farvyce of this voyage, yf the Quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> shyps doo not farve.

That order may be taken by agreement of the venturars for offycers for the good government of the Company, and the mayntaynans of their pryvyledges, and to take the charge of the whole bufynes and accountts.

That the shyps may be redy to departe on their voyage by the x day of Marche.

That men may be named by secreet commiffion, to supplye the charge of Mr. Frobysher and Mr. Hawlle, vppon any myshappe, and to be kept secreet vntill tyme of nede.

[*Colonial*, 33. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxi, No. 48, i.]

26 of Marche, 1577.

Shippinge thowt myet to be employde in the Viage entented  
by *Mr. Furbufher*, viz.:—

	Tons.	Mariners.	Soldiers.	
The Ayde . . . .	200	65	25	} Men 115
The Gabriell . . . .	15	10	3	
The Myghell . . . .	25	10	2	
	<hr/> 240	<hr/> 85	<hr/> 30	

A preportion of vittouls for the faid 115 men.

(Byfket 16 tons.) Item byfket for v monthes of 28 daies to the monthe contayneng 140 daies after the rate of <i>1li</i> per man per diem, <i>xiiij<sup>mt</sup></i> iij c. iij quarters at <i>xiiij s. iij ct.</i> per c. . . . .	95 16 8
(Meale 30 tons.) Item meale for <i>xiiij</i> monthes contayneng 364 daies, 240 barrells contayneng eche barrell <i>iiij</i> bufhels w <sup>ch</sup> maketh 960 bufhells at <i>iiij s</i> per bufhell, <i>192li</i> mor for the barrells and gryndinge at <i>xxs.</i> per barrell 19 10 0 mownts . . . . .	211 10 0
(Biere 80½ tons.) Biere for vi monthes contayaneng 168 daies after the computation of one gallone aman per daie 80½ ton at <i>2li 5s</i> per ton w <sup>th</sup> caske iron whoopes and chardges . . . . .	181 2 6
(Wyne 5 tons.) Malmfey and fecke v tons at <i>xxli</i> per ton . . . . .	100 0 0
(Biefe 5 tons.) Bieffe for <i>iiij</i> monthes having fleshe daies 48, at <i>1li</i> a man per diem, <i>vij<sup>ml</sup></i> <i>iiij<sup>c</sup></i> weight grofe at <i>xiiij s</i> per c weight 51 16 0. Item for baye fawlte to preserve the fame 55 bufhels at <i>ijs</i> per bufhell 5 10 0. Item for <i>iiij</i> tons <i>ij</i> hogfheads of caske to packe the fame in at <i>xs</i> per ton, 2 5 0 mownts . . . . .	59 11 0
(Porke 15½ tons.) Porke for 15 lieke monthes contayneng 240 daies after the rate of <i>1li</i> weight aman per diem, <i>xxiiij<sup>ml</sup></i> <i>viiij<sup>c</sup></i> <i>xxiiij li</i> weight at <i>xiiij s</i> per c weight 173 15 0 more for 186 bufhels sawlte at <i>ijs.</i> 18 12 0 more for 15 ton ½ of caske at 10s per ton, 7 15 0 mownts . . . . .	200 2 0
(Peafee 10 tons.) Item peafe for 288 fleshe daies in the 18 monthes as afore faied allowinge to <i>iiij</i> men 1 q <sup>t</sup> of peafe per diem, 258 bufhels at 3s per bufhell 38 14 0 more for 10 tons of caske, 5 0 0. . . . .	43 14 0
(Stocke fyfhe 2½ tons.) Stocke fyfhe for 108 daies in ix monthes, as afore faied at 1 quarter of a fyfhe aman per diem, <i>iiij<sup>ml</sup></i> c fyfhes at <i>ijli</i> per c . . . . .	62 0 0

(Butter 2 tons.) Butter for the faied 108 daies at 1 quarter of a <i>li</i> weight eche man per diem, 3,105 <i>li</i> weight falte at iiijd per <i>li</i> 51 15 0 more, for wafte 250 <i>li</i> weight at iiijd per <i>li</i> weight 4 3 4 .	55 18 4
(Chiefe 4 tons.) Chiefe for other 108 daies at half-a- <i>li</i> weight aman per diem 6210 <i>li</i> weight subtill more 500 <i>li</i> weight for allowans of wafte amowntinge in the wholle to 6710 <i>li</i> weight at xvjs viijd per c weight . . . . .	55 18 4
(Otmeale 1½ ton.) Item otmeale 40 bufhels towardses the fuplyenge the want of fyfhe . . . . .	10 0 0
(Riefe 1½ ton.) Item riefe for the lieke caufe 2000 oz. . . . .	26 13 4
Item caske to stowe the faied otmeale and riefe in iij tons at xs per ton . . . . .	1 10 0
Item honney ij barrells at iij <i>li</i> vis viijd per barrell . . . . .	6 13 4
Item fallet oyle 1 hogfhead . . . . .	10 0 0
(Provision for store 8 tons.) Item vyneger 1 ton . . . . .	8 0 0
Item aquaviete ij hogfheads . . . . .	10 0 0
Item musterfeed iij bufhels . . . . .	1 10 0
Item candles xij c weight at iijd per <i>li</i> . . . . .	15 0 0
Item baye fawlte v ton at iij <i>li</i> per ton . . . . .	20 0 0
(Woode 14 tons.) Item wood xiiij <sup>ml</sup> at xiijs iiijd per <sup>ml</sup> . . . . .	9 6 8
(Sea coales 30 tons.) Item fea coales 20 chawders at xiijs iiijd per chawders . . . . .	13 6 8
(Charcoale 1 ton.) Item charcoales 1 loade . . . . .	1 6 8
Item fyfhing nets, fyfhing lyenes, hooks, harpinge irons and fuche lieke neffefaries . . . . .	8 0 0
(Provision for fick men.) Item to allowe the furgeone towardses the furneshinge of his cheafte . . . . .	6 13 4
Proynes 2 firkens . . . . .	2 0 0
Item reafons, almonds, liccores, etc. . . . .	2 0 0
(Provision for the apparelling of the men.) Item wollinge clothe for jirkens, breche and hofe, canvas and lynnenge clothe for dublets and fherts, hats, caps, and fhewes, etc. . . . .	100 0 0
(Chardgs). Item for land carriage, wharffage, labras packing of bief and pork, water carriage, and other extraordennarie, etc. . . . .	30 0 0
(Rigging, wages, and vittails.) Item for the rigginge, wages, and vittails of lx men for ij monthes to end the laft of Aprile next at xxijs vid aman per menfem . . . . .	127 10 0
(Prest monney vpon wages.) Item for the too monthes wages to be emprefted to the company at iij <i>li</i> per man . . . . .	230 0 0
(Merchandizes). For provision of merchandizes . . . . .	500 0 0
(The Ayde). The Ayde the firfte penny . . . . .	750 0 0



Item more to furnishe her w <sup>th</sup> ordenance, takle, apparrell and monytions, etc.		450	0	0
(The Gabriell.) The Gabriell throughly perfected in all respects .		180	0	0
(The Myghell.) The Myghell in lieke forte . . . . .		180	0	0
Item ij shallopes . . . . .		24	0	0
	2582 3 4			
	Sum of tons	226 tons	$\frac{1}{2}$	
	Sum of monney	3778 <i>li</i>	2	10
Item for the hier of a ship of cxx tons to waight vpon the ships to the Straight, etc. . . . .	500 <i>li</i>	4278	2	10
Item for divers extraordinary chardges . . . . .		221	17	2
	Sum of all <i>li</i> 4500	£4500	0	0

### 3. Names of the Venturars.

[*Colonial East Indies*, No. 50. *Domestic* cxix, No. 41.]

The Names of the Venturars in the Second Voyage for *Cathaiia*, &c., beydes their Venture in the Firft Voyage.

The Quenes Matie . . . . . 1000

#### The Privie Counfell.

The Lord Highe Treaforer, 50 . . . . . 100  
 The Lord Highe Admirall . . . . . 100  
 The Lord Chamberlayne, 50 . . . . . 100  
 The Erle of Warwyke, 50 . . . . . 100  
 The Erle of Bedford, 25 . . . . . 50  
 The Erle of Leycester . . . . . 100  
 Mr. Treaforer . . . . . 50  
 Mr. Controller . . . . . 50  
 Mr. Secretarie Walfyngham . . . . . 200

#### Other Venturars.

The Erle of Pembroke . . . . . 150  
 The Countesse of Warwyke . . . . . 50  
 The Countesse of Pembroke, 25 . . . . . 50  
 The Lady Anne Talbot, 25 . . . . . 50  
 The Lord Hounfdon . . . . . 50  
 The Lord Charles Howard . . . . . 50

Sir Henry Wallop, and others	200
Sir Thomas Gresham	100
Sir Leonell Duckett, 25	50
Sir William Wynter	200
Mr. Phillip Sydney, 25	50
— William Pellam	50
— Thomas Randolphe, 25	50
— George Wyntar	100
— Edward Dyar, 25	50
— Symon Boyer, 25	—
— Anthonye Jenkynfon, 25	50
— Mathew Smythe	50
— Geffrey Turvyle	50
— William Payntar	50
— Richard Boylland	50
— Mathew Ffyld, 25	50
— Edward Hogan	50
— Richard Yonge	50
— Thomas Allyn	50
— Chriftofer Huddefdon	50
— William Ormfhamc, 25	50
— Robert Kynderfley	50
— Michael Lok	200

[*Colonial*, 33. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxi, No. 48, II.]

Yere 1577.

The Venturers in the Second Voyage for *Cathay*, etc.

In the first voyage as folowethe.	<i>li.</i>
The Quenes Matie	500
50 My Lord Highe Treafuror	100
50 My Lord Highe Admirall	100
50 The Erle of Suffex	100
The Erle of Bedford	25
50 The Erle of Warwyke	100
50 The Erle of Leycefter	100
The Erle of Pembroke	100
My Lord Hounfdowne	50
My Lord Charles Howard	50

	Sir Frauncys Knowells . . . . .	50
	Sir James Croft . . . . .	50
25	Mr. Francys Walfyngham . . . . .	50
25	Mr. Phillip Sydney . . . . .	50
	My Lady Anne Talbot . . . . .	25
	Mrs. Mary Sydney . . . . .	25
100	Sir Thomas Grefham . . . . .	200
25	Sir Leonell Ducket . . . . .	50
	Sir Henery Knevet . . . . .	25
	Sir William Wyntar . . . . .	50
25	Mr. Thomas Randall . . . . .	50
	Mr. George Wyntar . . . . .	50
25	Anthony Jenkynfon . . . . .	50
	William Sakford . . . . .	25
	William Kylylgrew . . . . .	25
	Symon Boyer . . . . .	25
	Geffrey Turvyle . . . . .	25
	William Payton . . . . .	25
	Richard Boyland . . . . .	25
100	Michael Lok . . . . .	300
50	Edmond Hogan . . . . .	100
	Mathew Fyld . . . . .	50
100	William Bond, yonger . . . . .	200
25	Mathew Kyndersfley . . . . .	50
	Robert Kyndersfley . . . . .	50
25	Christofer Androwes . . . . .	50
25	Robert Martin . . . . .	50
<hr/>		
All 850	Henry Lok . . . . .	25
<hr/>		
	Thomas Marfhe . . . . .	25
	William Ormfhaw . . . . .	25
	Olyffe Burre . . . . .	100
	Thomas Chefter . . . . .	25
	Thomas Kelke . . . . .	25
	Thomas Aldworthe . . . . .	25
	Robert Halton . . . . .	25
	Of Briftow { . . . . .	25
	{ . . . . .	25
	{ . . . . .	25
	{ . . . . .	25
<hr/>		

1225

All the 30 Marche 1577 *li.* 2000

## 4. Report upon the Outfit.

[*Colonial*, No. 33. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxi, No. 48.]Report upon the Outfit for the *Second Voyage*.

It may please yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships to understand, whereas you have by yo<sup>r</sup> letters, bearing date the xvii<sup>th</sup> of this present, required that we should take upon us the care of the thorough and speedy setting further to the seas of Mr. Furber, with the shipping thought meet to pass with him for the discovery pretended. So it is that according to your honorable commandment we have travelled in the same, and do perceive as followeth: First, we do find as well by the examination of the said Mr. Furber, as also of the master that was with him in his last voyage, and other of that company whom we have particularly examined a part one from the other, and also upon divers and sundry other matters which we have perceived and weighed, that the supposed Straight which Mr. Furber doth set out is so far fourth as we can gather and judge a truth, and therefore a thing worthy in our opinions to be followed. The number of ships and other vessels with the men to go in them, the provision of victuals to be made, with all other necessaries fit for to serve for the said voyage, we have thoroughly considered thereof, and have set down the same in particulars which do amount to *iiiij<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> li*, as by the said particulars subscribed with our hands may plainly appear, towards the which we do likewise find that there is in provision as well in shipping as other necessaries to the value of one thousand pounds little more or less. So there is to be levied upon such as are, or will be the Adventurers, the residue of the fornamed some of *iiiij<sup>m</sup> v<sup>c</sup> li*, amounting to three thousand five hundred pounds, which matters before referred, we have thought it meet and our duties to reveal the same, not only to yo<sup>r</sup> Honors, but also to other partners of that Company of Adventurers in the forsaid voyage to tend that the same being known, speedy order may be taken that every person who hath entered into the Company, and set down such some of money as they will adventure, that they do forthwith take order to bring in their said some to Mr. Huggins, being appointed Treasurer of that Company, without the which nothing can be done, and if it should be any longer deferred, time would not serve this year to take the voyage in hand. And thus having shewed to yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships, and the rest, our travails and opinions in that behalf the which we leave to yo<sup>r</sup> honorable considerations, we rest praying God to preserve you. London, the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Marche, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Honorable LL. to command,

W. Wynter, Tho. Randolph, G. Wynter,

A. Jenkinson, Edmond Hogan, Michael Lok.

*The charge  
to set 3  
ships fourth  
4500li.*

*There is  
already in  
shipping  
about 1000li.*

*To be yet  
levied  
3500li.*

*Order to be  
taken that  
such as are  
entered into  
the Company,  
and set down  
their somes,  
may bring up  
the same w<sup>th</sup>  
speede.*

*Nothing can  
be done  
unless it be  
brought yn.*

*The tyme  
passeth, at-  
most past  
for y<sup>rs</sup> yere.*

## 5. Graunt from the Queene's Majestie.

[*Colonial*, 30. *Domestic Eliz.*, cx, No. 21.]Articles of Graunt from the Queene's Majestie to the  
Companye of Kathai.

That A, B, C, D, etc., all the names of the fyrst venturers, with M. Lok and M. Frobisher, in the fyrst vyage and attempt made for discovery of Kathai and other newlandes by the north west wards, shalbe one Companye and corporation for ever to them and their succcessors.

That the sayd Companye shalbe named the Companye of Kathai.

That they shall haue pour and auctoritie to admytt others into their corporation at their pleafurs.

That they shall haue poure and lybertie to assemble them selves and to kepe courtes when and wher they will.

That thosse which shalbe assembled being xv in number at the left, shal haue poure and auctoritie to chosse a governore, ii counsullers, and xii assystantts, to continew in their offyce for terme of iij yeres now nex comyng, and afterwards to chuse ij governors, iiij counsullers, and xxiiij assystantts, to contynew in offyce for iij yeres, and so to be renewed or changed from iij yeres to iij yeres.

That thosse which shalbe so assembled in court in number and order afforrayd, which the governor, ij counsullers, and xij assystantts, shall haue full poure and auctorytie to make lawes and ordynances and actes from tyme to tyme as they seme good for the good order and govermentt of the Companye, which shall bynd all the Companye to the dew obseruation therof, and maye sett fynes and penalties uppon the transgressors therof, and comytt them to pryson and attache their goodes untill they performe them.

That they may haue a fargant or offycer or twayne to execute their lawes and actes.

That they maye revok their former lawes, and mak other new lawes, as maye seme good from tyme to tyme for the good goverment of the Companye.

That they may haue a common seal.

That they may sewe and be sewed in all the courtes of the reame by name of the Company of Kathai.

That they may purchase landes and tennements to the vallywe of one hundreth poundes rent, and may sell and mak leafes.

That they may possesse and enjoye all their goodes.

That they may doo all things in as ample and beneficiall manner as any other corporation may doo.

That they and their succcessors, and their factors, fervantes, deputies, and assignes, shall haue free lybertie, poure, auctoritie, and pryvedge for ever at

*A corporation and all things to be omitted to be com- pressed in form of the charter of Moscovia.*

*As much  
herof as  
shall not be  
contrary to  
the former  
charters of  
the mer-  
chants of  
Moscovia to  
be accorded.*

their will and pleasure, to fayll, goo, and otherwyffe by any meanes to passe to and from all seas, waters, iles, landes, countryes, etc., saylinge or otherwyffe passinge from England, northward, westward, or fowthewarde, or by any other poynt of the sea compasse, betwene the northe, the west, and the southe, aswel under our banners and ensignes as otherwyffe without them, with whatsoever shippes and other vessells, and with all manner vythuall, munition and furnytur and necessaryes for the same, and with all manner of marchaundis and goodes for to feke, dyfcover, and fynd whatsoever seas, waters, iles, landes, regions, countryes, provences, and other places whatsoever, of whatsoever gentells, heathen, infidells, or other nations, fett and beinge in whatsoever part of the world, which before this tyme, and before the late vyage of difcovery made by Martyne Frobysher to the northewestwards hath been unknowne, or not commonly frequented, by the subjects of our reame of England for trade of marchaundise. And also in the same seas, waters, iles, landes, countryes, regions, provences, and other places, and to and from the same, shhall and may frelye at their wills and pleasurs from hence fourth for ever, use traffic and trade of merchaundise, and otherwise doo whatsoever bussines and thinges to them shhall seme good and convenyent for their owne proper vantage, comoditie, and proffyt, without theirby incuringe any manner of penaltie, forfayture, or other molestation or trowble whatsoever, notwithstanding any pryveledge or other actes, lawes, or thinges whatsoever to the contrarye herof in any wyffe.

That none other parson, subject, nor denyson of our realmes and domynions, nor any other of whatsoever nation, not beinge free of this Corporation or Companye, shhall passe by any meanes to nor from any of the sayd seas, landes, etc., nor vyfsett the same, nor therin do any featt of marchaundise, nor other bussines, without the speciall consent and lycence of the sayd Companye, under their common seall, graunted in courtt or otherwyffe then for the affayres and bussines of the sayd Companye by their order, uppon payne of losse and forfeyteure, *ipso facto*, of all shippes, vessells, and goodes whatsoever, transported to or from any of the sayd countryes or places, or the vallew therof, the halfe to the Quene, the other halfe to the Company, to be taken or sewed for by seafure or accyon of debt or otherwyffe in any of the Quene's courtes, etc.

That to their best poure and abilitie they may forbyd, withstand, and repullse all other parsons of whatsoever nation that shhall dysturbe or interrupt them, or intermedle in their trade of marchaundis or otherwyffe in any their attemptes in any of the sayd seas, lands, countrys, or other places before sayd, without therby incuringe any penalties or daunger of our lawes, etc.

That of all the marchaundis which they shhall carrye out of our reames and domynions they shhall pay no more nor greater custome, subfedy, nor other dewties unto us nor to our heyres, then is now dewe or shhall be dew to us by our subjectes by the lawes and customes of our reame.

That of all the goodes, wares, and marchaundis which they shall bringe into England from the countryes afforſayd they ſhall pay but halfe cuſtome, ſubſedyes, and other dewties now dew to us, for the terme of xx yeres now next enſewinge, and afterwardes ſhall paye to us and our heyres for ever no more but 5*£* of 100*£* of the vallew of the ſame marchaundife that they ſhall bringe in, accordinge to the vallewation therof, now vſed in our cuſtoms in London.

That they ſhall freeley and at their pleaſure tranſport out of our reames and domynions into any other reames and countryes all ſuch wares and marchaundis as they ſhall bringe in and not ſell in our domynions, free, without payment of any cuſtome or dewtie to us outwardes for the ſame, notwithstandinge any lawes to the contrarye, etc.

And furdernore, in conſideration of the induſtry, good direction, and great travayll of Michail Lok of London, mercer, in the fyrſt voyage lately attempted by Martyne Frobyſher, gent., for dyſcovery of Kathai and other new landes by the northewſtwards, we doo grauntt and will that the ſayd Michail Lok ſhalbe the fyrſt governore of the ſayd Companye, to contynew in that offyce for terme of his lyffe, except he will reſygne the ſame. And alſo in conſideration of his great coſt, charges, and venture for the proviſion and furnytüre of the forſayd fyrſt voyage of dyſcoverye, we do grauntt and will that he ſhall haue, receive, and tak of the ſayd Companye to his owne vſe and behoffe for ever, the rate of one of every hundreth of all the wares, goodes, and marchaundis that ſhalbe brought into England or other countryes for accountt of the ſayd Companye, accordinge to the rate and vallew therof in the payment of cuſtome to the Quene's majeſtie.

And lykewyſe, in conſyderation of the induſtry, good order, and great travayll of Martyne Frobyſher, gent., in the execution of the fyrſt voyage latly made in his own parſon for the dyſcovery of Cathai and other new landes by the northe-  
weſtwardes, we do grauntt and will that the ſayd Martyne Frobifher, dewringe terme of his naturall lyffe, ſhalbe High Admyrall of all ſeas and waters, countryes, landes, and iles, as well of Kathai as of all other countryes and places of new dyſcovery. And alſo in conſyderation of his good farvyce therein, we do grauntt and will that he ſhall haue, receive, and tak of the ſayd Companye to his owne proper vſe and behoffe for ever the rate of one of every hundreth of all the warres, goodes, and marchaundife that ſhalbe brought into England or other countryes for accountt of the Companye, accordinge to the rate and vallew therof in the payment of cuſtome to the Quene's majeſtie.

That all the malle chyldren of all the fornamed parſons, which weare fyrſt venturers of the Companye, and alſo the heyres malle of every of the ſayd malle chyldren for ever, ſhalbe admytted into the lyberties and pryveledges of the ſayd Companye gratis from tyme to tyme.

## 6. Articles consented and agreeede.

[*Colonial*, No. 31. *Domestic Eliz.*, cx, No. 22.]

Articles confented and fully agreeede by the Company of Kathaye.

Thatt the Company shalbe named the Company of Kathay.

Thatt Michael Lok shalbe Governour for vj yeres next ensuinge.

Thatt A. B. shalbe Confullor for iij yeres.

Thatt A. B. C. shalbe Affistante for iij yeres.

Thatt A. shalbe Agente for iij yeres, to doe all the buifnes of the Company, according to order of the Company, and shall have stipende yerely.

Thatt Edmond Hogan shalbe Trefourror for iij yeres.

Thatt in consideracion of the industry, good direction, & payns takinge of Michael Lok in the first viage latly attempted for discouery of Kathay & other new landes, by the Northwestwardes, and also of his great coft, charges, and venture for the provision and furnytur of the same, he shall haue, receiue & take of the Company to his owne vse for ever, the rate of one of every 100, of all the wares, goodes and marchandise, thatt shalbe brought into England or other countries for account of the Company, accordinge to the rate & valew therof in the payment of custome to the Quene's Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

Thatt in consideracion of the like industry, good order & great travile of Martyn Frobisher, gent., in the execution of the firste viage latly made in his owne parson, for the discouery of Kathay and other new landes by the Northwestwardes, he shalbe general Captayne by sea and Admyrall of the shippes & navie of the Company duringe his life, and shall have stipend yerely duringe his life, and also shall have, receve & tak of the Company to his owne vse for ever the rate of one of 100 of all the wares, goodes and marchandise thatt shalbe brought into England or other countries for account of the Company, according to the rate & valew therof in the payment of custome to the Quene's Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

Thatt from hence forth for ever the some of one hundreth poundes of Englifhe money shalbe accompted one single parte or share in stok of the Company.

Thatt every parson of this Company as well those w<sup>ch</sup> now are the first ventures as all others w<sup>ch</sup> hereafter shalbe free of this Company & wilbe venturers, shall put into accompt for their stock one hundredth poundes of English money, w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe accompted for one single parte and as many more lik single partes as they please, nott beinge above five single partes, and as the traffick from tyme to tyme will suffer to occupy great stock.

Thatt every one of the first venturers shall haue liberty to put in stock doble number of single partes of any other of the venturers from tyme to tyme.

Thatt every new stock of new account from tyme to tyme shall contenenw for iij yeres, and att thatt tyme thaccompt therof shalbe clearly made up and fynysed,



& therof divydent then shalbe made, & shalbe paid to every one of the Company venturars in thatt accompt, or to the heires or executors of those w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe deade in thatt meane tyme all thatt shalbe founde dew to them vpon thaccompt accordinge to the rate of their stok therin put.

Thatt all fuch parfons as shalbe admitted into the fredome of this Company att this next cominge viage & venture to be made, shall paye for a fyne xxx poundes towards the charges and loffes sustayned by the venturars of firste viage made for difcouery.

Thatt Mychaell Lok and Martyne Frobusher shalt haue libertye to assigne x parfons to be admytted into the fredome of this Company gratis, att their pleasure, thatt is to faye, each of them to assigne five parfons.

Thatt no parson shalbe admitted into the fredome of this Company after this next coming viadge to be made vntil the ende of iij yeres & fynysinge of that accompt.

Thatt all other parfons w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe admitted into the fredome of this Company by redemption after the faide iij yeres tyme & ende of thatt accompt, shall paye for a fyne tow hundreth poundes of money, to the vse and benefitt of the whole Company.

Thatt a competent howse and warehowse shalbe highred for the buifnes of the Company, and officers & fervants nedfull for the same.

Thatt all the goodes & marchaundise of the Company shalbe marked w<sup>th</sup> the mark in the margent.

Thatt all the male children of all the forenamed parfons which weare first venturars of this Company, & also the heires male of every of the faid male children for ever, shalbe admitted into the liberties & privedge of the faide Company (gratis) from tyme to tyme.

Thatt fuch of the Company as shall dye w<sup>th</sup>out male children may give and assigne over his fredome of this Company to one other parson, by his last will and testament.

## 7. A Brief Note of all the Cost.

[*Colonial, East Indies, No. 26. Domestic, cxix, No. 32.*]

A Brieff Note of all the Cost and Charge of the ij Shippes *Gabriell* and *Michaell* and their Pynnasse with all their Furnytur for the *Fyrst Voyage* to *Cathay*, etc., sent with *Martyn Ffurbyssher* in June, anno 1576.

	<i>li.</i>
Ffor the hull of the new shipp Gabriell . . . . .	83 0 0
For the new pynnasse of vij ton . . . . .	20 0 0
For the shippe Michaell, with old takle and furnytur . . . . .	120 0 0

For new takling and rigging them all . . . . .	229	16	10
For ordenance and municion . . . . .	100	8	4
For instrumentes of navegacion . . . . .	50	14	0
For vittuall for the whole voyage . . . . .	387	14	10
For men's wages paid before hand . . . . .	213	17	8
For marchandiz for traffick . . . . .	213	5	8
	<hr/>		
Sume of all the charge appering particularly bie account . . . . .	<i>li</i> 1418	17	4
And nowe wages and charges paid fyns the retorne of the shippes home untill the end of December anno. 1576 . . . . .	<i>li</i> 195	1	11
	<hr/>		
Sume totall . . . . .	<i>li</i> 1613	19	3
	<hr/>		

And all the whole stok of the adventurers fett down in certaintie were but . . . . .	875	0	0
So there lakid in stok of the adventurers to supply the whole charge . . . . .	<i>li</i> 738	19	3
Ffor the which fume of <i>li</i> 738 19s 3d the venturers are to confider towardses Mighell Lok, who did pay and difburfe the fame for them so long tyme as thaccountes shall declare to his great hyndrans and great danger if it had been loft.			
After the retorne home of the faid ij shippes were fold divers parcells of the merchandiz and vittuall which wold not kepe good as particularly by account apperith . . . . .	<i>li</i> 117	18	7
And all the rest of the shippes and goodes remayning were valued and fold to the account of the second voyage as follows:—			
For the marchandiz . . . . .	<i>li</i> 148	5	5
For the ij shippes . . . . .	400	0	0
For wyne and other vittualls an divers implementes . . . . .	147	15	3
Sume of the remayner fold and charged in account of the second voyage . . . . .	696	0	8
Sume of all the discharge of this first voyage amountes . . . . .	813	19	3
So ther was left clare by this first voiage with the stok of the adven- turers must bere untill God fend better successe . . . . .	800	0	0
And so restith still good in stok of this first voyage <i>li</i> 75 0s 0d which is putt to the account of the second voyage with god increasse . . . . .	<i>li</i> 75	0	0

8. State Papers subsequent to the *Second Voyage*.

- I. Mr. Lockes Memorial.
- II. Order for the Shippes to unload.
- III. Lift of thofe that now defyre to be Venturars.
- IV. What Michael Lok hathe done for the Voyage.
- V. The Bryefe Account of the Expenses of the Second Voyage.

State Papers relative to the Trial of the Ore  
subfequent to the Second Voyage.

- I. Dr. Burcot on his Triale of the Owre.
- II. From Mr. Lok what Charges are requifite for the fynynge of the Ewre.
- III. From My Lords to Mr. Lok to collect £900 of the Venturers.
- IV. From Mr. G. Le Brum, Tryall of Metal falling not owt.
- V. From Dr. Burcot, a Prooffe of how much Gowld and Silver a Pound of Ore yieldeth.
- VI. A Little Bundle of the tryeing of the Northwest Ewre.
- VII. From Dr. Burchart to Mr. Secretary Walfyngham touchyng the Northwest Ewre.
- VIII. A Declaration of the Value of the Northwest Ewre.
- IX. From Dr. Burcot touchyng his Cunynge and Offer about tryinge the Ewre.
- X. To the Lord Treafurer and Lord Chamberlain abowte the Northwest Ewre.
- XI. The Accompte taken at Mufcovie Houfe of cc weight of the Ewre.

[*Colonial*, 51. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxv, No. 35.]

*Mr. Lockes Memorial.*

To the Quenes Maties moft honorable Privye Councill.

Maye it pleafe yo<sup>r</sup> honors in moft humble maner to be advertifed.

The ij fhips *Ayde* and *Gabriell* are arived at Bristowe in faffetye accordinge to yo<sup>r</sup> honors orders.

And yf yo<sup>r</sup> honor's doo think it good to dyfcharge the ure on land there yt may pleafe yo<sup>r</sup> honors to gyve order (under correccion) that Mr. Furbifher may delyver the fame by weight, and that the fame may be kept in the castell or other faffe place there under iiij feverall lokes and keys wherof one w<sup>th</sup> the Mayor of Bristowe, one w<sup>th</sup> Sir Richard Barkley, one w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Furbifher, and one w<sup>th</sup> Michael Lok, or any other of the venturars as fhall feeme good to yo<sup>r</sup> honors. Alfo there is to

*The dif-  
pofing of  
the ore at  
Bristowe.*

be payd presently upon the dyschargenge of the ships ladynge viij<sup>c</sup> poundes of money or more for the wagys of the fouldiars and maryners w<sup>ch</sup> have farved w<sup>ch</sup> doo remayne styll at charges of the companye for meate and wagys untill they be payd the w<sup>ch</sup> sayd money cannot be found in London upon interest nor exchange notw<sup>th</sup>standinge the dyllygens used by the Commyssyoners to take up the same wherefore for the provision therof restethe but ij meanes. Fyrst yf it would please the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> to prest the same for iij monthes untill the ore may be melted downe w<sup>ch</sup> may be received of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> customars or other offycers at Brystowe or ells the same must be ceassed and collected of all the venturars accordinge to the rate of their stok ventured w<sup>ch</sup> would be but xxv<sup>li</sup> for every c<sup>li</sup> of their venture, but it would be very longe tyme and moche dyfficultye in collection.

*The wages to furnishe money for ye discharge of the marinars and souldiers.*

Also the ship *Michael* is now in the Ryver of Tamys arived in saffety by Gods grace and the same ship must be presently dyscharged at London. And the Comyssoners doo think good to put the ure in saffe custodye in the howsse wher Sr. Willm Wynter dothe now dwell at St. Katheryns hyll, where they have already made a furnace to melt downe the same. May it please yo<sup>r</sup> honors to gyve order that the same may also be delyvred by weight and kept under iiij loks and keys to be [in] the custodye of Sr William Wyntar, Mr. Thomas Randall, Mr. Furbisher, and Michael Lok or others as to yo<sup>r</sup> honors [semethe] good. Also yt may please yo<sup>r</sup> honors to gyve ordre and auctoritie to the sayd Commyssioners w<sup>ch</sup> are Sr William Wyntar, Mr. Thomas Randall, George Wyntar, Anthonye Jenkynton, Edmond Hogan, Michael Lok. And to joyne to them Mr. Furbisher or any others that yo<sup>r</sup> honors shall lyke that they maye consulte and determyne for the spedye meltynge downe of the ure bothe at London and at Brystowe.

*To appoynte commyssoners to looke to the melting.*

*Michael Lockes request.*

And wheras Michael Lok for the advancement of this voyages for the space of iij yeres of his own goodwyll hathe taken the paynes and charge of keypyng all accountts to reconynces frely w<sup>th</sup>out any recompence, and hathe byn named trefourer, thoughte he hathe had but lytle trefour in his keypynge. Now yf yo<sup>r</sup> honors doo lyke well of his doynge acordinge to his small power yt may please yo<sup>r</sup> honors to ratifye hym in that offyce to take charge of the money and treasour of this companye to account and hereafter to confyder of hym for his paynes and doynge as to yo<sup>r</sup> honors shall feeme good or his defectes shall appere.

[*Colonial*, 55. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxvi, No. 14.]

xiiij *Die Octobris*, 1577. A Note of Money presentlye to be disbursed for Maryners Wages of the three Shippes returned w<sup>th</sup> *Mr. Furbuffher*.

In primis for the wages of an hundreth maryners in all the three shippes, at severall rates, from x<sup>s</sup> to vj<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for a man the moneth, amounteth to the some of

cxl<sup>li</sup> the moneth, w<sup>ch</sup> from the firft of June unto the laft of October beinge ffyve monethes, amounteth in the hole to y<sup>e</sup> fomme of DCC<sup>li</sup>.

At x<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> men. Item for wages for xxvj<sup>li</sup> fouldiors, for the fayde ffyve monethes, as it fhall pleafe yo<sup>r</sup> honors.

Item for recompence for xiiij gentilmen duringe the tyme aforefayde, as it fhall pleafe yo<sup>r</sup> honors to confyder of fome reasonable porcion of the adventure.

This money cannot yet be found to be taken uppon interest nor exchange.

And yf it be levied by collection uppon the venturars, it will come to xxv<sup>li</sup> uppon everie c<sup>li</sup> of the<sup>r</sup> venture.

Item, whether their honors doo continew in mynde that the ij fhips at Bristow fhall difcharge there or come to London.

Item, whether Michael Lok fhall contynew ftill Treaforer or not.

*Indorfed.* For the fhips of Cathai to be unladen.

[*Colonial*, 55. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxvi, No. 24.]

An Order of My Lords, the 16 of October, 1577, for payment to be made to the Mariners and Souldiers of the *Cathay Viage*.

Where as there is prefently to bee difburfed for the difcharge of fuche mariners and fouldiers as have been employed in the viage towards the northweft under Captayne Ffurbifher, the fomme of eight hundrethe powndes, yt is ordred that fuche as have been adventurers in the fayd viage fhould contribute toward the difcharge of the fayd fomme of viij<sup>li</sup>, after twentic in the hundrethe, *pro rata*, w<sup>ch</sup> fayd contribution is thought alfo meete to bee delivered into the handes of Michaell Locke, Treaforer for the Companie, beynge appointed to give bylles figned under his hand for fuche fomme as he fhall receive.

[*Colonial*, *East Indies*, 54. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, No. 44.]

Thefe defyre now to be venturars in the goodes now come home, w<sup>ch</sup> may be graunted uppon the whole ftok now come home, or ells in the next adventure, as yo<sup>r</sup> honors fhall thynk good.

My Lord Kepar . . . . .	li25
Therle of Bedford . . . . .	li25
Mr. Controllar . . . . .	li25
The Erle of Oxford . . . . .	li25
My Lord Hunfdon . . . . .	li25
My Lord Charles Howard . . . . .	li25
My Lord of Comerland . . . . .	li25
My Lord Cobham . . . . .	li25
My Lord Wharton . . . . .	li25

Mr. Hatton . . . . .	li25
Mr. Hennage . . . . .	li25
Mr. Horfey . . . . .	li25
Sr Humfrey Gilbert . . . . .	li25
Mr. Woolley . . . . .	li25
William Kylygrew . . . . .	li25
Thomas Dudley . . . . .	li25
Raffe Lane . . . . .	li25
Hew Smythe . . . . .	li25
John Dee . . . . .	li25
Jeffrey Ducket . . . . .	li25
Thomas Nyccolls . . . . .	li25
	<hr/>
	li500
Francis Mylles . . . . .	li25
Laurens Tomfon . . . . .	li25
Arture Dawbney . . . . .	li25
John Capelin . . . . .	li25
Thomas Cefar . . . . .	li25

[*Colonial, East Indies, 70. Domestic Eliz., cxxx, No. 35.*]

The Names of the Venturars of bothe the Voyages made by  
*Martin Furbusher, Gent. to the North-west, anno 1576 and anno 1577.*

	Stok.	Ceffement.
The Quenes Matie . . . . .	li1000	li200
In the first voiage		
li50 The Lord Highe Treaforer . . . . .	li100	li20
The Lord highe Admyrall . . . . .	li100	li20
li50 The Lord highe Chamberlayn . . . . .	li100	li20
50 The Erle of Warwyke . . . . .	li100	li20
50 The Erle of Leycefter . . . . .	li150	li30
Mr. Treaforer of the Q. Matie household	li50	li10
25 Mr. Secretarie Walfingham, for hym fellffe and others . . . . .	li400	li80
Mr. Secretarie Wyllfon . . . . .	li50	li10
	£2050.	
The Erle of Pembroke . . . . .	li150	li30
The Countesse of Warwyke . . . . .	li50	li10
The Countesse of Pembroke . . . . .	li25	li5
The Lady Anne Talbot . . . . .	li25	li5

25	Mr. Phillip Sydney . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
100	Sr Thomas Gresham . . . . .	<i>li</i> 200	<i>li</i> 40
25	Sr Leonell Duckett . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Sr William Wyntar . . . . .	<i>li</i> 200	<i>li</i> 40
	William Pellham . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Edward Dyar . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
25	Thomas Randolphe . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	George Wyntar . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Mathew Smythe . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Symon Boyer . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
25	Anthony Jenkynson . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Jeffrey Turvile . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	William Payntar . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Richard Bowlland . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Robert Kynderfley . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
50	Edmond Hogan . . . . .	<i>li</i> 100	<i>li</i> 20
25	Mathew Fylld . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Richard Yonge . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Thomas Allyn . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	William Ormfhawe . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
<i>li</i> 500		<i>li</i> 3575	<i>li</i> 715
	Christofer Hudfon . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Thomas Owen . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
	John Dee . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
	Julio Cefar . . . . .	<i>li</i> 50	<i>li</i> 10
	Eleazar Lok . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
	Gerfon Lok . . . . .	<i>li</i> 25	<i>li</i> 5
	Martin Furbufher . . . . .	<i>li</i> 100	<i>li</i> 20
100	Michael Lok . . . . .	<i>li</i> 1000	<i>li</i> 200
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		<i>li</i> 1300	<i>li</i> 260
	100 William Burde <i>li</i>		<i>li</i> 20
	100 William Bonde <i>li</i>		<i>li</i> 20
£275	25 Mathew Kynderfley <i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 55	<i>li</i> 5
	25 Christofer Androwes <i>li</i>		<i>li</i> 5
	25 Robert Martyn <i>li</i>		<i>li</i> 5
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£375		<i>li</i> 315
	£500		<i>li</i> 715
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Stok 875	Received the first voyage		<i>li</i> 1030
			Ceffement.

	<i>li</i> 1300		<i>li</i> 800 first voiage spent
	<u><i>li</i>3575</u>		<u><i>li</i>4350</u> second voiage paid
Venturars	<i>li</i> 4875 of first and second voiages		<i>li</i> 5150 paid all the stok
	<u><i>li</i> 275</u> of first voiage onelie		outward.
Received	<i>li</i> 5150 all the stok.		
Received by the faid ceffement		paid for the mynes	<i>li</i> 198
of 20 <sup>li</sup> for 100 <sup>li</sup> stok	<i>li</i> 1030	paid for mens wagys of the	
		ijj ships come home	<u><i>li</i>1044</u>
		Somme paid the 24 De-	<i>li</i> 1242
		cembar 1577	

[*Colonial, East Indies, 75. Domestic Eliz., cxix, No. 30.*]

*Michael Lok* hathe done for the Voyage of *Cathai*, as folowethe.

XXV yeres studee and travaylle to fatiffye his knowledge thereof.

M<sup>l</sup> poundes spent for thinges necessarrie for his satisfaction of knowledge therof in bookes, maps, cartes, instrumentes, and gyftes to men for conference therof; wherof is not one peny put to the account beydes all his howshold charges.

M<sup>l</sup> m<sup>l</sup> cccc<sup>li</sup> powndes paid and difburfed by hym fellfe for furniture of the first and second voyages over and above all that he received of all other venturars w<sup>ch</sup> *li*2400 he dyd beare venture of in the same first and second voyages untill the shyps returned home.

W<sup>ch</sup> faid *li*2400 was for the fums of venture wrytten uppon the names folowinge, w<sup>ch</sup> was not paid hym untill the ships returned, and is not yett all paid hym, but he had promes of fum of them.

My Lord Highe Treaforor	<i>li</i> 50
My Lord of Leycester	<i>li</i> 100
S <sup>r</sup> Thomas Grefham	<i>li</i> 100
Mr. Doctour Wyllfon	<i>li</i> 50
George Wyntar	<i>li</i> 50
Symon Boyer, he gave pledge	<i>li</i> 25
Richard Owen	<i>li</i> 25



Julio Cefar	} M. L.	. . . . .	li25
Thomas Cefar		. . . . .	li25
Eleazar Lok		. . . . .	li25
		Summe .	li475
For Michael Lok hym fellfe		. . . . .	li1000
For the fecond voiage. Sum		. . . . .	li1475
M. Lok in firft voyage		. . . . .	li825
Ventured by M. Lok		. . . . .	li2300
<i>Indorfed.</i> Mr. Lock's privat memorandum.		1576 and 1577.	

[*Colonial*, 94. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 32.]

The Bryef Account of the Second Voyage, 1577.

Rec <sup>d</sup> of all the venturers	Paid for the <i>Ayde</i> . . .	li850	
for their stokes . . . .	For the <i>Michaell</i> and		
. . . . li5150	<i>Gabriell</i> . . . .	li400	
	For taklinge and rigginge	li577	7
	For ordnance and muni-		
	tion . . . . .	li467	5 1
	For vyttells . . . . .	li963	18 3
	For wages outwards . . .	li600	12 9
	For necessaries for the		
	mynes . . . . .	li123	8 4
	For marchandyse . . . .	li346	5 0
		li4328	17 6
	For charges outwards . .	21	2 6
		li4350	0 0
	For losse spent firft voiage	li800	0 0
	Sum paid . . . . .	li5150	0 0
Rec <sup>d</sup> of fupplie of	Paid after the ships re-		
venturers to paye	torne; paid outwards		
wages at retorne of	above the stoke re-		
the shippes . . . . .	ceived . . . . .	li1	15 2
. . . . li1030			



	To Mr. Fenton, targats	£10	0	0
	To Ed. Selman, briftowe	£16	0	0
	To Thomfon, carpenter	£30	0	0
	To Hitchecoke, carpenter	£20	0	0
	To Poyntell, baker	£50	0	0
	To Mathew, baker pyn-			
	naffes	£12	0	0
	To Ro. Denam, addita-			
	mentes	£10	0	0
	To Jeronias ftoves	£10	0	0
	To S. Burow, pynnaffe	£6	0	0
	To Thomfon, carpentar	£30	0	0
	To other od charges,			
	17 Aprill	£16	0	0
	To Mr. Frobifer acc.			
	40. 10. 10.	£60	0	0
	To Vyllers colles	£10	0	0
	To Croker, fmithe	£5	0	0
	To L. Admiralls man	£2	0	0
	To Stanley, currier, for			
	lether	£5	0	0
	To Mr. Fenton	£10	0	0
	To Mr. Furbusher,			
	briftowe	£596	5	0
	To the shippe <i>Hopewell</i>	£50	0	0
	To Jonas	£10	0	0
	To John Hayles, Dartford	£12	0	0
	Somme paid	£1958	18	0
	Paid for fecond voyage	£901	4	7
	Sum paid	£2860	2	7
	Payments as follow <sup>th</sup>			
	Sum paid reſte	£407	15	7
	The 23 Aprill 1578.			
	To Thomas Willfon,			
	coopar	£10	0	0
	To Thomfon, carpentar	£20	0	0
	To Augar, chaundler	£20	0	0
	The 24 faid [month].			
	To Mr. Hawle, Briftowe	£12	0	0
	To Chanfelor purfer.	£8	0	0
Receyt as ffollow <sup>th</sup>				
Of Mr. Dowgle	£33	15	0	
Of Sr Tho. Grefham	£70	0	0	
Of Lord Treforer	£100	0	0	
The 2 May 1578				
Of Sr Thomas Grefham	£100	0	0	
Of Rich. Young	£50	0	0	
Of Chriſtofer Hudfon	£67	10	0	
Of Ed. Hogan	£95	0	0	
£416	5	0		

To Shawe for butter .	£20	0	0
To Mr. More shipe <i>Foy</i>	£48	0	0
To Mr. Rafheley shipe <i>Foy</i> . . . . .	£48	0	0
The 26 faid			
To Whitnall, coopar .	£10	0	0
To Morris, tente maker	11	9	0
To Baker, shipwright .	£16	0	0
To Poyntell, baker, of Lymehoufe . . . . .	£50	0	0
To Thomfon, carpentar	£30	0	0
To Vyllars, fecoles .	£21	5	0
To Mr. Fenton . . . . .	£30	0	0
To Chanfelar purfer .	£13	18	0

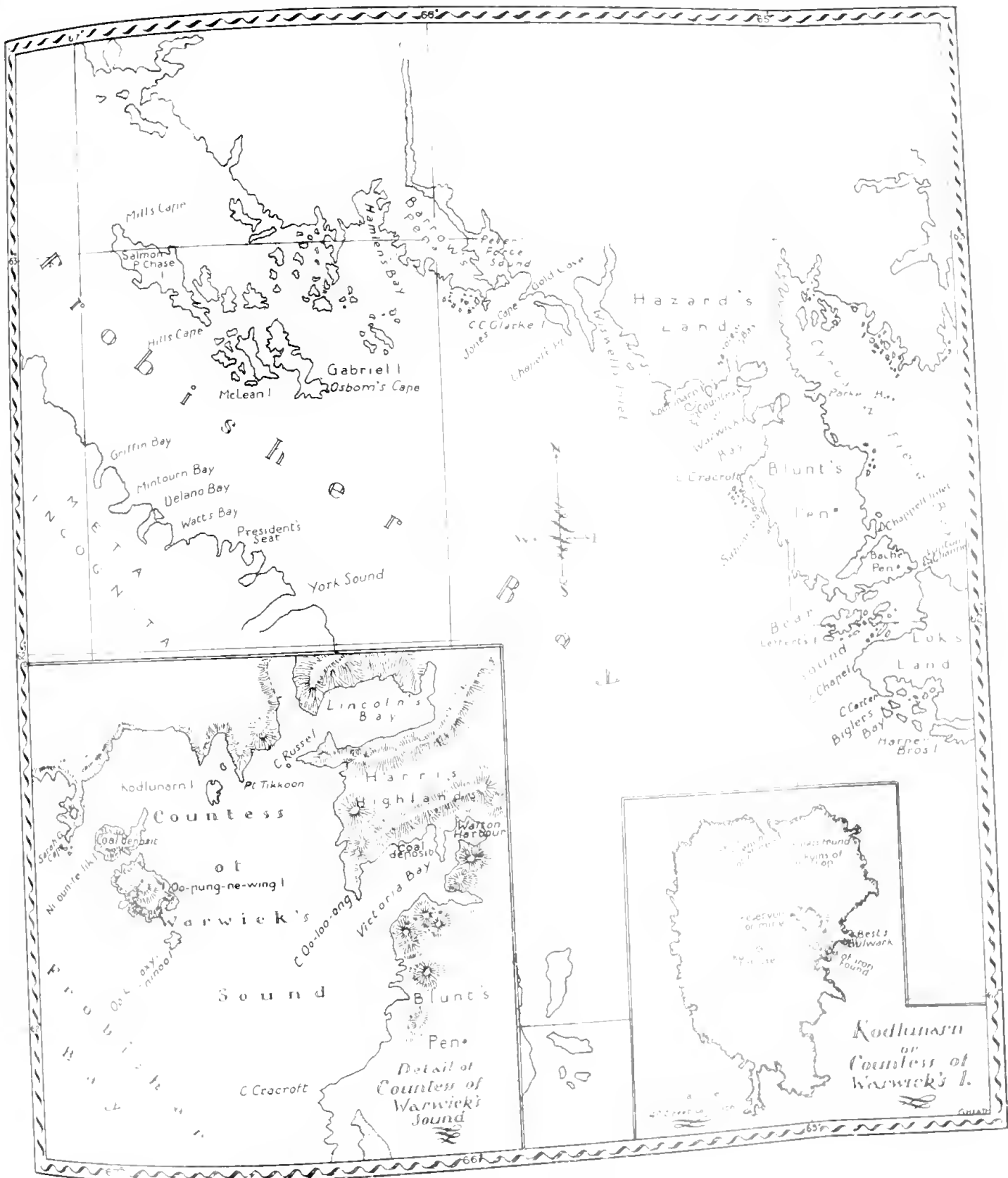
The 30 April, 1578.

To men of Judeth wagys	£110	0	0
To Shaw, for fyft . . . . .	£40	0	0
To Thomfon, feacoles .	£18	10	0

The 3 May.

To Whitnall, coopar .	£5	0	0
To Willfon, cans . . . . .	£4	4	0
To Ffrances Lee, ship .	£30	0	0
To Thomfon, carpenter	£20	0	0
To Eliot, brife . . . . .	£5	0	0
To Maryners, Judethe wages . . . . .	£55	0	0
To Dowd, coopar . . . . .	£2	0	0
To Newfon, clokemaker	£6	12	0
To J. Roberts, bellowes	£4	16	8
To Hopkins, fnyth . . . . .	£2	15	6
To Morris, tent maker	£15	0	0

1095.





9. State Papers relative to the Trial of the Ore  
subsequent to the *Second Voyage*.

[*Colonial*, 77. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 3.]

January 6th, 1577. From *Dr. Burcott* of his Proceedynge in the Triall  
of the Owre.

My humble commendacions Sir Walfingame I gyve you moft hartie thanks for your labour and delygence for the performinge of your promyffe and the fendinge of my pattane and, I hope by Godes grace to performe my promyffe towards you I had or this fertefied your Honore the trewe matter off this ower and my proves butt God hathe towched me fo hard w<sup>th</sup> the gowte that I have kept my bed this thre wekes and do yett, and I fertefie your Honore off a trothe that I have mayd a hundred dyvers fayes of fondry owers out of that lande, and I fynde not fuch goodnes in yt as I thought to have founde not profedinge half an ounce, as the blacke ower ys and I have prepared and rofted accordinge as I promyffed you, and I cane bringe yt to no clay but I have moltine doune a pounce, and hathe founde in yt fouer graynes as by this prove I have sent you dothe appere that will come in a houndred weight almoſte thre quarters of an ounce that is nere xiiii ounces in a tonne and I dout not when yt is right prepared yt will faule out in the great fyere very well and I am mynded as ſone as I am able w<sup>th</sup> my bodye I will melte doune a hundred weight and fend you that prove accordinglye. So I byd you fare well w<sup>th</sup> my humble difier to advertiſe the Quene's Heignes and my Lord of Lafyter. Datum the vi of January.

Your humble to comand,

Burchard Kranrych.

To his honorable and finguler good frend Sir Fraunces Walfing e,  
Secret e to the heigh.

[*Colonial*, 79. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 9.]

Januarie 19th, 1577. From *Mr. Michaell Looke*, what Charges *Sr Will'm Wintar* and the reſt vppon their Meetyng have thought preſently to be requiſite for the fynyng of the Ewre and other thinges to be further done in that behalf.

Right Honorable, accordinge to the commiſſion of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Privie Councell directed to *Sr W<sup>m</sup>. Wyntar*, *Mr. Randolph*, *Mr. Dyar*, *Mr. Mr. Yonge*, *Mr. Fur*

busher, and my self we all (except Mr. Randolph) have fyttogether theife ij days past, and have confydered thervppon as the tyme would suffer, and have had before us all the chyef workmasters for the erectinge of the howffe and furnaces at the mylls at Dartford, for the meltyng of the ewr brought by Mr. Furbusher, and as nere as we can esteeme the charges therof wylbe thus:—

For bryk, stone, tyles, lome, lyme sand, lathes, naylles, and workmanship therof, for all the myllehows and iij furnaces, w <sup>th</sup> makinge the ground-work . . . . .	<i>li</i> 160
For tymber, and all other stufte and the carpentars workmanship therof; for the howffe of 84 foote long and 36 foote wyde, and for the myll wheles, and the stampinge mylls, and the iij paier bellowes for the furnaces, wherof ij for meltinge, and i for drivinge or fynyng, and for all other engynes belonging therto . . . . .	<i>li</i> 240
Sum hereof	<i>li</i> 400
For charges of a man to go to Germania, for ij chief workmasters of meltinge and fyndyng mynes, and another man into Yorkshier, for stufte to melt the ewr . . . . .	<i>li</i> 40
For to provyde wood and coles, and other thinnes extraordinarie by estymation . . . . .	<i>li</i> 100
For wagys paid to the maryners and men come home w <sup>th</sup> the shyps, above the estimatione made of 20 on 100 collected sum <i>li</i> 360 includyng therin <i>li</i> 200 alre dy paid for charges of buyldinges of furnaces and small proffes and faves of the ewr made by the handes of dyvers men.	<i>li</i> 360
Sum . . . . .	<i>li</i> 900
Sum of all	<i>li</i> 900

The said sum of *li*900 of money muste be provyded presentlye by collection of the venturars or otherwyffe.

And for the better and more spedye provision of the stufte and men requyfyte for the buyldynges forsaide, it is thought requyfyte to have comysion in Her Maties name to be directed to Sr Will'm Wyntar, who hathe alre dy a sufficient warrant for the marine affaires.

This beinge done all the woorkes wilbe fynyshed and the ewr molten and fynyed w<sup>th</sup> in vi or viij wekes tyme by Godes help.

We have also thought it good that Her Matie be moved for her favourable letter to the Duke of Saxonia declaring the staying here of Jonas for Her Maties' farvyce w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe sent by the parson that goethe for workmen.

Of other matters this bearer Mr. Furbusher can informe yor Honor at large,



wherefore I end, and comytt yo<sup>r</sup> Honor to the tuition of Almighty God. From London the xix Januarie, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> Michael Lok.

To the Right Honorable S<sup>r</sup> Francys Wallingham, Knyght,  
Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Chyef Secretarie, etc.,  
Delyured at the Court.

Commiffion from Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>  
Letter to the Duke of Saxonie.

[*Colonial*, 80. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 10.]

Januarie 19th, 1577. From my L.L.'s to *Mr. Michael Locke* for the collection of *gooli*. among the Adventurers of the North-west, etc.

After o<sup>r</sup> hartie comendations where as for the building of certayne furnaces, and fendyng for skilfull men owt of Germanie for the tryall and refinyng of the oore brought owt of the north-west: as also for the payment of certayn wages due to the mariners and others employed vnder Mr. Furbusher, gent., in the last viage to the fayd north-west parts, we are enformed the somes of *gooli* to be verie necessarie and presently required. Theife are to require you to repayre to all such as be Adventurers in the fayd viage, as from vs so appointed, and to collect and gather of everie of them for the vses, purposes aforefayd, the fayd some to be levied amongst them after *xxli* in the hundredth, accordyng to the rate of and proportion of everie of their Adventurers, and this to be done w<sup>th</sup> as convenient speede as you can, to the end that so good an enterprife and proffitable as this viage is hoped will prove after so great charges allreadie bestowed thereon; nowe be not hindered either for want of so small a som or not profecutyng the triall of the fayd oore. And so we, etc.

[*Colonial*, 81. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 17.]

Jan. 24th, 1577. From *Master Geoffrey La Brum*, tryal Metal falling not owt.

Monseigneur jay confidere toutes ces espees de mineres quil vous ha pleu me bailler et ay trouve que la pluspart ne font que marchafites et non mineres lesquelles marchafites ont ordinairement tant de souphre que quant il y auroit quelque peu de bon metal on ne le pourroit tirer sans grant peine et perte quant a en faire preuve et essay et essay certain il en faudroit bien davantage et ne se fault fier a deux ny troys preuves seulement car tel morceau quon pense estre bon et habonder dor

ou dargent je ne fy trouve rien ou peu de chose le plussouvent et au contraire tel quon mesprise se trouve le meilleur quelquefloyz avec ce quil y ha divers noyens por extraire le pur metal et le fault tenter par diverses voyes par ce que'n aulcunes minieres le metal est encore tant crud quil sefauvit et perd en le fusion fil nest retenu par cementations fixatives en outres il est accompaigne de tant dordures et impurtes comme de foupbre, terre, pierre loppes et semblables qu'on ne le depart qu'a grant peine de facon quon le doit esprouver tantost avec felz tantost avec vifargent tantost la bruflant tantost la cementant ou fondant avec favon plomb felpitre borax ou aultres qui font en grant nombre et trop longues a efcrire. Quant a celle du Capp<sup>e</sup> Forbifher elle merite bien tant de diverses preparations et fy jen eusse eu nombre jen eusse tente plusieurs facons mais pour fy peu on nose assureur de rien feulement je vous peux tesmoigner que jen ay brusle lave et purge puis joint avec plomb et mis en cendres ou couppele qui n'ha rien laisse de fin qui ne fait juger quil ny ha grant profit par ce que les aultres voyes et moyens dextraire le fin font de grant coust et labeur sur quantite, vray est que fy j'en auvis ugne livre ou deux jessairoyz quelque preparation par fel commun prepare avec aultres ingrediens par le quel jay aultrefois reduit des metaux fort calcines que le borax, faint de verre nitre et aultres semblables ne pouvoient reduire. Je nay baille a Mons<sup>r</sup> Marchant les fuses mineres a vous reporter par ce que je ne scay fy les defires fy je peux recouvrer davantage de celle du Capp<sup>e</sup> Forbifcher jen feray amples preuves jattendois a vous en efcrire jusque a ce que jeusse ven le fin de quelques euvres que jay commences y a ja longe temps pour ta medecine affin de vous en faire part en tesmoignage de tant de courtoysies et bienfaictz que jay recevez de vous pour lesquels je suis et feray a tousjours oblige a vostre grandeur, mais lesditz euvres restantz parfaites et mons<sup>r</sup> Marchant maiant adverty a midi de vostre commandement jay fait te presenter po<sup>r</sup> mexcuser et vous suplier me tenir au rang de voz treshumbles et tresfideles serviteurs je prie Dieu Monfeigneur quil augmente vostre grandeur et tentretienne en longue et tresheureuse sante pour de plus en plus servir a sa gloire. Amen. De Londres ce Samedi 24<sup>e</sup> jour de Janvier 1578.

Vostre treshumble et obeissant serviteur,

Geoffroy Le Brumen.

A Monfeigneur

Monfeigneur de Vualfinghant.

[*Colonial*, 83. *Domestic, Eliz.*, cxii, No. 53.]

21 Febra, 1577, from *D. Burccotte*, with a Prooffe how much Gould and Siluer a Pownd, and one Hundrethe Pownd weight yeldeth, w<sup>ch</sup> he will warrant to hould throughout the whole Ewre.

Please your Honore, I perceyve by your letter that you cane not come fo quycklye as I thought, therfore, I fend you here by the captayne the fylver and gold of a pound, and a hundred weight, wher by I will abyde by yt off my credyt and honestlye that I will bringe twenttie tymes fo mvche out of every toune in the lyke ower as that was and never vnder butt reyther above that rayte, and I pray you showe to the Quene that Her Matie will be good lady vnto me, for I am lyke losf mvche this springe to go about that busynes; and that you will be ameane that the captayne may be spedely fett fourthe agayne w<sup>th</sup> fuche teachine and instrucktine, as I have gyvene him, for yf he shall not go spedelye and speciallye now this yeare yt wilbe the worfste that ever came to England, and that the ower may be brought hastelye frome Brestoo to Detforthe, and that the detymente that the captayne cane showe you be prepared, and your Honore to come fo hastelye as you cane to vyfett the place where the meltinge houfe shall stand. Now I fend you the trothe by the captayne how the houfe shall be; and I trust to se you shortleye. So I comytte your Honore to God in haste, this xxi<sup>th</sup> day of February, 1578.

Your Honore to command,  
Burchard Kraurych.

To his honorable and singlar good frend, Sir Frauncs Walsingame,  
Secretorye to the Quenes Heighnes, delyver this.

[*Colonial*, 86. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 62.]

A Little Bundle of the tryeing of y<sup>e</sup> Northwest Ewre. By *D. Burcot*,  
*Jonas Schutz*, *Baptista Agnillo*, etc.

The doings of Jonas Shote in the newe mynes of golde.

In Januarye 1576, Jonas Shuts was brought acquainted w<sup>th</sup> John Baptista Agnello, by the meanes of S<sup>r</sup> John Barteley, and S<sup>r</sup> William Morgaine, knights, foo as in the fame monthe of Januarye by the meanes of the learninge of the fayd Baptista in alchimia and the knowledge of the faid Jonas in myneralls and mettalls handelinge, the verye firste golde was founde and difcoueryed by them too bee in the first peace of ewer whiche Mr. Furbusher brought home in his first voyadge, the valwe of oz. 1¼ in c. weight of the ewer, whiche ewer Mr. Locke had delyvered

too the fayde Baptista in the fame moneth of Januarye too make prooffe thereof, w<sup>ch</sup> prooffe being made, hee, Mr. Locke, delyvered the fame too Her Matie ymediately.

And afterwarde, in the fame monethe, and in February, and Marche, Baptista and Jonas made diuers other fmale proofes thereof whereby still they founde golde, whiche afterwarde was discouered too Sr William Winter by Sr William Morgaine.

In the beginninge of Aprill 1577, when Sr William Winter was assured from Sr William Morgaine and Sr John Bartley, by the handy woorke of Jonas, by prooffes w<sup>ch</sup> he made in their owne prefens, too their owne fatiffaction that this was trewly the ewer of a mynd of golde; the fayde Sr William Winter justified the fame too bee trewe too my Lordes of the Queenes Maties Honorable Pryve Councill.

And vppon commiffion directyd from Her Maties Pryve Councill too Sr William Winter, Mr. Thomas Randolphe, George Winter, and others, by the procurement of Mr. Locke, they weare certyfyed by wrytinge geven by Jonas, of the riches of this ewer and order and chardges of meltinge the fame, and the buyldings and workemen thereof, and of all things necessarief for the furniture of the mynes, w<sup>ch</sup> all other couninge men coolde fynde owte, wheareby Her Matie & Her Pryve Councill weare content too sett owtt a secoude voyadge for discouerye vnder chardge of Mr. Furbufher.

And therevpon allfoo agreement was made w<sup>th</sup> Jonas Shots by indenture vnder the hand wrytinge of Sr William Winter and Mr Locke, that he shoulde goe one the voyadge as cheife master of the mynes, and too bee cheife workemaster therein above all other as well abroade as att home, and att his retorne home too bee made denyson and too have a good pencion for his enterteynement duringe his lyfe.

Allfoo in the newe lande all the voyadge Jonas made all the fmale prooffes, & fayes of all the ewer that was founde in the mynes theare w<sup>ch</sup> was laden in the shippes and brought home and certyfyed the valewe of the ryches thereof, whiche nowe is founde trewe.

Allfoo the ships beinge returned home intoo Englande in the monethe of September 1577, w<sup>th</sup> their full ladinge of that riche ewer too the quantitie of clx tonnes, Jonas hathe wrought and donne therein as followethe.

The fyfte of October, 1577, Jonas begane too builde the furnaces at Sr William Winter's houfe, and fynished the fame and all things necessary of his own devife.

The theirtie of October he had molten one hundrethe weight of the ewer prepared and handelyd after his owne devife and order. And thereby was founde that a tonne thereof doeth holde of fyne golde more then the valewe of xlii. of mooney by wittnes of Sr William Winter, Mr. Furbufher, Mr. Locke, and Robert Denham & others whoe sawe the workinge and prooffes theareof made, beydes the remnants of gold remayninge in the flags, w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas sayd coulede not be well brought outt, butt in the greate woorkes, furnasses, w<sup>ch</sup> he defyred might bee

builded accordinge too the plate that he wolde giue, that theirby hee would thoroughely knowe the nature of this ewer.

The theirde of November reporte was made too the Queenes Maties Privie Councill by Sr William Winter and others of the Commiffioners what was founde by Jonas workes, whiche did not fatiffie them, and althroughe Jonas him felfe and Denhame, declared too them this furnace too bee not fufficient for the great works, yet wolde have them to melte downe an other hundrethe weight for better tryall of the trewthe, w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas fayde he was willinge, becaufe this furnance and bellowfe was too fmale and place not fyttē yet for their commāndement he wolde doe yt.

The twentethe of Novemb', Jonas had newe repaired his furnace at Sr William Winters howfe as well as that place wolde fuffer. And in that meane tyme Baptifta had taken vpon him too prepare the ewer too greate effecte w<sup>ch</sup> did not succede well in the great works. And alfo George Woolfe had taken vpon him too prepare the ewer too melte eafely w<sup>th</sup> out any adetaments in the greate works w<sup>ch</sup> did not fuccede well.

The fourthe of Decemb' Jonas, w<sup>th</sup> danger of his lyffe, throughē the fmoke, had molten doune the fecounde hundrethe weight of ewer w<sup>ch</sup> provyd as the fyrft hundreth did better then xlii. the tonne in pure golde as was certyfyed to Her Maties Councill by Ire of Sr Winter and other Commiffioners, whoe fawe the prooffes made, but ftill remayned more gold in the flags whiche Jonas fayd onely the great woorkes muft bringe owt.

And hearevpon Jonas hade his patente graunted too him, he promifed too delyver at the leaſte halfe oz. golde in everye hundrethe weight, w<sup>ch</sup> ys tenn oz. tonn and allſoo hoaped too cleare all chardgs of the workinge and yf he did better yt ſhould bee their proffitt and his credit. And thearevpon hee ſhould have gonne to Bryftowe too have builded the furnaces theire for the greate woorkes.

Butt the fyxte of Decemb' the Lords weare not yet well fatiffied w<sup>th</sup> this ſeconnde prooffe made becaufe of the remayners in the flags w<sup>ch</sup> was enformed coolde not bee gotten owtt, butt chiefly they beleaved nothinge that was donne becaufe the goldefmithes and goldefyners of London and manye other namyd counynge menn had made many prooffes of the ewer and could fynde noe whitt of golde therein, and therefore they vouched too the Councill that theare was noe whitt of gold in this ewer vppen gage of their lyffe and goodes.

And vpon the arryvall of Mr. Furbuſher at the Coorte returned from Bryftowe, the ſeventhe of Decemb' he ſtayed the woorks of Bryftowe and turned yt too farther prooffe too bee made at London, wherefore yt was thought good too have conference therein w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Burcott, whoſe doings ſhall appere in articles a parte.

The tenthē Decemb', Jonas was brought too conference w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Burcott, and w<sup>th</sup> in iij or iiij dayes he diſlyked the dealinge of Mr. Burcott boethe for his evell manners and allſo his ignorannce in divers points of the works and handelynge of this ewer ſoo as as would not anye more deale w<sup>th</sup> him.

The fixetenthe Decemb' Jonas w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Furbusher and Mr. Locke ryde too diuers plac too fee water mills, for the workeinge of the ewer. And at Deartforde Jonas lyked the mills best of all others for the comodious water and place.

The twelfte of Januarye vpon newe comission too proced in the great works, wee went again too Dertforde, w<sup>th</sup> Jonas and Henricke, the mafon, and Sebastian, the carpenter, whoe was then newe come too London, and meafured owte the platt of grownd for errection of the buildings and furnacs.

The fowertenth Januarye Jonas delyuered too all the Comiffioners a platt drawn by him of all the buildings of the howffe and mills and furnafces w<sup>ch</sup> was well lyked. But uppon newe conference w<sup>th</sup> the workemen yt was founde that the tyme woudd bee foo longe in the buildings, that yf that should be taryed for the money it woudd be too late too fett owt a newe voyadg this yeare.

The 21 dic<sup>t</sup>. Mr. Furbusher deuifed that x tonn of ewer shold be molten at Kefwicke for the expedicon of the tryall.

The 22 dic<sup>t</sup>. Jonas alleadged manye lacks theare and the Comiffioners fawe great coafte and longe tyme hanginge theare one allfoo foo that Jonas offeryd too make a theird great prooffe at London of a toonn by cc weight at a tyme w<sup>ch</sup> should suffice for a tryall of all w<sup>ch</sup> was well lyked.

And the 23 daye Jonas gave informacon of certaine merkefytes too melt the ewer w<sup>th</sup> all w<sup>ch</sup> Denham or Coole should have fought abroade.

The 23 fayd John Baptista made offer of a newe great prooffe too be wrought w<sup>th</sup> a winde furnace, whearevpon he had a c weight of ewer but yt succeeded not well.

The 30 of Januarye John Broed at Crepelgate had cc ewer too make prooffe w<sup>ch</sup> did fucead well.

The 12 of February Jonas did melt doune cc of the ewer for his theird prooffe at the howffe of Sr W<sup>m</sup>. Winter w<sup>th</sup> great danger of his lyffe thoroughe the fmoke, and at the fecond tyme of the mealtinge thereof. The 18 February yt fuceaded verye well in prefens of the Comiffioners, found oz.  $6\frac{1}{3}$  of filver and goold myxt, wheareof oz.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  was perfytted and browght 1 qr. of oz. of fyne golde and oz.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  of fyne fylver, the rest of the oz.  $6\frac{1}{3}$  of filver mixt was fonke into the test becaufe the test was not drye made thoroughe the haft of tyme and much gold remayned in the flegs.

All the doings of Jonas from the tyme too tyme was donn openly, and Mr. Furbusher caryed all the fecrets thereof too Mr. Burcott, too healpe him, and all Mr. Burcott doings was in secrett, foo as none knoweth yt but him felfe.

#### The Dooings of *Mr. Burcott* in the Newe Mynes of Golde.

Mr. Burcott had delyvered too him certaine smale peces of ewer in Novemb' 1577, whereof he made fayes and proffes and founde golde therein as Jonas had donne before.

The 9 Decemb' 1577, Mr. Locke and Mr. Furbusher brought lres from Mr. Secrytarye Walsingham vntoo Mr. Burcott and delyvered them too him, and had fuche conference w<sup>th</sup> him therevpon that Mr. Burcott grew too full promes too delyver halfe a oz. of fyne gold out of everye hundreth of the ewer vppon certaine condicions fett doune in wrytinge, w<sup>ch</sup> condicions was fertyfied too Mr. Secrytarye who diflyked of them.

The 10 Decemb' Jonas was brought too conference w<sup>th</sup> Burcott and w<sup>thin</sup> iij or iiij dayes he diflyked the dealinges of Mr. Burcott boethe for his evell manners and ignorance in diuers points of the works and handelynge of the ewer foo as he woold nott anye more deale w<sup>th</sup> him.

In fewe dayes afterwards when Mr. Burcott fawe that wee did cleave still too Jonas dooings and made little accompt of his doings he made great styre of his owne cunninge and foo wrought w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Furbusher that he cam too bee harde againe and putt him felse too the confideracon of Her Matie and Councell, and vouched too warrant the ewer too hold foo muche gold as ys fayd and too gage his lande, goods, and lyffe for the delyverye thereof whereby he was credityed and the matter lyked.

The 20 Decemb' Mr. Furbusher woold that Mr. Burcott shoulde melt a c of ewer in Jonas furnace as Sr W<sup>m</sup> Winters howffe, w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas would not suffer, therefore he willed Jonas too pull doune the secrets of his furnace that Burcott might build a new after his manner, w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas did foo.

The 20 Januarye, or their about, Robert Denham told Mr. Locke that he had a peace of strange ewer, w<sup>ch</sup> he proved too doo muche good in the meltinge of our ewer and that he had yt from Mr. Burcotts houffe by his man w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Burcott knewe not of, and shortly after, when Mr. Lock fawe yt in his howse, of Denham, he fayd yt was yt and that he had made prooffe thereof too hold fyluer, copper, and leade, &c., that Mr. Burcott called yt ewer of antymonie, &c., and had fayd too him that yt held noe manner of mettell at all.

And Mr. Furbusher told Mr. Locke that Mr. Burcott fayed that Jonas bellowes laye too hie, & that yt should lye lowe too blowe right into the hole on the fore parte, and in fewe days afterwards he fayd againe that Mr. Burcott woold have the bellowes lye more then a fote aboute the hole as Jonas bellowes did lye.

Alfoo afterwards, Mr. Furbusher did shewe too Mr. Locke a paper platt, made by Mr. Burcott, of the furnace that he woold have w<sup>th</sup> a pott by yt. And nowe, at the 20 February, he shewed an other platt thereof made cleane contrarye too the first, but even iust the coppie of the plate of the furnaces, wheorw<sup>th</sup> Jonas doethe woorke.

The 21 Februarye, Mr. Burcot shewed too the Commiffioners and too my Lorde Treaforer, his proofes made of  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of gold and 2 ounces &  $\frac{1}{2}$  filuer, in one c of ewer, but the fame was melted in potts w<sup>th</sup> additaments by halfe pounds in a pott

w<sup>ch</sup> is not the order of the great workes, nor noe man but him selfe knoweth wate he puts in his additaments.

And alsoo he shewed a peace of antimonye ewer vouching that there in was noe manner of mettall, but a prooffe thereof was made by the Commiffioners one the 22 daye, and they founde therein boethe filuer, 30 ounces in a tonn, and some copper, and verye muche leade.

And Mr. Burcott sayed that w<sup>th</sup> out that antimonn<sup>y</sup>e ewer he woold not stand to his former promys of the golde and filuer too be delyvered. And Denham saythe that Burcott did not knowe of the mettalls that are in that antymonie ewer vntill Thorstday, beinge the 20 Februarye, when as he tolde yt too Burcott, and was the mann that did first fynde yt too bee foo by his owne tryalls.

And Mr. Burcott was ignorannt of the weight of gold and fylver accounted after xxxiii too a pennye weight, and xxxiiii pennye weight too the ounce vntill that Denham did shewe him his erre therein.

And yt is manyfest that Burcott was more ignorant then Jonas, in the knowledge of the nature and workinge of this ewer; for him selfe Burcott doeth confesse that he hathe made more then fortye fondrye wayes of tryall thereof, and yet is not well satisfified therein; but Jonas hathe made onely fyxe proffs thereof, and those after the order of the greate woorks.

[*Colonial*, 82. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 44.]

February 19, 1577. From *Doctōr Burchart* to *Mr. Secretary Walsyngham* touchynge the North-west Owre.

Your Honore remember what appoument you mayd w<sup>th</sup> me in my house and what promysse I mayde you. I have done so and moltine doune a hundred weight and a pound, and I have the proves to shew you to save your Honores credyte and my honestye, therefore appoument the day and ower to ride to Detforthe to bring me ther to gyve me your Honores countenance in the first enterpryce, for yff you do not go I will not go that all worke mene and so many off the comysfioners as yt shall pleasse you to se and here oure determynacon and shew suche things as I have and cane do before them all for I esteame your Honore and credytt as moche as my owne lyffe, and I doute yf I cane ryde ytt w<sup>th</sup>out a horse lytter, and yet I know of no easye horse. And yff your Honore will humble your selfe so muche and yett come once in my house an ower or twane before we departe out off London, I will shew your Honore bothe the patrone off the meltinge house and the sayes prevelye betwene you and me that my doinges be



not onely wordes butt deeds. So God increaffe your Honore in health. Datum the six off February 1577.

Your humble to comand,  
Burchard Kranrych.

To his Honorable and very good frend Sr Frauncis Walsingame,  
Secretary to the Quenes Heighnes.  
Delyver this.

[*Colonial, 84. Domestic Eliz., cxxxi, No. 52.*]

February 21, 1577. A Declaration of the Value of the North-west Ewre both for Gold and Silver by Proofs thereof made by *Dr. Burcot.*

My dutie done in most humble maner. It maye please yo<sup>r</sup> Honor to be advertized that Burchart hath finished and certefied two proffes of the gold ewer, wherof one was of *li* we<sup>it</sup>, and thother of one *c* we<sup>it</sup>. Dennam hath bene thonly man that he hath admtytted to be present and privie w<sup>th</sup> him in the feid proffes, and the same Dennam hath bene the fyar workman therof, and by vouchem<sup>t</sup> of them two ye fame falle out as folow<sup>th</sup>:

That proffe of the <i>li</i> we <sup>it</sup> holdithe in filver . . . . .	xxi gr.
And in golde . . . . .	iii gr.
W <sup>ch</sup> is vii parts filver and an viii <sup>th</sup> parte gold	
After that rate i <i>c</i> we <sup>it</sup> holdithe in filver . . . . .	iiii oz. dr. viii <sup>d</sup> we <sup>it</sup>
And in gold . . . . .	xiiii <sup>d</sup> we <sup>it</sup>
And after the same rate the tonne holdithe in filver . . . . .	xxxviii oz.
And in gold . . . . .	xiiii oz.
So the filver of a tonne at v <sup>s</sup> ii <sup>d</sup> the oz. am <sup>th</sup> to . . . . .	xxv <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> iiiii <sup>d</sup>
And the gold at lix <sup>s</sup> viii <sup>d</sup> the oz. amountithe to . . . . .	xli <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup> iiiii <sup>d</sup>
Sum lxvii <sup>li</sup> xx <sup>d</sup>	

That proffe of the <i>c</i> we <sup>it</sup> holdithe in filver, . . . . .	ii oz. dr. i <sup>d</sup> we <sup>it</sup> vi gr
And in gold . . . . .	xiii <sup>d</sup> we <sup>it</sup> drs.
W <sup>ch</sup> is nere about iiiii parts filver and a v <sup>th</sup> parte gold	
After that rate the tonne holdithe in filver . . . . .	li oz. v <sup>d</sup> we <sup>it</sup>
And in gold . . . . .	xiii oz. dr.
So the filver of a tonne amountithe to . . . . .	xiii <sup>li</sup> iiiii <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
And the gold of the same to . . . . .	xl <sup>li</sup> v <sup>s</sup> vi <sup>d</sup>
Sum liii <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>	

So a tonne answerable to the proffe made of the *li* we<sup>it</sup> ys richer then that of the *c* we<sup>it</sup> by xiiii<sup>li</sup> xi<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup>.

[*Colonial*, 85. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxii, No. 61.]

February 27, 1577. From *D. Burcott* touchynge his Cunynge and Offer about tryng the Ewre.

My humble comendacons as I am informed that your Honore and the rest be displeafed w<sup>th</sup> me as though I had mayd a falsse prove, w<sup>ch</sup> I will stand to the contrary to deathe and lyffe that yt is as I have sent unto you, therfore I have done yt w<sup>th</sup> my owne hand, and cane do yt agayne save the last quarter w<sup>ch</sup> Denna hath the moltine doune, and brought yt in agood way after the rayte, and in the dryvinge utterly mared yt for ignorance and unskylfulnes; yt was in the night when I cold not be at yt, and I wold not trust him further and I mayd that quarter good after the rayte I sent, as for the detymente yt hath layd this ten yeare in my houfe and were my invention to melt yt the easier and the soner, and ther is not so moche fylver in yt as you are informed you for the ower is sufficient in him selfe to augement your Honore and save my credytt because yt is comed to fuche an exclamation agaynest my honestie and deface me w<sup>thout</sup> acaufe I will make my selfe cleare, let my have delyvered out of hand in haft to hundred weight be brought in my houfe of that ower, and ij honest men and not falsse men to see the rostinge, be cause I have fornace mete for yt, and in the meane tyme when yt is in rostinge I will ryde to the Tower-hill by your comandement to mend Jonas fornace, or to make an new one, that will serve me, and lett thes ij sworne men carrye the ower to the Tower when yt is rosted and see yt moltine doune and purifyed as I have sent you; and lett me have althings nessesarye; and yf yt please you and Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Wynter may be the men appouinted to do yt, and Denna be the workeman because he is the causer of this exclamation as I cane tell you previlie, when your Honore please betwne you and me you shall here the very trothe. And yf I do not prove yt trewly comed out then take my body and goods to your owne pleasure, and Jonas nor the captaynes, nor any of ther confederats shall not come nye me, but them whome you please, for yf Jonas had any couninge yt had longe since appered; therfore he shall learne nothinge of me untill yt be knowen that I am aperfytt master above them all. Datum the xxvii of February. God encrease your Honore.

This prove wilbe done out of hand after yt is rosted, havinge all things nessesary prepared. Appouint atyme when you will and I will come to you.

Yo<sup>r</sup> humble to comand,

Burchard Kranrych.

To the Honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingame, Knight,  
Secretary to the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, my singuler and very frend.

[*Colonial*, 92. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiii, No. 7.]

11 March, 1577. To the *Lord Treasurer* and *Lord Chamberlayne* about the North-west Viage.

My verie good Lordes, Hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> havynge been made acquaynted w<sup>th</sup> the certificats sent lately from the Commissioners appoynted to surveighe the fondrie proffs and trials made of the north-west ewre, and understanding therby to hir good contentation that the richnes of that earth is like to fall owt to a good reaconyng is well pleased that a third viage be taken in hand the plotte wherof consisteth chiefly in theise two poynts, to witte, the charges of the shipping outwarde and some provision to be made for a roomen to inhabite in those north-west partes: what the whole charges of theise two matters will amount to yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships may perceave by that their bearers Mr. Ffurbesher and Mr. Locke will shew you in writyng and otherwise by word. I have allreadie acquaynted my Lord of Leceister how m<sup>ch</sup>: and yf it might please yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships to send yo<sup>r</sup> opinions of the two fayd points I would after impart it further to others of my Lords and the Councell to thend that all their advyses beyng had hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> may grow to some resolution for this newe and third viage and so order accordingly be given for warrant of hir owne part and other men's likewise that be adventurers in this matter.

[*Colonial*, 90. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiii, No. 5.]

The accompt taken at Moskovie House the viij<sup>th</sup> of March 1577, of cc weight of y<sup>e</sup> Ewre brought by Mr. Ffrobisher molton and tried by Jonas Shuttz an almaine adlistd by iij Englishmen, viz., Humfrey Cole John Brode and Robert Denham.

Of the faid cc weight of ewre so molton and tryed as afore- fayd there proceeded in silver vj oz. viij <sup>d</sup> weight xiiij graines di, w <sup>ch</sup> valued at v <sup>s</sup> the oz. maketh in money . . . . .	xxxj <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob.
And of the same ewre proceeded in gold v <sup>d</sup> weight v graines w <sup>ch</sup> at iijj <sup>s</sup> the penny weight maketh in money . . . . .	xv <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> ob.
Sum, xlvij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup> .	
So at that rate j c weight of the faid ewre will make in money . . . . .	xxiiij <sup>s</sup> ix <sup>d</sup>
And a toone of the faid ewre by like accompt will make in money . . . . .	xxiiij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>
The charges of getting and fetting the faid ewre into the realme as by particulers delivered by Mr. Ffrobiser doth appere will not excede the tonne . . . . .	viiij <sup>li</sup>

So upon view of this accompt for every viij<sup>li</sup> defrayed the  
 venturers fhall gaine v<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> arifeth upon every hundred  
 poundes above . . . . . lx<sup>li</sup>

W. Wyntar  
 Edward Dyer  
 Martin Frobifer  
 Rich. Young  
 Mathew Field  
 Edmond Hogan  
 Michael Lok  
 Andrew Palmer

The charge for furnifhing fhippes for this next voyage as followeth:—

The charge to furnifh iij or v fhippes w<sup>th</sup> 120 men, viz., folidiors,  
 mynars, fmithes, carpenters, and other men of neceffarie occupa-  
 tions and to bring home viij<sup>c</sup> tonne of ewre as appeareth by par-  
 ticulers therof delivered by Mr. Ffrobifher will amount to . . . . . vj<sup>ml</sup> iij<sup>c</sup>  
 Whereof muft be defrayed prefently for the furniture nowe owtward  
 thone moytie or els this yeres voyage wilbe loft, viz. . . . . iij<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> li  
 And at the retorne of the fhippes muft be payed other . . . . . iij<sup>m</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> li

Ffor the provision of w<sup>ch</sup> money a levie muft be made amonge thadventurers  
 after fuch rate that every one of them w<sup>ch</sup> did before adventure j<sup>c</sup> li. muft now  
 put in j<sup>c</sup> xxx<sup>li</sup> the moytie therof to be payed forthwith. And the other moytie  
 to be readie againft the retorne of the fhippes to clere the freight and men's wages.

## 10. State Papers concerning the Triall of the Ewr previous to the *Third Voyage*.

- I. Memorandum from My Lords to the Warden of the Mynt touching the Ore.
- II. From Mr. Fenton on the Unladyng of the Ore and Dr. Dodyngs Report on the Sicknefs and Death of the Man brought by Capt. Frobifher from the North-weft, and of the Nature of the Woman of that Country yet livinge.
- III. From Mr. Locke what the Goodnefs of Ore is declared.
- IV. From Sir W. Wynter touchyng the Goold Ore.
- V. From Jonas Schutz on the same.
- VI. From Dr. Burcot on the same.
- VII. From M. Lok of Jonas new method of trials.

- VIII. A Note of all such Charges in meltynge down the Owre.  
 IX. Agnell on the Trial of the Ore.  
 X. A Note of Charge for the Triall of one Tonne of the Northwest Ore.  
 XI. From Mr. Fenton, what successe he hath in traveling to get Owre in the West Countrie.  
 XII. A Count made of x<sup>c</sup>. of Ore meltyd at Dartforde.  
 XIII. A Note of the value of 200 w<sup>cht</sup> of Oare gotten in the Countesse of Warwicks Ilande.

[*Colonial*, 56. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxvi, No. 25.]

October 17, 1577. M<sup>m</sup> from My Lords to the Warden and Woorkmaster of the Mynt tovchyng the Ore brought owt of the North-west.

After our hartie commendacions. The Queenes Maties pleafure is that certain oore brought into this realme by our loving friend Martin Ffurbusher, gent. out of the north-west partes, shalbe caryed into the Tower and layd in some convenyent place by you to be appointed for that purpos, the said oore to be by him delyvered unto you by weight and so by you received. And further that to the doare of the place where the same shall lye there be fower severall lockes and keyes made, whereof the said Ffurbusher to have one, you her heighnes officers two, and Michaell Locke, treforer of the Company of Adventurers into the said north-west partes, the fourth. Whereof her Matie hath appointed us to geve you knowledge to thend you maie take present order therein accordynglie.

And so we bid you ffarewell. Ffrom the Castell of Windefor the the xvj<sup>th</sup> of October 1577.

Your loving frindes,

[no signatures.]

And further yt is meant y<sup>t</sup> you shall from tyme to tyme make delyverye of the feyd ore to be melted downe accordyngley as you shall be dyrected by the commysfyoners by us deputed to have the overfyght of the feid meltynge.

Ric. Martin, Warden of the Mint. (Blank) Samfon, woorkmaster of the same.

[*Colonial*, 59. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxvii, No. 40.]

25 Novemb. 1577. From *Mr. Edward Fenton*. Of the Unladyn of the Oore in the *Ayd* and *Gabriell*, and how manie toones of the sayd Oore is in ether of the sayd vessels. To have order for the difchardge of the Mariners and unrigginge the sayd vessels.

My dutie to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> most humblely used. Receaving letters from my Generall the viij<sup>th</sup> of this instante to make deliverie of such oore as remayned in the *Ayde* and the *Gabriell*, whereof I had charge w<sup>th</sup> letters in like manner from yo<sup>r</sup> ho<sup>r</sup> and others of her Maties counfoull directed to S<sup>r</sup> Richarde Barkely, Knight, Hugh

Smith, Esquier, and the Maior of Bristoll w<sup>ch</sup> I presentlie sent unto them notwithstanding they mett not about the receipte thereof till the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of this instante (by reason Sr Richard Barkely was ymployed elfwhere in her Maties service) Sithens w<sup>ch</sup> time they have w<sup>th</sup> care and diligence attended that service and have now in effect ended the same faving that a little porcion of oare founde in removing of the calke[s] in the *Ayde* is not yet weighed, but wilbe furthw<sup>th</sup> dispatched. The quantitie of the oare in the *Ayde* (I suppose) wilbe nigh 124 toones. And in the barke *Gabriell* 16 toones rd'i. All w<sup>ch</sup> is fassellie bestowed in the castell of Bristoll according to order appointed therein. Thus much having so conveniente a messenger I thought good to ymparte w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> honor beseching the same to further the dispatch of all such persons as have served in this action, whose service now rather is chargeful to her Matie and other thadventurers then liking or beneficeall to them selves. Wherof the gentlemen ymployed in that action (and attending heare thies ij moneths to small purpose) is greatlie charged by the same whose good government in this service both before and sithence their cominge hither on lande deserves (in myne opinion) at her Maties handes bothe favo<sup>r</sup> and recompence for so greate vertues showed in so honorable an action wherin yo<sup>r</sup> honors good favo<sup>r</sup> and furtherance is chieflie to be craved for their comforts in the same. And am (amongeste the rest speciallie) to recommende this gentleman and bearer Mr. Carew to yo<sup>r</sup> honors favo<sup>r</sup> and countenance whose readinesse wisdome and good government in this service deserves greate commendacion and rather to be ymployed w<sup>th</sup> charge then to serve as now he hath donne w<sup>ch</sup> I humblie besech yo<sup>u</sup> to consider of hereafter for his better advauncement and credit; no lesse (I suppose) my Generall will deliver of him for his desertes (w<sup>th</sup>out flatterin) doth thus much challenges me to reaporte unto yo<sup>r</sup> honor having well marked his behavior in this service. It were to good purpose order were taken for the unrigginge of the shippes (if heare they shall remayne) for wante wherof their tackle and other thinges grow to dekaie w<sup>ch</sup> would be saved if order were taken what should be done in the same: Besides the superfluis mariners and others now attending would be discharged w<sup>ch</sup> if it had been performed vij weekes agoo had saved greate charges and been to verie good purpose. All w<sup>ch</sup> I committ to be delt in as shall seeme beste to yo<sup>r</sup> honor craving pardon for my boldnesse do praye daielie to thalmightie to blefs you in all yo<sup>r</sup> honorable actions and fende yo<sup>u</sup> much encrease of honor. From Bryftoll the xxv<sup>th</sup> of November 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> most humblie to commaunde,

Edward Fenton.

*Postscript.*—I am bolde to fende unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> hereincloused the opinion of Mr. Docto<sup>r</sup> Dodding towching the death of the man we brought over w<sup>th</sup> us who often visited him in the time of his sicknes.

To the honorable my verie good frinde Frauncis Walsingham, Esquier, principall secreatarie to her Matie and one of her highnes privie counfaill at the Cor<sup>te</sup>.

[*Colonial*, 59. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 40, i.]

*Doct̃or Dodyngs* Report of the Sickneſſe and Death of the Man at Briſtoll w<sup>c</sup> *Capt. Furbisher* brought from the North-weſt: and of the Nature of the Woman of that Contrie yet livynge.

In cadaveris diſſecti latore ſiniſtro, primum ſeſe michi inſpiciendæ obtulerunt coſtæ duæ (caſus vi et impetu quando capiebatur) præfrac̃tæ dehiſcentes adhuc, nec invicem agglutinatæ: quarum cura (uti in tam turbulentiffimis temporibus rerumque navalium auguſtiis uſu venire ſolet) vel neglẽctæ, vel (quod potius ſuſpicor) morbus a nemine perceptus inflammationem concitaverat: et pulmonis contuſio (temporis progreſſu) putredinem itidem contraxerat: quibus libere indies ſerpentibus, cum per frigoris externi injuriam commotis tum per malam victus rationem aũctis, nec tamen per artem chirurgicam exterius interim emendatis neque per medicamenta interius reſuſis in pulmonis ulcus infanabile precepe. Ruebat et ingruebat malum puris putrefacti affluentia maxima ejuſdem materia viſcida et tenaci, ita pulmonis pars ſiniſtra undique ſcatebat ut nihil omnino per omne morbi tempus expuerit et anhelitus fere retentus eſt conſtrictus, huc accedebat natura morbi infeſtantis furore admodum debilitata: liberior apud nos victus ratio quam aut hujus morbi fert malitia aut hominis fortaffis conſuetudo quotidiana patiebatur, quod ſumma ducis fummi cura liberalitaſque immenſa eorum apud quos divertebat effecerat: deceptis omnibus opinione potius morbo latilate et indulgentia ſulta quam male volentia, ſed cum aſthma paulo ante mortem, morbus iſte haud obſcure ſimilitudine expreſſit, tum ab hydrope non omnino immunis erat: in thoracis enim ſpacio ſiniſtro ingens aquæ opia et abundantia (qualis a perſpicacibus et induſtriis anatomicis raro viſitur) conſpiciebatur fluitare: hæc moto corpore (uti rei eventus fidem fecit) agitabatur, et pulmonis expirationem impediēbat, pulmo denique ipſe coſtis firmius quam quiſquam putaret hærebat. Cerebri vulnerati apoſtematique (ut ita loquar) præter ſurditatem doloremque capitis intenſiffimum (quibus nunquam non affligebatur) ſigna infinita extant et emergunt apertiffima quæ nunc ſilentio (ne ſim proluxior) ſunt involvenda, quod lieni minutiffimo detraxerat natura juſtæ molis id ſtomacho capaciffimo adjeſſiſſe viſa eſt cum ſœnore qui aqua reſertus et diſtensus multo major quam noſtrorum hominum propter infanabilem (credo) ingluviem apparebat. In cæteris partibus Anglium dices metum in quo a primo ejus adventu erat quamvis vultus hilarior et ſimulatus non mediocri arte occultabat et ementiebatur, tamen geſtus ipſius (ſigillatim ſingula penitus introſpiciente me et ſuſpicante omnia) vel eundem aperte prodiderunt det exeruntque vel morbum letale (quod ſepius ſed ſurdis cecini) præſagiverunt impendentem, quæ ex pulſibus dilucidiora quam ex ipſo innotuerunt et confirmabatur qui ſemper minores tardiores et debiliores, quam rariores extiterunt, et rariores tamen quam aut etas juvenilis, aut temperatura

ejus biliosa eflagitabat. priori morbi infultu, cum vires adhuc integre essent accersitus sanguinis missionem magna contentione suadebam, quo et inflammationis aculei extincti, et materia diminuta jacerent: sed vetuit viri barbari, barbara nimis, infulsaque timiditas, et eorum consilium quibuscum una navigabat, apud me prevaluit. Denique ea hora vocatus quæ proxime horam præcessit in qua de vita discessit reperi cuncta mortem brevi minitantiâ, nimirum, interruptam fereque omnino abscessam loquelam dejectum appetitum, pulsus nullum, Quid multa! Vires omnes facultatesque prostratas prorsus aliquantulum recreatus ad se quasi e fomno profundo redit nosque ejus familiares agnovit. animadverti sed medicamento, et verba nostra quæ ediscerat pauca ut potuit, eloquebatur vicissimque ad interrogata respondit satis apposite, cantelenamque eandem (uti referunt qui utramque audiverant) clare cecinit, qua astantes in littore ejus loci atque ordinis socii ultimum ipsius discessum vel deplorabant vel celebrabant. Haud aliter atque cigni qui providentes quid in morte sit boni cum cantu et voluptate moriuntur, sed vix discesseram quando vitam cum morte commutaverat; in hæc ultima et nostra lingua edita virumpens verba ‘Deus sit vobiscum.’

Angebar et vehementer dolebam non tam ipsius morte quam quod reginæ nostræ serenissimæ spes tanta ejus videndi quasi e manibus nunc secundo exciderat. At mœrore multo majore afficiuntur hujus novi honoris solidique heroes vere Herculei tanquam exantlati laboris præmiis et spoliis spoliati quos jure optimo (dicam enim quod senceo) manet a nobis observantia summa, qui itinera hæc marittima, devia ea quidem aspera et plane ante hoc tempus inaccessa magnis suis sumptibus laboribus periculis majore regni et posteritatis commodo maxima suorum nominum gloria superarunt et apperuerunt quod si uti acceperit, successerit, ut eadem facilitate has regni et reipublica animas nervosque (sic enim a philosophis non incite appellantur divitiæ) qua consequuti sumus, retineamus, nec priusquam accipiamus, ingratitude nostra amittamus (quid enim aliud metuam non video) quid retribuamus Domino pro omnibus quæ tribuit nobis ab externis regibus nil speremus boni quia non volunt, nil metuamus mali, quia non audent. Verum non eo hæc dico quo quenquam in peccatorum fordibus delitescentem in utramque aurem dormire suadeam, sed ut amorem sigillatim singulos ab improbitate, et adigam ad res divinas universim omnes acrius celebrandas: quid enim dici cogitarive potest absurdius quam cum Deus optimus maximus sit ad dandum promptior et paratior nos ad promerendum sumus tardiores. Attamen semper erit illa Dei veri, vera vox agnoscenda non quia tu dignus sed quia mitis ego. Si incantantium futilia fictiliaque præcaria, ceremoniæque inertes et ludinæ in morbis profligandis quicquam potuissent, hic profecto (dum in vivis esset) ‘Calichoughe’ (namque hoc ei nomen erat) eosdem pullulantes ut hydras amputasset et profligasset etenim hoc nemo fuit in hac arte exercitior, nemo in ipsa superstitione (ni fallor) confidentior: qui tot incantationes usurpavit, quot dolorum termina emerferunt Mulieri laboranti tum e morbillis (qui postredie, quando hæc



scripta sunt effloruerunt in cute frequentissimi) cadaver ostendi, unaque (meo suafu) ad sepulturam (quam nulla solemnitatem de industria peractam esse volui, ne qua horror ei injiceretur de hominibus apud nos sacrificandis) licet invita, adducta est: ibique tamdiu detenta, donec terra undique coopertum esset cadaver: ossa humana ostendi effossa, fecique ut intelligeret omnes nos eodem modo esse inhumandos, quo omnem ex animo de humana carne comedenda (quæ in ipsis altas radices egerat) adimerem scrupum: ipsaque timorem deinceps deponere disceret. Sed ista aut prudentia et patientia homines omnes nostros exuperat mulier, aut ab ipsis brutis animantibus longe superatur humanitate, qua nihil omnino ejus morte commota est, neque eam (quantum ex vultu intelleximus) ægre tulit: ita ut hoc postremo ejus facto manifestius expresserit id quod longe antea conjecturis assequuti fumus, illum præ se mirum in modum contempnissse, et quamvis in uno eodemque lecto somnum capere solebat præter colloquia tamen nihil inter eos intercessisse, amplexus ejus abhorruisse. Vale. Bristollia 8<sup>o</sup> Novembris.

Tuus uti scis,

Edwardus Doddinge.

Si nihil infesti durus vidisset Uliisses  
Felix Penelope, sed sine laude foret.

[*Colonial, East Indies, 57. Domestic, cxviii, No. 36.*]

23rd of November, 1577. From *Mr. Mich. Locke*. What the Goodness of the Gold Ore is declared.

Right honorable,—According to yo<sup>r</sup> letter sent me by Mr. Watterhows, I have had conferens w<sup>th</sup> hym, and I have told hym my best opynyon playnly, and I wyll furder that matter the best I can and wyll joyne w<sup>th</sup> you therein for a part, yf it please you, w<sup>ch</sup> I hartely pray you.

The tryall of the ore brought home by Mr. Furbusher, moche paynes and labour hath passed of late agayne, yet it is not brought to perfection, the iiij workmasters cannot yet agree together, eche is jelous of other to be put out of the work and thereby lothe to shew their conynge or to use effectually conferens; but amongst them all we doo very playnly see and fynd that the ure is very ryche, and the worst of all their doynge wyll yeld better then xlii a ton, clere of charges. This is assuredly trew, w<sup>ch</sup> may suffyfe to embrace the enterpryse. And w<sup>th</sup> in few dayes yo<sup>r</sup> honor shalbe better certyffied of better matter herein when we have made better lykynge betwene the workmastars. And thus I comytt yo<sup>r</sup> h. to the tuition of almighty God. From London, this xxij November, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> h. most bounden,

Michael Lok.

[*Colonial*, 58. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 39.]

Nov. 26th, 1577. From *Sir William Wynter*, touchynge  
the Gold Ore what it will yield.

Mr. Furbusher beyng bounde towardes Bristowe for the dischardginge of the maryners and takinge of order for the ships and ther furneture w<sup>ch</sup> remaineth ther, hathe been enforced to staie some what longer then willingly he would have don frome the doinge of these thinges before this tyme, because he hathe hade a defier that w<sup>th</sup> his travaile and others in comyffion tochinge this matter of the oore that he and they nowghte have understood what certayne accompt was to be made of the said oore to thend yo<sup>r</sup> honour, and the rest of her Highnes cownfaile myght have been perfatly enforced. What hathe ben don hether to Mr. Furbusher will do yo<sup>r</sup> honour to wyet. And albe hit the oore in reporte do not appiere to be of the vallew w<sup>ch</sup> hathe ben looked for, yet yf the woorkmen be to belyved who offereth ther lieves to performe that w<sup>ch</sup> they have fet downe w<sup>th</sup> ther handes, the commodittie is fuche as maye content refonable myendes, for my owne opynyon I beleve hit will fawll ow<sup>t</sup> better than the woorkemen hathe fet hit doune, and that it maye so come to pafe I will use all the travaile I cane possiblie; not so muche for my pryvate gayne (trewly) as in respect of the Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> that her highnes good hoepe be not made frustrate, and yet I dow<sup>t</sup> not but you beleve I ame worfe able to beare a losse than her Ma<sup>tie</sup> is. And thus most humbly takinge my leave, I rest, prainge God to kepe yow in helthe. Tower Hill, the xxv<sup>th</sup> of November, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honnors ever to comawnde,

W. Wynter.

[*Colonial*, 60. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 41.]

November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1577. From *Jonas Schutz* touching the Gould Oore.

Righte honorable Mr. Secretarye Walsingham, my humble dutie premyfed. These may signifie unto youre honnoure that wheras I have bene by order from the Quenes Majestie and her most honorable counsaill appointed to trye the ore brought into the realme by Maister Captaine Ffrobysher. Nowe, so it is that I have bene visited with sicknes and ame as yt weake, so that I have not bene able to accomplishe my dutie in tryall thereof, accordinge to my comyffion. And nowe, havinge recovered somewhat of my disease, I entende by the grace of God to finishe the profe therof. And wheras I dyde promyse before youre honnoure halfe a nowce, I doo not mys dowte thereof. And yff the nexte doth fall any better which I ame in good hope then shall it be showed to youre honnoure, and accordingelie one Saturdaye next to bringe a sample therof to the courte. Thus muche I thoughte

it my dutie to fignifie unto youre honnoure. And fo leavinge to trowble yo<sup>u</sup> further, I reſte prayinge the Almighty God to proteſte yo<sup>u</sup>. Ffrome the howſſe of Johne Nighelſon, ſcituat in Eaſte Smythfeilde, the xxv<sup>th</sup> daye of November, A<sup>o</sup> 1577.

Your humble ſervaunte to commaunde,

Jonnas Schütz.

Too the righte honorable Mr. Secretarie Walinghame, one of the Quenes Majeſtie previe conſail.

[*Colonial*, 62. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 43.]

Nov<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1577. From *Dr Burcot*: what he thincketh the Goold Oore will yeeld by the tonne.

After moſt hartie and humble commendacions. Whereas the Queenes Mat<sup>ie</sup> (as I perceave by yo<sup>r</sup> honors lettres) hathe required me to make an affaye and to ſhewe my judgm<sup>t</sup> in that ooyre w<sup>ch</sup> Captayne Ffurbyſher brought into this lande, the truthe ys, I have ſo donne, and I deſire yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to advertize her highnes that I have affayed and proved yt to the uttermoſt by dyvers and fundry affayes, and fynde not therein fuche greate ryches as ys ſpoken and reported of. But the truthe ys, I have founde that in an hundred weight there ys half an onze of golde in the blacke ooyre that ys x ounces yn a tonne. Alſo, I fynde one other redd ooyre bearinge twoo ounces in an hundred weight, that ys ffortye ounces in a tonne. And yf the ſame be well huſbanded by a ſkyllfull and expert man, that blacke oore will yelde in the great fyer half an ounce, and beare the charges of meltinge and purifyenge of yt. I wolde therefore wyſhe her highnes to allowe ſome yeerely conſyderacion unto ſome expert and ſkyllfull man in the knowledge of myneralles that yf any fuche roughe wyeld and forrayne ooyre at any tyme, hereafter happen to come into this lande that he by his true affayes thereof may certyfie her highnes of the juſte encreaſe of the ſame at his owne charges that thereby her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and ſubjectes may not (as heretofore they have bynne) be diſceayed by fuche vayne and untrue reports. And further that fuche ſkyllfull man maye teache others in the ſame experyence of myneralles yf at any tyme hereafter the like vyage ſhalbe made for the like or other ooyre whoſe knoweledge of the travellers maye greatly encreſe the commoditye of the viage, whoe by his inſtruccion in the ſame knoweledge may learne a brevyate and ſhorte affaye in the tryall thereof w<sup>th</sup> out any charges, ffurnys, or other instrument. And that in fuche ſhorte tyme that they maye thereby make xij affayes in an houre, what goodnes ys in fuche ooyre, and then to take the good and leave the badd. If age and fycknes did not ſo oppreſſe me, but that I were able to travell therein myſelf, I wolde willinglie

bestowe my dyligence in that fervice. Thus I leave yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to Goddes direction, prayenge for her Ma<sup>ties</sup> longe and prosperous raigne. Dated this xxvj<sup>th</sup> of November, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> at commaundem<sup>t</sup>,

Burchard Kraurych.

To the Right Woorshipfull S<sup>r</sup> Fraunces Walsingham, Knight, Chief Secretary unto the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, my finguler good frende gyve these.

[*Colonial*, 63. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 54.]

30 November, 1577. From *Michael Lok*, of *Jonas*, new Maner of Tryalls of the Goold Ore.

Right honorable. I wrote you a letter vj daies past, w<sup>ch</sup> I fent by Mr. Furbufher, myndinge at that tyme my self and Jonas to have byn w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> honor at the court this daye. The onely caufe of our staye was that Jonas is makinge triall of another order of meltinge to be used in the grosse worke wherby to melt the ore, w<sup>th</sup> halfe the charges and tyme of the ordinarie use of the grosse workes, and w<sup>th</sup> all to receive the fyne gold out of the fyer molten w<sup>th</sup> out any maner of yron or other matter of the ore to hynder the fame, w<sup>ch</sup> work is already done after one maner in grosse order, and found very good, and by Monday or Tewesday next wilbe also finished after another maner, w<sup>ch</sup> is also hoped shall fawlle out as good or rather better. And therw<sup>th</sup>al we will repayre to yo<sup>r</sup> honor w<sup>th</sup> full and perfect resolution of all matters to good lykyng by Gods grace, or on Wednesday to Hampton Court bycause it is nerer. And then, also, I wyll certyffy yo<sup>r</sup> honor what I fynd in S<sup>r</sup> L. Ducket and S<sup>r</sup> R. Heyward, for the matter declared to me by Mr. Waterhowffe this mornyng, accordinge to yo<sup>r</sup> letter received then, also of hym who sayethe that he also wilbe w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> honor at the Court on Monday or Tewesday next w<sup>th</sup> anfwere therof.

That w<sup>ch</sup> I wrote yo<sup>r</sup> honor in my letter fent by Mr. Furbufher touchinge the rycheffe of the ure, is very trew. Yt greveth me to see so moche tyme lost before we begyn to gyve order for the makyng of the furnasses for the grosse work, w<sup>ch</sup> of necessity must be done before we shall have any goodnes when all is sayed and proved that can be done, I know not wherto to impute the fault, but to a *schisma* growen amonge us commiffioners, throughe unbelese, or I cannot tell what worfe in summe of us, w<sup>ch</sup> the tyme must open. And thus for this tyme humbly I take my leave and commytt yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Godes protection. From London, this 30 November, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most bounden,

Michael Lok.

I fend this berer, my fervant, purpofely w<sup>th</sup> this letter, and yo<sup>r</sup> honor maye command hym to retorne at yo<sup>r</sup> plefure.

To the right honorable Mr. Francys Walfingham, Chyef Secretarie of the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, &c.

Delyvred at the Court.

[*Colonial*, 61. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxviii, No. 42.]

A Note of all fuch charges as fhall amount in myltyng downe the Gowld Owre, and other charges as followeth, by *Mr. Jonas Showtes* Account.

Inprimis, every toune waight of owre to yeald the fomme of . . . . .	xxx <sup>li</sup>
Item, for the byldyng of the worke howfe and furnyffes . . . . .	iiij <sup>cli</sup>
Item, for the charge of xij workemen wykely . . . . .	v <sup>li</sup>
Item, for cole, wood, fflowfhe, and lead, to mylte it doune wykely . . . . .	xv <sup>li</sup>
Item, that the fayd Jonas fhall trye w <sup>th</sup> the fayd charges afore fayd wykele ij tone wayte of owre w <sup>ch</sup> fhall yeald in fyne gowld the fomme of . . . . .	xx <sup>ounces</sup>

Jonnas Schütz.

[*Colonial*, *East Indies*, 69. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, No. 15.]

*Agnello* on the Triall of the Ore.

Molto Magnifico et honorando Sr mio effellentiffimo.

Non voici Sr mio che penfasti ch' io fuffi cofsi mal crenuto che attanti che hora non fuffi ftato el debito mio ad responder alla vofta cortefe lettera scrittame di 7 del paffato ma la caufa è ftata ch' io defiderame di rifpondemi con qualche fuffantia, il che volendo fare fon ftato forciato di far molte efperienze et prove per conoscer la natura di quefta minera portata in quefto regno dal Sr Martino Furbifher; ultimamente di poi molte prove fatte ho trovato che bifogna feperare la parte fulfurea combuftibile con confervatione dell' oro che in effa fi fitruova, et più glie neceffario feperare quanto fi puo la parte terreftra, et ancora el ferro che in effa fi contiene, il che fatto detta minera fara più facile alla fufione et con maneo fpefa, oltra di quefto l'oro quale era difperfo per minima in gran quantita di terreftreita et materia ferrea, fara redotto più unito ad diverfi recuperare et unirfi infieme. El quale effetto penfo haver trovato, la qual cofa fe penfate poffi fuplire al defiderio di fua Ma<sup>ta</sup> me gli oferifco paratiffimo. Ma perche intendo che vi fono molti che fi proferifcono et fano proforte grande à fua Ma<sup>ta</sup> io farfi di opinione che lei detteffi a cottare le loro proforte ch' io per me fon di gia vecchio et impotente a durar più faticha et tanto più che quefta non è mia professione,

per che veramente io non adoperai mai metalli, glie ben vero che effendo io ftato fempre defiderofo de intendere i fecreti de natura ho penfato de intender la natura di quefta minera come di fopra ho detto. Non voici pere Sr mio che penfafi ch' io habbi detto quefto con intencione di non far piacer et fervitio a fua Ma<sup>ta</sup> quando gli pincera comand . . . le ma l'ho folamente detto per le caufe fopra detto. Et cofi facendo fine et pregando l'Altiffimo vi confervi et profperi, gli bafcio l'honorata mano. Di Lon. adi 20 di Decemb. del 77.

Tutto al comando di V. S.,  
Giovanni Battifta Agnello.

[*Colonial, East Indies*, No. 64. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, 8.]

A Note of the charges requifite for the triall of one Tonne of  
the North-weft Ore.

Right honorable,—We have byn longe tyme about the fecond prooffe of the ure, and doo well parceave that this foinace is not great ynoughe for the common great workes of the meltinge and to bringe the work to that perfection w<sup>ch</sup> is defyred, and fo moche hathe Jonas faid unto us from the begynnyng. And yet wee doo fynd by thefe two proffes made of c weight of ure apece that the ure hathe in it more then the valew of xl<sup>li</sup> of money in gold in everie ton weight, after the rate that we fynd and fawe the faid two proffes. Alfo in this meane tyme we have had triall of dyvers maner of workynges made by fundry men for the bettar preparyng of the ure that it might be eafye in y<sup>e</sup> meltinge to avoyde great charges, and we have had dyvers fmall prooffes made by them w<sup>ch</sup> have very good lykinge, but we are not able to fay affuredlye what they wyll fawll out in the great worke untill the fornaces be made for the faid workes. Thus is moche tyme paffed awaye and money fpent, and yet our expectation not fatiffied. Wherefore we have thoughte good now to drawe this matter to the beft end that we can. And uppon conferens had w<sup>th</sup> Jonas (whome we fynd very honeft and trew in his doinges, and as our judgement wyll leade us the perfecteft workmafter in this art of his profeffion). We have thus dealt w<sup>th</sup> hym as folowethe. He fayethe that this here new proved is poore in refpect of the pece of ure brought laft yere, and of fum other brought this yere, and of that w<sup>ch</sup> he knowethe may be brought the next yere, and that it is of a ftrange nature, fuche as he is not yet well acquaynted withall; but he doutethe not in the great work, he will learne to knowe it perfectlye. Nevertheleffe, beinge, as it is or maye be, he dothe promyffe to delyver halfe an ounce of fyne gold out of everye hundreth weight therof at the worft and leaft valew, and hopethe alfo affuredlie to delyver fo mochē more gold as fhall pay all charges of the meltinge and workinge therof, w<sup>th</sup> an advantage wherein he will ufe his beft endeavour, as well for the feryyce of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> as for his owne credite. And for the reward

of his owne labour and induftrye, he dothe referve hym felfe to the good confideration of her Mat<sup>tie</sup> and yo<sup>r</sup> honor w<sup>th</sup> the reft of the Lordes, defyryng that whatfoever it be he maye be made fure therof duryng his lyffe by her Mat<sup>ties</sup> letters pattenttes before he begyn the great workes in the w<sup>ch</sup> letters pattenttes he is contented ther fhallbe a condicion fett downe, that yf he doo not parforme that w<sup>ch</sup> before is declared that then he wyll take no benefite by that graunt. And he fayethe that he hath no doubt that in the handelinge of the great workes his doynge fhallbe fuche as juftelye fhall deferve to augment his pencyon of lyvinge hereafter whatfoever it fhallbe now. And touchinge the ordinarie charges of workinge the ure to perfection, he is not able yet to faye juftelye what it wyll amount uppon the ton, untill he have made triall therof in the great work; but this much he fayethe that it wylbe under ten poundes the ton, exceptinge the charges of buyldynges of the workhowffe and fornaces, and fo he wyll warrant it uppon forfeiture of his pencyon. And hereuppon he repayreth to the Court to take fum end w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> H., and the reft of the LL., w<sup>ch</sup> beinge done, he wyll go prefently to Bristow to Mr. Furbuher, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> good lykyng, to vew a place convenient to erect the workhowfe and fornaces, and there to have conferens w<sup>th</sup> the work-masters that fhall erect the fame according to the plat, that he wyll gyve them the charges wherof he cannot judge w<sup>th</sup> out conferens had w<sup>th</sup> them; but he thynkethe it wilbe under cc poundes. Thus moche we have thought good to certiffy yo<sup>r</sup> honor, and in the reft therof hymfelfe fhall fatiffy you more at large. Robert Denham is one fuche as may be able to doo good farvyces to the Q. Mat<sup>tie</sup> and ftand the Company in great ftade whatfoever fhould happen to Jonas, and therefore it were good he mought be remembered, w<sup>ch</sup> we referre to yo<sup>r</sup> honors good confyderation. And thus God preferve yo<sup>r</sup> honor. From London, this vj December, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors to commaund,

W. Wynter,

Michael Loke.

To the right honorable Sr Ffrancys Walfingham, Knyght, one of her Mat<sup>ties</sup> principall Secretaries.

dct.

At the Court.

[*Colonial*, 65. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, No. 9.]

- The great prooffe of the black oure of Alom and chayne.
- Thee third prooffe of thee read fand of Alom and chayne.
- Thee fecond prooffe of thee read fand of Alom and cheyne.
- Thee oure of Hynnesbury Gilles.

[*Colonial, 66. Domestic Eliz., cxix, No. 10.*]

iiij Melting Furnaces will melt iiij Ton of Ure in a Day and Night or rather  
xij Howars vj Workmen wyll farve theſe iiij Furnaces and all other Workes  
therto belonging.

For vj men men's wagys and meate a daye . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
And for other ydle tyme of work . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
W <sup>ch</sup> is for iiij tons xx <sup>s</sup> w <sup>ch</sup> is j ton for . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
For coles and wood to melt j ton j lode . . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
For leade j ton for j ton ure w <sup>ch</sup> leade wilbe gotten agayne in the laft almoſt iiij quarters of it fo is loſt but j quarter of j ton worthe x <sup>li</sup> the ton, w <sup>ch</sup> is for j ton of ure . . . . .	iiij <sup>li</sup>
For fyar to roſt j ton ure . . . . .	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
For a man to attend the fame j day . . . . .	xx <sup>d</sup>
For mixture to melt the ure for j ton . . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>
Sum £5 5 0 a ton ure charges.	

[*Colonial, East Indies, 67. Domestic Eliz., cxix, No. 12.*]

*Doctōr Burcots Articles and Conditions to ferue in fyning of the  
North-weſt Ore or any other Minerals.*

Right honorable,

We have vewed all the watter mylles neere London and doo fynd  
the moſt of them to be tyde mylles w<sup>ch</sup> wyll not farve to work the ure.

Alſo we have vewed the Temple myll w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas dothe well lyke for the watter  
courſe, but the fame hathe very little or no ground wheron to buyld the work-  
howſſes needfull nor no place there for habitation of the workmen and offycers  
requyfyt for the workes.

Alſo we have ſeene the mylles at Dartford, whoſe water courſe Jonas doth alſo  
lyke well. And confideryng the commoditie of the towne for habitation of the  
offycers and workmen alſo the water paſſage from the Tames to the towne and  
the good ſtore of fewell in Kent, we thynk that place good fo<sup>r</sup> the purpoſe wherof  
this berar Mr. Furbuſher can certyffy yo<sup>r</sup> H. particularlye referring all to the con-  
fyderation of yo<sup>r</sup> H. and the lords of Mat<sup>ties</sup> honorable privie counsell.

Alſo I have delyvred to Mr. Burkot yo<sup>r</sup> H. letter and theruppon I and Mr.  
Furbuſher have had large talke w<sup>th</sup> hym, and in the end we fynd hym farre out  
of reaſſon, and from that w<sup>ch</sup> he wrote to yo<sup>r</sup> H. as you ſhall parceave by the  
wrytinges herew<sup>th</sup>all ſent of his demandes; alſo Jonas is not wyllynge to joyne  
w<sup>th</sup> hym, and by our conferens had we doo ſee that Burcot wold doo in the workes



no more but the fame w<sup>ch</sup> Jonas would doo and wyll doo and in sum poynttes not fo moche nor fo well as at yo<sup>r</sup> H. commyng to London you shall more largely understand. The first thing that now is to be done for erection of the workehowffes for the ure is this: to wryte yo<sup>r</sup> H. letters to Mr. Bartye, husband of the Duchesse of Suffolk to send hether Sebastian, a dockeman who now makethe certayne mylleworke for hym at Grymsthorp, w<sup>ch</sup> workman must make the bellowes wheeles and all other tymber-work. Also yo<sup>r</sup> letter to sum fryn[d] to send hether Hendrick the dockeman brykler or mason who is now in work at the glassehowes in Suffex at a place called Lokwood, these ij men w<sup>th</sup> Jonas must presently view and measure the plat of ground for erection of the mylle and furnaces and ordayne for the plat of the work and for the stufte to work w<sup>th</sup>all and buyld w<sup>th</sup>all. Also uppon yo<sup>r</sup> H. resolution what place you think most meete to erect the workehowffes. The ownar therof must be agreed w<sup>th</sup>all presently for the fame before we can begynne the workes of buyldynges. All other matters appertaynyng to the premysses may stave untill yo<sup>r</sup> H. come to London.

And thus I commytt yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Almighty God.

From London the xiiij of December, 1577.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most bounden

Michael Lok.

To the right honorable Sr Francis Walsingham, knight, one of her

Ma<sup>ties</sup> principall Secretaries

At the Court.

[Inclosure 1.]

The 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1577.

Mr. Doctor Burcot shall doo as folowethe:—

1. He shall chyef mafter of the workes of provynge and meltinge the ures here at home yerelye and in his owne parson shall see and ordayne and command the fame.

2. He shall delyver halfe an ounce at the least of fyne gold for every hundred weight of the ure, free and clere of all charges of ffyer and additions for the melting and mens labour for the workyng and all other charges except the charges of buyldyng and instrumenttes or workyng tooles.

And this shall he parforme or ells shall loofe his pencion of cc<sup>li</sup> and all other intertaynement.

Mr. Doctor Burcot shall have as folowethe:—

1. A pencion of cc<sup>li</sup> yerely during his lyffe.
2. And xx<sup>s</sup> day for his dyat when he or his deputye workethe.
3. And a better reward when the mynes prove bettar and l<sup>i</sup> beforehand beydes his pencion. And this shall be parformed to him by sufficient bondes.

## [Inclosure II.]

Artycles off Burkard Krainghe off the meltine and ffyninge of that ooyre that ys brought into this land and that w<sup>ch</sup> here after shal come.

Inprimis that he will be a master teacher and instructor of Inglyshemen how they shal melte this presente blacke ooyre or any that comythe here after to puryffie and fyne yt and bringe yt to parffyte gold.

Item he will also have fuche men as he will chuse and apounte they shalbe bound to the hole fellowshipe and unto him not to departe frome this bufynes w<sup>th</sup>out the masters lycense and good will havinge ther wages reasonablye appointed unto them.

Item he will also erecte and buyld a meltene house w<sup>th</sup> vj fornaces axiltres, fyninge ovne vj pare off bellous w<sup>th</sup> all other instrumentes apperteyninge to fuche a house of his owne device and knowlage profytable and mete for fuche meltine at the fellowes cost and charges.

Item he will have too hundred pound ayeare duringe his naturall lyffe quarterly to be payd and one hole quarter in hand, and the next pament at oure Lady-day next followinge, and xx<sup>s</sup> a day for his charges holy day and workie day as ofte as he ys in and aboute that bufynes and yf yt fortune him to be charged w<sup>th</sup> bodylie syckenes and be not able to travile in the same arte and be present himselfe that he may have a sufficiente man ther in his place in the meane tyme and the same accountes and the xx<sup>s</sup> to be payd monthly.

Item he will also have by that same meltine house sufficiente rostine house, coyle house, w<sup>th</sup> plentye of wood and coile.

Item the same Burkard hath takine upon him w<sup>th</sup> his affore appointed workemen and melters to bringe out of the blacke ooyre that ys present alrebye in this lande halfe an ounce of a hundred weight gold and beydes that yt shal beare reasonable charges so that he may have the same ooyre cleanlye delyvered unto him w<sup>th</sup>out earthe droffe or stonnes havinge wood and coile w<sup>th</sup> workemen at y<sup>e</sup> quenes pryce.

Item will gyve a note what maner of bellowes and other instrumentes neffessary appertayninge to the same mayd here in London and carryed to fuche a place as the Mr. and fellowes thinke mete to be buylden.

Item, he will instructe and teache to make proves and faves to one man that will go fuche a vioage agayne to bringe over treasure and ryches to pay for all and leave fuche pooer and wyld ooryes behind yf ther be fuche ryches in the land.

Item he ys also content to travill his old body in the fellowshipes cost and charge to vew se and fynd out in this land a place for buyldine fuche a house bothe mete and profytable for the beste cheape of meltine and bringine in of the ooyre.

Item, he will also make faves of this ooryes that is in this land advertyce the comysioners of the ryches of the same of his owne cost and charge, and in his owne

houfe and fhowe and teache how yt fhall be brought oute in the greate fyer becaufe he hathe his penfion for y<sup>e</sup> fame.

Item, he will alfo have tow notable men in the fellowfhippe that fhallbe bound unto him in a pare of indentures and he to them for the hole fellowfhippe w<sup>ch</sup> one of them fhallbe appointed to pay him at altymes for him and his men ther wages an his penfion and xx<sup>s</sup> a day.

Item, yf ther fhall here after any more fuche ooyre come into this land w<sup>ch</sup> fhall beare the charges and be more profytable then thys ys that where he hathe now xx<sup>s</sup> a day then he fhall have xl<sup>s</sup> a day.

Item, that yf he do not performe the afforefoyed artyckles then he fhall loffe his pittane and therto I have fette my hand.

Item, he will not have that his penfion nor his xx<sup>s</sup> fhallbe accounted in the charges of the meltyng becaufe yt is neyther for labourer nor workmenes wages.

Item, will alfo have that alwayes ther fhall remane a peace of mony in the mafters handes before hand in the buyldine and meltine to pay his men in dew feafon and he fhall make acounte every fennet or xiiij dayes at y<sup>e</sup> leaſte and fend yt to him that payes the men to make his booke w<sup>th</sup> a trew accountes what is ſpent and payd.

Item, the M<sup>r</sup> will alfo inſtructe and teache one of his ſecret and bounden ſarvantes and prentyce durynge his lyffe as he hathe partely alre dy done that yf yt happene that the fame M<sup>r</sup> dothe defeace or dye that the fame his mane fhall knowe fuche ſecretes and myſtories w<sup>ch</sup> every worke man and laborrer ought not to knowe ſo that his ſervice may be followed in his defeaces and after his deathe and to be joynd now w<sup>th</sup> him in patent.

[*Colonial*, 113. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxix, No. 2.]

January 2, 1578. From *Mr. Edward Fenton*, what ſucceſſe he hathe had in traveling to get Owre in the Weſt Countrie.

My dutie to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> moſt humblie uſed. Makinge my L. of Bedforde acquainted w<sup>th</sup> her Ma<sup>ties</sup> commiſſion and ſervice I had in hande from yo<sup>r</sup> ho: he preſentlye directed his favorable letters unto Mr. Edgcombe (whoſe ſkill and indginete for that purpoſe and ſervice his L. thought moſt ſufficiente) to whom I repaired accordingle. And making him acquainted therw<sup>th</sup> I deſired his ſpeedie good help and furtherance in the fame and ſheifeſt to be furniſhed of that oure or minerall (Mr. Burcott) affirmed to yo<sup>r</sup> honor to have receved of him and gotten in his growndes w<sup>ch</sup> he affured me by great othes was not true: for the fame oare . . . delivered unto (Burcott) by one of his bretheren who receavid the fame of another man w<sup>ch</sup> died longe time ſithence, and where he had the fame he knowes not neither can it be learned of any other. So that at my firſte entraunce into the

service I was voyde of that hoope and helpe I cheiflie expected at his handes for the presente supplie of the same. Wherefore feinge the uncertentie of his help and that he sayde he had procured some other fortes of oare but not readie for me: I furthw<sup>th</sup> repaired into Cornwall to see what fruites I coulde reape, and fonde owt for that purpose by myne owne travaill: And coming amongst the mynes there (Christmas being at hand) and the myners being departed from their labours. Onlic in thende haping to one (Mr. Cofworth) receavo<sup>r</sup> of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> renew there, w<sup>th</sup> whom using some conferrence receavid bothe greate courtesie for my self and furtheraunce for the presente service I had in hande: he travailed with me into sondrie places and to divers gentlemen of that shier at whose handes and by whose meanes I was cheiflie to be holpen w<sup>th</sup> such mineralls as I ferched for viz., Mr. Goodolphin, Mr. Arundell, and others w<sup>th</sup> whom after I had used some conferrence and given them some instructions towching thaction furthw<sup>th</sup> dispatched their letters to their servaunts best acquainted w<sup>th</sup> those causes to make presente serch for all oares and mineralls remayninge in their workes from whom I have receavid such fortes of oare as I have sente to London (to Mr. Looke) putt in severall bagges marked w<sup>th</sup> figures accordinge to a kalendar herwith inclosed to yo<sup>r</sup> honor.

But the oare (Mr. Burcott) had wherof Mr. Edgcombe delivered me a peice, I shewed to divers tynners and others of skill in mineralls, but they never saw any suche in Cornwall or other places of their workinge.

Greater speede I could not make by reason thunsittnes of time as absence of all workmen from their workes, neither a greater quantitie of oare w<sup>ch</sup> forte will best serve the purpose it is gotten for, w<sup>ch</sup> I coulde not do having no skill therin my self muche lesse here acquainted w<sup>th</sup> any that could do the same. And therefore thought it not good to entre into any further charges therin till I received yo<sup>r</sup> honors further pleasurs and certificatt w<sup>ch</sup> forte or fortes therof will best agree w<sup>th</sup> thaction it is provided for, w<sup>ch</sup> I will most dutifullie and readelie followe accordinge to suche orders as yo<sup>r</sup> honors shall direct me for the same. Humblie beseeching yo<sup>r</sup> ho: to direct yo<sup>r</sup> favorable letters of thanks to (Mr. Cofwarth) for the greate courtesie he hath shewed me in this service craving pardon for my boldnes I beseeche God to blesse yo<sup>r</sup> honors with good successe in all yo<sup>r</sup> actions. Ffrom Mount Edgcombe the ij<sup>de</sup> of Januarie, 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most humblie to commaunde,

Edward Fenton.

To the right honorable the Lords and others of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> most honorable Privie Counsaill.  
haste.

[*Colonial*, 113. *State Papers. Domestic Eliz.*, Vol. 129, 2, i.]

The Kallender of fuche forts of Oare as I have sent in foundrie Baggs, viz. :

The first fort or kynd being liek copper called myndick growethe in St. Awftell Clives 3 milles from the haven of Foye.

There is liek to be good stoare therof.

2. The second fort comonly called by the tynners calle, there is great stoare and dyvers kynds therof growing in St. Tew and other places 3 milles from the sea fyde: and from the haven of Foye vij milles.

3. The third fort lyke unto tynne or lead, groweth in St. Awftell in the severall grownd of Hughe Collyns of Tregonie, ij milles from the see and vj from Foye.

4. The iiij<sup>th</sup> fort growethe in the parishe of Piryn in the grownd of (Mr. John Nance) and was one of the mynes (Mr. Burcot) wrought for silver: he gave to the honnor yerely v oz. of silver, it lyethe w<sup>th</sup> in 2 milles of New Kaie a littell harbor now decayed, the work standethe xxij fethomes deape of water and the loade therof a foate broade.

5. The fift fort was gottin by me and Mr. Cofwarthe in a silver work of Bircotts, at New Kaie, hard by the see side and in the parishe of S<sup>t</sup> Collom (the lower, the loade scant a foat broade), I fownd also in a howse hard by the same, certayn flage w<sup>ch</sup> he used to melt downe the same oare w<sup>th</sup> all, of what substaunce or from whence it came, I could not learne; it is amongst the oore in this bagge.

6. The vj<sup>th</sup> contayneth 4 forts of oore received from Mr. Barnard Penrose dwelling nigh Helston.

7. The vij<sup>th</sup> fort was gotten in the parishe of S<sup>t</sup> Tanneffe, her Ma<sup>ts</sup> land, hard uppon the see side, the loade not above a handfull broad.

8. The viij<sup>th</sup> bagge contayneth 7 forts of oare w<sup>th</sup> their loads. Received of Mr. Edgcombe.

Fower forts of oare in 4 severall baggs, marked w<sup>th</sup> the letter M., from Mr. Michell, of Trewroo.

*Indorfed.* The fortes of myneralls received from C. Fenton, from Cornwall, the 8 Januarie, 1578.

[*Colonial*, 131. *State Papers. Domestic Eliz.*, Vol. 129, No. 43.]

The xvij Daye oe Febrowary in An<sup>o</sup> 1578, of x<sup>c</sup> of Ore meltyd at *Dartforde*. A Cownt made of x<sup>c</sup> of Ore meltyd w<sup>ch</sup> came out of the *Judeth*, and 13<sup>c</sup> of Ore w<sup>ch</sup> came out of the Northe, and 3<sup>c</sup> of Lectage w<sup>ch</sup> came frome *Tower Hightt*—26<sup>c</sup> in all.

Where of came iij<sup>c</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  of ryche leade, and that beyinge fynde downe there came vij oz. of felver, lackynge ij<sup>d</sup> weyght, where of beyng partyd, came of gowlde one q5 q<sup>r</sup> oz. and xvij grains.

Where of came out of the leade ore and the lytarge, w<sup>ch</sup> was xvij<sup>c</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz.  $\frac{1}{2}$  q 3, w<sup>ch</sup> is x oz.

Then meltyd the lytarge w<sup>th</sup> the flags where out is come ij<sup>c</sup> of leade, w<sup>ch</sup> ij<sup>c</sup> of leade howldeth v oz.

All fo there dothe remayne in stone ij<sup>c</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$ , w<sup>ch</sup> howldyth all v oz.

There remayns ij<sup>c</sup> of lead at 30<sup>s</sup>

Where of all is xvij<sup>c</sup> oz. of felver w<sup>th</sup> gowlde.

The gowlde w<sup>ch</sup> is there in is  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. 40 grains, w<sup>ch</sup> is 35<sup>s</sup> in valew.

There remayns xvij oz. j qr. ij<sup>d</sup> weyght,  $\frac{1}{2}$  of felver, where of we take out x oz. for the xvj<sup>c</sup> ore and lectarge. Refte in felver of owre owne ore 7 oz. j qr. 3<sup>d</sup> weyt  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

(On dors.)

Howe mych the x<sup>c</sup> dothe make.

Furste, in fylver 17 oz. j qr. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>d</sup> weyte, at . . . . .	4	7	0
Then the gowlde $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 40 grains, at . . . . .	1	15	0
Then 3 <sup>s</sup> lead lefte, at . . . . .	1	10	0
Where of abate for x oz. w <sup>ch</sup> came oute of the ore and lettarge of the northe . . . . .	2	10	0
The refte clyer, w <sup>ch</sup> is come out of ow <sup>r</sup> $\frac{1}{2}$ tunne of ow <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	5	2	0

[*Colonial*, 134. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 15.]

A Note of the value of 200 w<sup>eit</sup> of Oare gotten in the Countefs of Warwicks Ilande in (*Meta Incognita*) and putt downe by me, *Jonas Shute*, at the *Tower Hill*, the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> daie of Marche, 1578, and putt of on iii feuerall Testes conteyng Gold and Silver, as follow<sup>th</sup>, viz.

The prooffe of the first test.

The first prooffe waighed in gould and filver, vnrefyned . . . . .	11 oz. 4 penny w <sup>eit</sup> 16 graines.
Being refyned, in gould and filver . . . . .	11 oz. 1 penny w <sup>eit</sup> and 11 gr.
In gould, being parted . . . . .	20 graines and 3 quarters.

The prooffe of the second test.

The feconde waighed in gould and filver, vnrefyned . . . . .	1 oz. 3 qrters and 14 gr.
Being refyned, in gould and filver . . . . .	1 oz. 7 penny w <sup>eit</sup> 14 grs.
In gould, being parted . . . . .	1 penny w <sup>eit</sup> 4 gr. 3 qrters.

The prooffe of the third test.

The thirde waighed in gould and silver, vn-  
 refyned . . . . . 10 oz. 14 penny we<sup>it</sup> 18 gr.  
 Wherof there is a litle sample kept of the same  
 for a futle prooffe, if need require.  
 Being refyned in gould . . . . . 1 oz. 13 penny we<sup>it</sup>  
 In gould, being parted . . . . . 1 penny we<sup>it</sup> 8 gr. 1 qrter.

The quantetie of gould and silver refyned in the iii tests.

The whole weight of the gould refyned	}	3 penny we <sup>it</sup>	} x <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>	} xxxv <sup>s</sup>
amounteth to . . . . .	}	10 gr. d.		
The whole we <sup>it</sup> of the silver refyned cometh	}	4 oz. 19 penny	} xxv <sup>s</sup>	
to . . . . .	}	we <sup>it</sup> 3 grs. d.		} vii <sup>d</sup>

The quantetie and rate of thaditamets ufe in thies prooffes.

In litarg 400 we<sup>it</sup> held in silver . . . . . 2 oz. d.  
 In leade 56 pownds we<sup>it</sup> held in silver . . . . . 1 qrter. of an oz.  
 All w<sup>ch</sup> cometh to xiiii<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> (I knowe) remayinth yet it the litarg and  
 leade, and fo will allowe for the same.  
 So that after this rate it cometh in the toone towards all  
 chargs . . . . . xvii<sup>li</sup> xviiij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>  
 Wherof, I the faid Jonas defcireth allowance for waste . . . . . lviiij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup>  
 And fo I, the faid Jonas Shute, promiffeth to make of  
 euyre ton towards all chargs . . . . . xv<sup>li</sup>

(c) *The Third Voyage.*

## I. State Papers relative to the Outfit for the Third Voyage.

- I. A Proportion of the Charges for a Thyrd Voyage.
- II. The Names of fuch Gentlemen as wente in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Voyage now in Confideracion of their Service, to be received as Adventurers, gratis.
- III. Intertayment of Gentlemen and Others under Mr. Fenton to inhabite the New Land.
- IV. Instruções given to Martine Ffrobifer.
- V. The Inventorie of the Ship *Ayde*.
- VI. The *Gabriell* priced at £lxxx.
- VII. Thefe have not payd the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, 1578.

[*Colonial*, 88. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiv, No. 1.]

A Proportion of the Charges for a Thyrd Viage to the Northwest to fitch 2000 Toones of Oore and to vittal and keepe there 100 Men 18 Monethes.

Two thowfande toones of oure to be brought home at xxx <sup>li</sup> le toone amounteth to . . . . .	lml <sup>li</sup>
Wherof	
I demaunde to furnifhe the <i>Ayde</i> and <i>Gabriell</i> in prefente and readie monie . . . . .	m <sup>li</sup>
More for the wages of 80 men for v monethes at xxvjs. viijd. le monthe le man to be paid at per reatorne . . . . .	dxxxiiij <sup>li</sup> vjs viij <sup>d</sup>
Two fhipps to be procured more of her Mat <sup>tie</sup> , viz., one of 400 toones and thother of 200 toones throughlie furnished w <sup>th</sup> tackle and munition w <sup>ch</sup> maie amounte to . . . . .	mmmdc <sup>li</sup>
Marioners to faile the fame ij fhipps 150, at xxvjs. viij <sup>d</sup> . le monthe le man in preft . . . . .	cc <sup>li</sup>
More for vittelling of thies 150 failors at xxs. le monthe le man for vij monthes . . . . .	m <sup>li</sup>
More in preft for 120 pyoners to be convoyde in thies fhipps for ij monthes wages le man at xxs. le monthe . . . . .	ccxl <sup>li</sup>







More for the vittelling of thies 120 pyoneers at xx <sup>s</sup> . le man le monthe for vij monthes . . . . .	dccc,xl <sup>li</sup>
More for iiij monthes wages for the pyoners to be paide at their reatorne . . . . .	·ccciiij <sup>xx</sup> li
More for v monthes wages to be paide 150 marioners at their reatorne . . . . .	m <sup>li</sup>
More for weapon and armor for thies 120 men . . . . .	cxx <sup>li</sup>
More for foldio <sup>rs</sup> and pyoners being 250 to be bestowed in shippes to be fraighted at xxvj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> . le man le monthe for ij monthes in preste . . . . .	dclxvj <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
More for the vittelling of thies 250 men for vij monthes at xx <sup>s</sup> . le man for every month . . . . .	mdccl <sup>li</sup>
More x halls or tentes for their harbo <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	ccxl <sup>li</sup>
More for armor and weapon for theis 250 men at xx <sup>s</sup> . le man . . . . .	ccl <sup>li</sup>
More for yronworke for tooles for the fame pyoners and for vij fmithe, their fourdges and bellowes . . . . .	c <sup>li</sup>
Ffor powder for their defence one lafte . . . . .	c <sup>li</sup>
More to be paide in wages at their reatorne for iiij monthes . . . . .	mmdclxvj <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
More for the fraight of 1200 toones at cs. le toone . . . . .	vj <sup>mt</sup> li.
Sum of all the charges to be difbourfede as appereth by this particular . . . . .	xx <sup>md</sup> ,ccc,xxxvj <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
And fo remains cleare . . . . .	xxix <sup>m</sup> clxiiij <sup>li</sup> vjs <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
M <sup>d</sup> that there is in readie monie to be difbourfed for the fetching of theis 2000 toones but . . . . .	vj <sup>mt</sup> dlxvj <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Befides the ij shippes of her Ma <sup>tie</sup> w <sup>ch</sup> maie come to . . . . .	mmmdc <sup>li</sup>
A proportion for 100 men for victuall and wages to inhabit the Northwest.	
More for the vittelling of 100 men to remayne there at xx <sup>li</sup> le man for the yere and the proporcion to aunfwere xvij monthes . . . . .	} mmmmdccc <sup>li</sup> .
More for their wages at xx <sup>s</sup> le monthe le man . . . . .	

The Comoditie to be gayed by them.

Thies 100 men being laborers shall gett in this xvij monthes towards their charges 2000 toones of oare w<sup>ch</sup> shall yelde xx<sup>li</sup> le toone cleare amounting to the some of . . . . . xl<sup>m</sup>li.

M<sup>d</sup> that to fortifie and provide dwelling for thies 100 men w<sup>th</sup> munition for their defence is further to [be] provided and considered of.

[*Colonial*, 89. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiii, No. 50.]

The Names of fuche Gentlemen and others as wente the Firft and Seconde Voyages w<sup>th</sup> *Martin Ffrobifher* into the Lands now called “*Meta Incognita*,” latlie difcovered by him to the Northweft and now in confideracion of their fervice to be receavid in as Adventurers gratis, for fuche fevall Somes of Monies as follow<sup>th</sup>, viz.

The Names of the Gentlemen.

Edwarde Ffenton his lieutenaunte, by lande and fea in thofe partes . . . . .	<i>cli</i>
Gilberte Yorke his vice-admirall to go and reatorne w <sup>th</sup> the fleete . . . . .	<i>li</i>
George Bef . . . . .	<i>li</i>
Richarde Philpott . . . . .	<i>li</i>
Henrie Carew . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Edmonde Stafforde . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Fraunces Brakenburie . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
John Lee . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
William Tanflde . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Edwarde Harvie . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Mathew Kinderfley . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Thomas Chamberlaine } . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Abraham Linche } . . . . .	
Dennys Sotle . . . . .	
Roberte Kinderfley } . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Henrie Kirkman } . . . . .	
Lucke Girido, vice-admirall at <i>Meta Incognita</i> . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>

The Maifters of Shippes and others.

Chriftofer Hall, M <sup>r</sup> in thadmirall . . . . .	<i>li</i>
Charles Jackman, M <sup>r</sup> of the vice-admirall . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
James Beare, M <sup>r</sup> of the Reare-admirall . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Andro Dyer, M <sup>r</sup> of the fhipp that ftaiies in the country . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Nicholas Chauncelo <sup>r</sup> havinge been bothe the voyages and to remayne there . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Richarde Coxe M <sup>r</sup> gonner of thadmirall . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
Nicholas Counzer that tooke the man Thomas Boydell . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>
James Wallis, hurte and maymed by the country people . . . . .	<i>xxvli</i>

[*Colonial*, 91. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiii, No. 51.]

Intertainment of Gentlemen and Others in the Voyage under  
*Mr. Fenton*, to inhabite in the newland *Meta Incognita*.

Mr. Captayne Fenton . . . . .	li10	0	0
George Befte . . . . .	li5	0	0
Richard Philpot . . . . .	li5	0	0
Luke Ward . . . . .	li5	0	0
For ij lewtenanttes, eche . . . . .	li2	10	0
For ij enfeignes, eche . . . . .	li2	0	0
And all the rest of the gentlemen . . . . .	li1	10	0
And all others, foldyars, marynars, &c. . . . .	li1	6	8
	By the monthe.		

[*Colonial*, 87. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxix, No. 46.]

That Jonas may have *i<sup>cl</sup>i*. pension.

Shippes to be sent for *v<sup>mt</sup>* ton weight.

A mynor to dig half ton adaye, in 28 days—a month.

*i<sup>c</sup>* mynors for a month to digg . . . . . *j<sup>mt</sup> iii<sup>c</sup>* ton.

*ii<sup>c</sup>* mynors . . . . . *ij<sup>mt</sup> viij<sup>c</sup>*

*iii<sup>c</sup>* mynors . . . . . *ij<sup>mt</sup> cc* ton.

Wages for *y<sup>e</sup>* mynors.

*Y<sup>e</sup>* freight at *ijj<sup>li</sup>* *y<sup>e</sup>* ton . . . . . *ix<sup>mt</sup>* poundes.

Edm. Hogan, Sr W<sup>m</sup> Wynter, Humfrey Lock, Rich. Ydys, Furbisher.

Dce.

Palmer to be allowed as an officer.

W<sup>m</sup> Umfrey to be used. Humfrey Cole. Burchard to make a proof of *j<sup>c</sup>* weight of *y<sup>e</sup>* ure in *y<sup>e</sup>* towre.

[*Colonial*, 93. *Conway Papers*.]

Instruções given to or lovinge Frind *Martine Frobiser*, Esquier, for the order to be observed in his Voyage nowe recommended to him for the Lande now called by Hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> *Meta Incognita* to the Northwest Partes and *Cathaye*.

Ffyrst, you shall enter as captain generall into the charge and government of theis shippes and vessells, viz., the *Ayde*, the *Gabriell*, *Michaell*, *Judethe*, the *Thomas Alline*, *Anne Fraunces*, the *Hoppewell*, the *Mone*, the *Ffeauces of Ffoy*, the *Thomas*.

Item, you shall appoynte for the furnishinge of the *Ayde*, *Gabriell*, *Michaell*, and *Judith*, ffour-skore and ten hable and sufficient marinors and 130 pyoners and

50 soldiars, for the farvyce and ladinge of all fuche shippes and vessells as shall go under yo<sup>r</sup> charge and be appoynted to retourne againe w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> for that purpose, and of the fayd shippes or vessells, and maryners, pyoners, and soldiors, you shall leave to remayne and to inhabite in the lande nowe called *Meta Incognita*, under the charg and government of Edward Ffenton, gent, your Lieutenaunte Generall, the *Gabriell*, the *Michaell*, and the *Judethe*, w<sup>ch</sup> fortie hable marioners, gonners, shipwrights, and carpentars, 30 soldiors and 30 pyoners, w<sup>th</sup> sufficient vittalle for xvij monthes for their provisione, releife, and mayntenance, and also munition and armour for their deefence, w<sup>ch</sup> number of perfones befor specified you shall not exced to carrie nor leve their.

Item, that the vittalls for vij monthes w<sup>ch</sup> you deliver into the *Ayde* for provisione of 90 perfones goinge, and to retourne in the said shippe, you shall carefuley see the same preserved and used in farvyce w<sup>th</sup> out spoyle or hurte takinge by negligence. Item, you shall make a juste inventorie of every shippe to the companie belonginge of all the takell, munitione, and furnitur, to them belonginge at their settinge fourth from hens and the coppie therof under yo<sup>r</sup> hand to be delivered to Michaell Lok, Treasurer of the Company. And the like to be done at yo<sup>r</sup> retourne home, of all thinges then remaynyng in the said ships. And the like care you and yo<sup>r</sup> Lieutenaunte Generall shall have of the victualls that shall be by you delivered into any shippes or vessells whatsoever, for the provision of the 100 men appoynted to inhabite their.

Item, you shall not receve under yo<sup>r</sup> charge and government any disordred or mutinous persone w<sup>ch</sup> shall be appointed to goo or remayne their, but upon knowledge had to remove him before you departe hence, or ells by the way assone as you can avoyd hym.

Item, you shall use all dilligence possible to departe, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> said ships and vesselles from the portes where they now remayne, before the firste of May next cominge, and to make your course eather by the northe or the west, as the winde will best serve yo<sup>u</sup>.

Item, when you shall passe the landes of England, Scotlande, or Irelande, you shall direct yo<sup>r</sup> course w<sup>th</sup> all yo<sup>r</sup> shippes and vessells to the lande now called *Meta Incognita*, and to an iland and founde there called the Countess of Warwikes Iland and Sounde, being w<sup>th</sup>in the supposed straight, w<sup>ch</sup> we name Ffrobifers Straight, discovered by yo<sup>r</sup> selfe 2 yeres past, and in yo<sup>r</sup> voyage thither wardes you shall have speciall regarde so to order your course as yo<sup>r</sup> shippes and vesselles do not losse the Companye one of an other, but may kepe company together. And the lyke also in yo<sup>r</sup> retourne homewards. And yf any wilfulnes or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any persone or persons that shall have charge of any of the shippes aforesaide, or yf they or any other shall doo otherwyse then to them apperteyneth, you shall punishe fuche offender sharplye to the example of others.

Item, that at yo<sup>r</sup> arryvall at the Countesse of Warwikes Iland and Sounde, you

shall theron faffitec harbour yo<sup>r</sup> fhipps and vefselles, and frome thence you shall repayre to the mynes and myneralls of the fame iland wher you wrought this lafte yeare w<sup>th</sup> myners and other men and furnytüre neceffarie, and ther shall place the myners and other men to worke and gather the oare, forefcinge they may be placed as well frome dainger and malyce of the people as frome anye other extremitye that maye happen.

Item, whyles thefe mynars are working in Warwyke Sound, you shall caufe ferche to be made for other mynes in other places, and yf uppon good prooffe made, you fhall happen to fynde other mynes to be richer then theis frome whence you had yo<sup>r</sup> lafte yeares ladinge, then you fhall presentlie remove the fhippes and myners to the fame place of mynerall, and to lade of the fame yf that may be done convenientlye.

Item, to fearch and confider of an apte place wher you maie beft plante and fortifye theife c men w<sup>ch</sup> you fhall leave to inhabite there afwell againft the dainger and force of the natyve people of y<sup>e</sup> countrey and any other y<sup>t</sup> fhall feke to arryve ther from any other part of Chriftendom, as alfo to prevent and fore fee as neare (as you cane) all other extremities and perills that maye happen, and neceffaries to be confidered of for them.

Item, you fhall leave w<sup>th</sup> Captan Fenton, yo<sup>r</sup> Lieuetenaunte Generall, the government of thofe 100 perfons to remayne in that countrie w<sup>th</sup> inftrućtions howe he maye beft obferve the nature of the ayre, and may difcover and knowe the ftate of the countrie from tyme to tyme as moche as may be, and what tyme of the yeare the Straight is moft free frome eyffe kepyng to y<sup>e</sup> end a journall wekly of all accountes, w<sup>th</sup> whome you fhalle leve the *Gabriell*, the *Michaell*, and the *Judith*, w<sup>th</sup> fuche proportion of victualls and other neceffarie things as are alredye appoynted to him and his companye for that purpofe fuppliing his want w<sup>th</sup> able and fkyllfull men for that purpofe, and w<sup>th</sup> any other things neceffarie w<sup>ch</sup> you or any other of the fhippes maye convenientlye fpare at yo<sup>r</sup> reatorne.

Item, we require that you fhall inftrućte all yo<sup>r</sup> people rather to muche then any thinge to littell, afwell for yo<sup>r</sup> owne faffetye there as of fuche as you fhall leave behinde you, that when you or they fhall happen to come to have conference w<sup>th</sup> the people of thofe partes wher you fhall arive, that in all yo<sup>r</sup> doynges and theirs you fo behave yo<sup>r</sup> felves and theyme, towards the faid people as maye rather procure their frindfhips and good lykings towards you by courtefyes then move them to any offence or myflikinge.

Item, uppon yo<sup>r</sup> arrivall at the place before fpecified, and after you have bothe harbored fafflie yo<sup>r</sup> fhips, fett yo<sup>r</sup> myners one worke, and alfo have taken fufficient order for plantinge of thofe men w<sup>ch</sup> fhall inhabite ther, and appoyntinge in yo<sup>r</sup> abfence governers for all theis caufes. We will then, yf leafure and tyme wille permitt the fame that you w<sup>th</sup> the ij barkes fhall repaire towards the place where the firft yeare you loft yo<sup>r</sup> men, afwell to fearch for mynes there as to difcover

50 or 100 leagues further westwardes frome that place as y<sup>e</sup> opening of y<sup>e</sup> Streight by water will lowe, as you may be certayne that you are entride into the Southe Sea commonly called Mare di Sun. And in your passage to learne all that you cane in all thinges, and take perfect notes therof, not tarringe longe frome your shippes and workemen, but that you maye be hable to retorne homewardes w<sup>th</sup> them in due tyme.

Item, you shall well confider what place may be most aptest further to fortifye upon hereafter (yf nede requier), bothe for defence of the myners and also for possesseing of the countrie and bringe home w<sup>th</sup> you a perfecte platt and perfecte notes therof to be kept in secreat, and so deliyvred unto us.

Item, you shall not suffer any shippe or shippes beinge laden w<sup>th</sup> oare to sett sayle or departe from the place of their ladinge till the daye fixed in their charter partye except you see good cause otherwyse. And beinge so laden and redy to retorne homeward you shall reetayne them in flete and in companie all togethers as muche as in you liethe, and as the wether wyll suffer untill your retorne into this realme of England and arrivall at the place appoynted in the River of Thammes for unladinge of the same.

Item, for the succession of the Generall Governour of this whole voiage (yf he should fortune to die) for avoydinge of stryffe and keepinge of peace and fryndship there be the names of iiij gentlemen privatlie sett downe to succeade him in his place on after y<sup>e</sup> other which ar severally wrytten in paper included in balls of wax sealed w<sup>th</sup> hyr Ma<sup>ties</sup> signett and put into boxes locked w<sup>th</sup> severall keys wherof on in your custody.

Item, for the better and more circumspecte executions and determinacion in any waightie causes incident on land, we will that you shall call unto you for assistantes your Lieutenaunt Generall, Captayne Yorke, Richard Philpott, George Beaft, and Henry Carewe, gent., w<sup>th</sup> whome you shall consult and confere what is beste to be done in the said causes, matteres, and actions of ymportaunce touchinge this service undertaken. And in all suche matteres so handeled, argued, and debated upon the some to rest, to be allowed, or disallowed at yo<sup>r</sup> owne election, and that alwaies to be executed w<sup>ch</sup> you shall thinke meeteste w<sup>th</sup> assent of any ij of them in general consent. And like wyse in matteres of weight concerninge all yo<sup>r</sup> shippes good government, aswell at the sea as in harbour, o<sup>r</sup> wille is that the forenamed gent. and Christofer Hawle, Charles Jackeman, James Beare, and Andrewe Dier, ministers, in certayne of o<sup>r</sup> shippes, presentlie ymployed in this north-west service, shalbe assistaunte unto you and consentinge to all determynacones concernynge the same. And in casse that of suche conference and discoursinge the opiniones of the aforefaid assistaunce be founde in effecte any waye to differ then o<sup>r</sup> will is that the execution of all suche matteres so argued upon shall rest to be put in execution in suche sorte as you shall thinke moste metest, having the assent of any ij of them.



Item, because the temprature of those northe-west partes and boundes of seas and landes are not yet sufficientlie knowne (w<sup>ch</sup> thinge we principallie desyere), and for as much as verie good opertunitie in foundrie respectes maye falle out in tyme of yo<sup>r</sup> absence to purchaze or attayne to the same, we thinke y<sup>t</sup> verie necessarrie and to your better desert worthelie apperteninge that you shall enforce, advise, and auctoryshe by yo<sup>r</sup> owne hande writtinge, in the beste manner you cane devise howe anye further descouverye, understandinge, or knowledge of the foresaid landes or seas (confynnge, borderinge, or lyinge, w<sup>th</sup>in 200 leages of the place wher at this voyage the habitacone or fortification of o<sup>r</sup> people shalbe fetled or fituated) maye be executed and acheved by yo<sup>r</sup> aforesaid Lieutenante Generall or by suche other parson as he or the most parte of such as hereafter shalbe named to be his assystance shall deme and judge most apte and sufficient for the accomplishinge of the servyce their unto apperteyninge.

Item, that you shall have speciall care and geve generall warninge that no persone of what cawlinge foever he be shall make an assaye of any mannor of mettalle matter or oore on the foresaid partes of *Meta Incognita*, but onlie he or they to whome the offyce or feate of assayes makinge is asigned or comitted (onlie yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, yo<sup>r</sup> Leutenaunte Generall, and yo<sup>r</sup> substitutes before named, from this article to be excepted), nor any persone under yo<sup>r</sup> government shall take uppe or keape to him selfe and his private use anye parte or parcell of oare, precious stone, or other matter of comoditie, to be hade or founde in that lande but he, the said person so seized of suche oare, stone, or other matter of commoditie, shall w<sup>th</sup> all speade or so sone as he cane detecte the same and make deliverye therof to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe or yo<sup>r</sup> Lieutenaunte Generall upon payne to forfeite for everye ounce therof the valewe tribble of any wages he is to receive after the daye of suche offence committed, and further to receive suche punishment as to hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall seme good.

Item, o<sup>r</sup> will is that you shall cause a recorde dilligentlie to be kept in wrytting of all suche oare, myneralls, stones and other matters of vallew gotten or founde in that countrie, aswell of the time and place and places when or whear all and everye suche oare, minerall and other matter of suche vallewe is or shalbe founde or gotten, as also some parte, portion or example of all and everye the said oares, myneralls and other matter of vallewe in apte and peculiar boxes cause to be reserved w<sup>th</sup> their due titles and notificacones. And further cause dulye to be layed uppe in the said boxes the severall rates and tryed valuations of all assayes ther made of any the foresaid oares and myneralles, and all those foresaid boxes so furnished and distinctlie noted at yo<sup>r</sup> reatorne to the cite of London you shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the tresorer of the companye of adventurers for those northeweste affayres, as well for the better directione and dealinge heare after w<sup>th</sup> any the foresaid oares or myneralles ther as for the better and speedie account and reckinge, makinge in grosse heare at home of the valewe of suche

*A dooble o  
this book to  
be made,  
and brought  
home in an  
other shipp.*

quantitie or masse as any of them shall hether be brought. And of these doinges make two bookes, to be kept in ij severall shypps.

Item, that the marioners of all the hired shippes employed in this service shall geve, joyntlye w<sup>th</sup> all the other companies of o<sup>r</sup> owne shippes, iij or iiij dayes travall and labor towards thintrenchinge and fortifyinge of the place, wher the leutenante generall w<sup>th</sup> his charge shall remayne to inhabite there.

*A book con-  
teyninge ye  
quantitie  
laden in  
every shipp.*  
[Lord Bur-  
leigh.]

Item, that you shall make yo<sup>r</sup> directe course from hence as neare as you cane, w<sup>th</sup> all fuche shippes as passe under yo<sup>r</sup> government, to the land now called *Meta Incognita*, and their lade 800 toones, or so muche more as the shippes of retorne cane safflie carrie of fuche oare as you alredie have founde ther this last yeare, or rather richer yf you cane fynd the fame. And so havinge laden your shippes w<sup>th</sup> the said number of 800 tonnes or more, as is aforefaid, shall make yo<sup>r</sup> direct course frome thence into this realme of England into the river of Thames, where the shippes be appoynted to be unladen of the fame.

*The book to  
be indented*  
(Lord Bur-  
leigh.)

Item, that everye capten and m<sup>r</sup> of every shippe appoynted in this voyage shall joyntlie under their handes writinge by indenture deliver unto you a note and estimacone of fuche number of toones of oare or other matter of vallew as they shall receive into their shippes theire. And all the fame indentures to be registred in one booke, wherof iij copies to be made, and to be put in iij severall shypps to be delyvred to the treforer of the comp<sup>e</sup> at retorne home of the shypps.

(Lord Bur-  
leigh.)

That a minifter or twoo do go in this jorney to use miniftration of devyne service and sacraments, accordyng to y<sup>e</sup> churche of England. Nota, y<sup>t</sup> the victalls, munitions and other thynges to be carryed to be equally distributed into y<sup>e</sup> shippes, for dout of miscarrying of some of theme.

Item, in yo<sup>r</sup> waye outward bound, yf it wylbe no hynderans to the rest of yo<sup>r</sup> voyage, you shall doo yo<sup>r</sup> endeavour to dyscover the new land, supposed to be Ffryzeland, and to gett the best knowledge that you can of the state and nature therof. And yf you cannot conveniently doo it in yo<sup>r</sup> waye outward bound, then doo your attempt h.... in yo<sup>r</sup> waye homeward bound at retorne yf the fame may be done convenientlye.

Item, when you shall passe, etc.

Item, that yf there should happen any person or persons employed in this service, of what calling or condition he or they shall be, should conspire or attempte privatlie or publiklie any treason, mutanie or other disorder, either towchinge the takinge awaie of yo<sup>r</sup> owne life or any other of au<sup>t</sup>horitie under yo<sup>u</sup>, whereby her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service in this voyage might therby be over throwen and ympugned, We will therefore that upon juste prooffe made of any such treasons, mutanie or other disorders attempted as aforefaid, the fame shalbe punished by yo<sup>u</sup> or yo<sup>r</sup> lieutenant generall, etc.,

w<sup>ch</sup> are severally wrytten in paper included in bawles of wax, sealed w<sup>th</sup> her

Maties signet, and put into two severall boxes, locked w<sup>th</sup> iij severall keys, wherof one key in yo<sup>r</sup> custodie, and one in custodie of Edward Fenton, and another in custodie of Christofer Hawlle. And the same two boxes to be put in ij severall shyps, to faye, one boxe in the *Ayde*, and the other in the ship where yo<sup>r</sup> lieutenant generall shall passe.

Item, for the succeffion of the lieutenant generall of those c men w<sup>ch</sup> shall remayne and inhabite there, there be named iij parsons to succede in order and maner as is fett downe before in the Article for the succeffion of the generall.

Item, that there be made a doble of this Commyffion to remayne w<sup>th</sup> the lieutenant generall.

*Indorsed.* 1578. Commyffion instructions to Mr. Ffurbusher to goo to sea, No. 1578.

[*Colonial*, 127. *State Papers. Domestic Eliz.*, Vol. 129, No. 36.]

### The Inventarie of the Shyp *Ayde*.

(2d page.)

The Inventarie of the shippe *Ayde* made the 10th of Februarye, 1571.

In primis her furniture as she was bought of the Quenes Matie in Aprille, 1577.

In primis, the bowfprite w<sup>th</sup> ij double pullies and iij shevers of bras.

*The Bolt Sprite.*—Item the yarde; the faylle (worne): the hallyares w<sup>th</sup> ij pullies cocked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; the lifts w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles; the braces, w<sup>th</sup> 2 pulles; the sheate, w<sup>th</sup> pendants; the ij shankes paynters w<sup>th</sup> chaynes; a boulte, a collar and chaynes of irone; the mayne staye; the davette w<sup>th</sup> a claspe of irone; ij shevers of brasse to the davetts a grapnell w<sup>th</sup> chayne (loft) Catts a false tyre for the spritte faile; the clewlynes.

*The Fore-maste.*—Item the mast w<sup>th</sup> a shiver of brasse in the heade; the fore topp not; the yard w<sup>th</sup> gromets; a fwifter one aside w<sup>th</sup> iij pullyes, worne; the faylle viz., corse and bonnet, iij parts worne; ij pendants on a fyde w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles, one shevered, and one cocked; ij takels one a fyde w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles ij coked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; vj shroudes on a fyde; the staye; the lyftes w<sup>th</sup> iij pullies; the tye, worne; the hall-yares w<sup>th</sup> one shever of brasse in the rames head and ij cocked in the rame hedd; the parell w<sup>th</sup> lanyers and brest ropes; ij truffes w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; ij bowlines (worne), w<sup>th</sup> a doble blocke and ij shyvers of bras; the braces w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles (worne); the sheats w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles cocked w<sup>th</sup> bras; the shivers of brasse in the shippes side (none); the tacks (one of them newe); the martenetts; the botts tacle w<sup>th</sup> iij shyvers of bras.

*The fore tope maste.*—Item, the toppe maste w<sup>th</sup> a cocke of brasse in the heade; the yarde; the faylle (iij parts worne); j tacle on a fyde w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles; iij shroudes on a fyde; iij puttocks on a fyde; the staye and backstaye; the tye and halliers w<sup>th</sup> ij pullies one shevered and one cocked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; the liftes w<sup>th</sup> iij pulles; the sheates; the parell, broken, lanyers and brest ropes; the trufe w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; the

boulines w<sup>th</sup> one doble (polle); the braces w<sup>th</sup> iiij polles; the clulines w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; j crane line, bage and one pendante pulle.

*The mayne maste.*—Item, the maste w<sup>th</sup> ij shivers of bras in the heade (the mayne topp nawght); the yard w<sup>th</sup> grometts and stapells (broken and nawght); the faylle, viz., corfe and bonnette (good); the drabler (newe); j fwifter on a fide w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles (ij parts worne); ij pendants one a fide w<sup>th</sup> vj pulles on a shever of brasse, and ij shevers of brasse for the botts tacle (the tackles worne); ij tackells on a fide w<sup>th</sup> xij pulles, ij cocked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; viij shroudes on a fide; the staye; the listes w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles: the sheates supplied w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles, one shyvered w<sup>th</sup> bras, and th'other cocked with bras (the sheates worne), and ij shivers of brasse in the shippes fide; the tacks; the tye (halph worne); ij shevers of brasse in the knight; the halliers w<sup>th</sup> ij shevers of brasse, in the knight and ram heade; the parrell w<sup>th</sup> laniers and breft ropes; the truffe w<sup>th</sup> iiij pules (nowght); the martinets (worne), and vj pulles; the garnette w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles w<sup>th</sup> ij shevers of brasse; the braces w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; the bowlines; the clulines.

*The mayne tope maste.*—Item the tope and maste w<sup>th</sup> a shever of brasse in the heade; the yarde; the faylle (newe); j tacle one a fide w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles; 4 shroudes one a fide; v puttockes one a fide; the staye and the backe staye; the listes w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles; the sheatts w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles ij shevers, one of them brasse and ij cocked w<sup>th</sup> brasse, and ij of brasse in the bubbridge heade (none of brasse); the tye and halliers w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles one shevered and one cocked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; the bowlines w<sup>th</sup> one doble pulle; the braces w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles; the clulines w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; the the cluline a rane bagge and one pendante pulle.

*The myson maste.*—Item the maste, w<sup>th</sup> a shevere of brasse in the hedd; the yarde; the faylle, viz., corfe and bonet, nawght; a fwifter on a fide w<sup>th</sup> iiij pulles, the fwifter's nawght; v shrouds one a fide; the staye; the tye and halliers w<sup>th</sup> a shyver of bras, and breft ropes; the truffe w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; the lyfts w<sup>th</sup> ij pulles; the boulines—non; the fmitinge line—non; the parell; the myzon martinets.

*The mifon tope maste.*—Item the tope and maste; ij shroudes on a fide; iiij puttockes on a fide; the staye.

*The botes maste.*—Item, a shever of brasse in the heade; a paynter cheyne; a davett w<sup>th</sup> a shever of irone; a windlesse; a maste w<sup>th</sup> a fayll; a rother w<sup>th</sup> spindell and capps—(loft).

*The skyffe.*—Item, a skyffe; xij ores; a rother w<sup>th</sup> yrone worke—(none).

*Implements.*—Item, a mayne capstaine w<sup>th</sup> collar and paull of yrone and iiij bares; paule non nor bars; the fore capstene w<sup>th</sup> a paull of yrone and 2 bares; a state pompe w<sup>th</sup> a bracke; a bed sted and a table in the captaines cabbine, the table broken; a payre of bilbowes w<sup>th</sup> vj shakells; a grinstone w<sup>th</sup> spindle and winche of irone; a coper kettell; ij meate kettells, one very smalle; a barre w<sup>th</sup> a chayne and ij hockes in the cooke rome to hange the kettell one; but ij ankers, ankers great, iiij; cables of xij ynches that the shiipe is mored by, ij; cables of xj

ynches—iij, ij of them newe, one of the ij of 13 inches, one of them a juncke and cut; cables of x ynches, j halfe worne; cables of viij ynches for a botte rope, j halfe worn; cables of vj ynches, j newe, spent and gone; gefte ropes of v ynches, j halfe worne; condinge haufers of v ynches, j; haufers of v ynches, j; fats (fathoms?) of a haufer of v ynches, x fathom; a britton tackell w<sup>th</sup> iiiij shevers of brasse and one of irone coked w<sup>th</sup> iij blocks and j pendante tacle, j; boye ropes, j; catte ropes, ij worne; facks of coylye of iij ynches, x fathem; peces of coylyes of ynches and ynches and halfe, iij peces; flaggs of Sainte George, j worne: compaffes, ij; runnyng glaffes, j nawght; foundinge lynes, ij; foundinge leades, iij, ij; bucketts, ij; boules, iiiij; fhovelles, iiiij; fkoppes, ij; spare pulles great and small, vj, ij coked w<sup>th</sup> brasse; marlienes, ij bundells; ratline, fhyves; twine, x<sup>li</sup>; item, boults of middremaxe, iiiij; calappes, v; piche pottes, j nawght; fifhe hokes, ij; leache hokes, ij, j; loffe hokes, iiiij; ballefte basketts, ij; canne hokes, j pare; fides, ij; boyes, iiiij, iij; catte hokes fhevered w<sup>th</sup> brasse, ij.

Summa of all, w <sup>ch</sup> cofte . . . . .	vij <sup>c</sup> l <sup>li</sup>
And the ordenans and munition aperinge hereafter, w <sup>ch</sup> cofte . . . . .	ij <sup>c</sup> xlv <sup>li</sup>
Summa of all this fhip as ytt coft, amounteth . . . . .	xj <sup>c</sup> iiij <sup>xx</sup> xv <sup>li</sup>
We doe thincke that the forefaid fhip, w <sup>th</sup> her mafts, yards, fayles, anckers, cables, and other taikle and apparell contained in particulers before fett downe in this book, fo as the faume may be delyvered accordinglie, to be worthe . . . . .	vij <sup>c</sup> li
Item, more for v peces of brasse in this book after fpecyfyed amonge the ordenance and munitions, beinge ij mynions, and iij <sup>s</sup> fawcons, weyinge iiij <sup>awt</sup> v <sup>c</sup> xvij <sup>li</sup> waight, at iij <sup>li</sup> p <sup>r</sup> c <sup>t</sup> , cxxxv <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> And more for v cariadges perteing to the faide peces p <sup>r</sup> eftimation, iij <sup>li</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	cxxxvij <sup>li</sup> xvj <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup>
Summa totalis . . . . .	vij <sup>c</sup> xxxvij <sup>li</sup> xvj <sup>s</sup> vij <sup>d</sup>

(Signed) W. Wynter. Will<sup>m</sup> Holftok.

The reft of th' ordenance and munitions, in this inventorye we thinck them nott mete, for the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>.  
 (The above letter is crossed off in the original.)  
 The xxij<sup>d</sup> of Februarie, 1578.

We doe thinck y<sup>f</sup> the forefaid fhip, w<sup>th</sup> her mafts, yards, failles, anckers, cables, and other taikle and apparell contened in particulars, before fett downe in this book, fo as the fame may be delivered accordinglie, to be worthe . . . . .

dcc<sup>li</sup>

We doe also thinck y<sup>f</sup> the v peces of braffe in this book  
afte ſpeceſied, amonge the ordenance, to be worthe the  
monyē they are rated at, and mete for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
ther v cariadges, pertaining to them, w<sup>ch</sup> dothe amount  
unto the ſome of . . . . .

cxxxij<sup>li</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>  
Totalis . . . . . dcccxxxij<sup>li</sup> ij<sup>s</sup> xj<sup>d</sup>

And as touchinge th' other ordenance, and munitions conteyned in this inven-  
torye, we doe not thinck them mete for her highneſs.

(Signed)

W. Wynter. Will<sup>m</sup> Holſtok.

More the ordenances and munitiō put into the ſhippe, after ſhe was brought  
w<sup>ch</sup> dide coſt as followeth:—

#### Ordenans of braffe

Mynyones, ij wainge 22 <sup>cwt.</sup> 2 <sup>qrs.</sup> 4 <sup>lb.</sup> at 3 <sup>li</sup> per cwt. . . . .	£67 13 4
Fawcons, i wainge 7 <sup>cwt.</sup> 2 <sup>qrs.</sup> 14 <sup>lb.</sup> at 3 <sup>li</sup> per cwt. . . . .	£22 17 6
Faucons, ij wainge 15 <sup>cwt.</sup> at 46 <sup>s</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup> per cwt. . . . .	£35 0 0
And for the carriages of all 5 peces . . . . .	£6 13 4
	£132 4 2

#### Of caſt yrone.

Sacres, viij wainge . . . . .	5 <sup>ton</sup> 12 <sup>cwt.</sup>	
Mynyons, j wainge . . . . .	1 <sup>cwt.</sup>	
Fawcons, v wainge . . . . .	2 <sup>ton</sup> 2 <sup>cwt.</sup>	
	8 <sup>ton</sup> 5 <sup>cwt.</sup>	
Summa . . . . .		
At £12 a ton . . . . .		£99 0 0
And for 14 carriages, all . . . . .		17 13 4
Fowles, vj . . . . .		
Chambers to them, xij } floked at li5 pece . . . . .		30 0 0

#### Munitiō, as followeth:—

Sacre ſhot, round, ij <sup>c</sup> vij . . . . .	10	1	0
Fawcone ſhote, rounde, lxix . . . . .	1	2	4
Colveringe ſhot, rounde, xix . . . . .	1	2	4
Mynion ſhot, rounde, xvij . . . . .	0	2	14
	13	3	18
Summe waing . . . . .			
At 10 ſhillings the cwt. . . . .			li6 18 0

Crofbar shotte.

	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
For sacres, xlix . . . . .	3 1 0	
For fawcane, xxvij . . . . .	1 1 0	
For mynion, xj . . . . .	0 2 14	
Summe . . . . .	5 0 14	
At xxij <sup>s</sup> per cwt. . . . .		li5 18 0

Chayne shotte.

	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
For sacres, 14 . . . . .	1 0 0	
For fawcane, 7 . . . . .	0 1 0	
Summe . . . . .	1 1 0	
At xxij <sup>s</sup> . . . . .		li1 8 6

Stone fhote.

For fowlers, liij, at xij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		li1 13 0
Ladells w <sup>th</sup> ftaves for sacres and mynion, 15, at xij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 15 0
Sponges and ftaves for sacre, mynion, and faucon, 12, at xij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 12 0
Rammer ftaves, 20, at 8 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 13 4
Formers for sacre, mynion, and fawcane, 3, at 6 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 1 6

Armor, and weapon, and munitione.

Calivers, 38, wherof 6 w <sup>th</sup> out ftoks.		
Flakes, 16 . . . . .	} at 13 <sup>sh</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	li25 6 8
Toche boxes, 10 . . . . .		
Moldes, 20 . . . . .		
Matche skines, weyinge ccl <sup>lbs</sup> . at 16 fhillings the c . . . . .		li1 12 0
Bowes of ewe, 25, at 3 <sup>sh</sup> 8 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		li4 11 8
Shefes of arowes, xlv, at 2 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		li4 10 0
Bow stringes, doffen, vij, at 8 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 4 8
Partezans, iij, at 13 <sup>sh</sup> 4 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		li2 13 4
Blacke bylles, xvj, at xij <sup>d</sup> . . . . .		lio 16 0
Pykes, 5, at 2 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		lio 10 0
Crowes of yrone, 9, at 4 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		li1 16 0
Trunkes of wylde fyer, ij, at 5 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		lio 10 0
Balles, wilde fyer, 15, at 3 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		li2 5 0
Arowes, wilde fyer, 11, at 1 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		lio 11 0
Pykes, wilde fyer, 5, at 5 <sup>sh</sup> . . . . .		li1 5 0
A drylle, j, at . . . . .		lio 1 0
Tampyons, 29, at 1 <sup>d</sup> pece . . . . .		lio 2 6
A gowge, j, at . . . . .		lio 0 6

Chyffells, iiij, at 6 <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	lio	2	0
Peckers for stone shot, j, at . . . . .	lio	0	6
A fledge, j, at . . . . .	lio	2	0
Spare trockells, ix, at 12 <sup>d</sup> a pare . . . . .	lio	4	0
	<hr/>		
Summe this fyde . . . . .	li49	5	8
The laft fyde . . . . .	li295	15	0
	<hr/>		
Summe of all this, which cofte . . . . .	li345	0	8

[*Colonial*, 133. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 10.]

March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1578. From *Mr. Tho. Allan*. The *Gabryell* priced at lxxx£.  
 Many thyngs in *Lockes* handes to be sould and to  
 bee called to his reare accompt.

My dewtic remembred: hit maye please youre honor to undarftande that I have receved ij letters this daye from youre honor, the one towching the ordnance to be folde, the other for the *Gabryell*, w<sup>ch</sup> letters I anfore. The ordnance ys folde by the bryngar hereof to one Clement Draper for xij<sup>li</sup> the towne, redye monye, as he faythe to me, he havinge a lyfence to tranfeporte the fame, wich lyfence yt maye please your honor to fende, and then the monye shalbe received by me, and pade owte agayne to these men. Havinge some afyftance w<sup>th</sup> me of the comyffioners at the payment there of wiche I desire to have ffor my dyfcharge acordinge to ordar.

Ande for the *Gabryell*, she was prafed by Mr. Locke and others at one hundrethe and li pounds. I fawe yt to moche. I browght hire downe to c<sup>li</sup>; yet no mane wyll by here at that pryce, fo I have offered hire iiij<sup>xxli</sup>, and that I do here that Mr. Furbusher haythe byden for hire; but I thingke redye monye ys owte of the waye w<sup>th</sup> hym, fo I fent Clynton to knowe whether he wolde have hire or no, or elfe I wolde yt myght please youre honor that S<sup>r</sup> Nycolas Malbe maye have hire, and paye vs this monye I thingke well of yt.

S<sup>r</sup>, I wolde these men weare pade; I ame fore trobled w<sup>th</sup> them; youre honor fende them to me they faye, and youre honor knowythe I have no monye to paye them. I have had iiij fytes of an agoo; Gode fende me to be quyte of yt. This is the gayne I do pofefe by folloyng of this besynes.

S<sup>r</sup>, there ys manye things to fell yett, wiche do lye and are in Mr. Lockes kepinge, and there ys no mane taketh charge or care of them, and what he can fell he doythe, but paythe no mane a peny. It weare very goode that youre honor wolde commande that all things myght be folde owte of hande by a daie, and that Mr. Locke myght be dyfcharged, and that he myght then bryngke in his reare acounte, and fo to deale w<sup>th</sup> hym, for that he doythe owe to the companye, that men myght be pade, and that youre honor myght certainly knowe what ys



yet owynge to men, and agayn what ys owinge to vs to dyfcharge them, for yt doythe lyngar to longe for oure proffyt. This I take my leave of youre honor, wryten this xx<sup>ti</sup> of Marche, 1578.

Your honars to comavnde,

Thomas Allen.

To the Right Honorable Sr Frances Walsingham,  
Knyght and prensepall Secretorye to the  
Quenes Matie.  
20 March, 1578.

[*Colonial*, 95. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxiv, No. 2.]

These have not payd the 3 May 1578.

	Stok	Buildinges.
My Lord Admirall . . . . .	£135	£20
My Lord Treforer . . . . .	£35	
My Lord Chamberlan . . . . .	£135	£20
My Lord Leycefer . . . . .	£202 10	£30
My Lady Warrwyk . . . . .	£32 10	
Mr. Secretarie Walsingham . . . . .	£62 13	
My Lady Anne Talbot . . . . .	£38 15	£5
Sr John Brockett . . . . .	£43 15	
Sr William Wyntar . . . . .	£250	£40
Sr Leonell Duckett . . . . .	£67 10	
Mr. William Pellham . . . . .	£67 10	£10
Mr. Thomas Randolphe . . . . .	£67 10	
Mr. Edward Dyar . . . . .	£33 15	£5
Mr. Somers . . . . .		£10
Mr. Coyar . . . . .	£33 15	£5
Anthony Jenkynfon . . . . .	£67 10	£10
Jeffrey Turvyle . . . . .	£67 10	£10
William Paintar . . . . .	£67 10	£10
Richard Cowland . . . . .	£67 10	£10
Mathew Fild . . . . .	£32 10	
Thomas Allyn . . . . .	£67 10	£10
Robert Martin . . . . .	£33 15	£5
Christofer Androwes . . . . .	£33 15	£5
Sr Thomas Grefham . . . . .	£70	£40
Martin Furbuher . . . . .	£67 10	£10
My Lord Camberlan, Whaterton . . . . .	£67 10	£10
	<hr/>	
	£1876	£260
Thomas Owen . . . . .	£33 15	£5

## 2. State Papers subsequent to the Third Voyage.

- I. Minutes to Mr. Locke abowte Mr. Furbifhers Viage.
- II. The Queens Authority to collect of the Adventurers their Subscriptions.
- III. From My Lords to certayne Gentlemen for Payment of certayne Sommes.
- IV. The Exclamation of the Marriners for their Payment.
- V. From M<sup>r</sup> Lok towchyng the Additaments.
- VI. Mr. Loks Account.
- VII. An Anfweare to Mr. Lockes Account.
- VIII. Second Minute for the Payment of the Wages.
- IX. The Anfwer of me Michael Lok to the Auditores of my Accounts.
- X. The Humble Sute of Thomas Bonham.
- XI. From Sir Thomas Graham touchyng the Order for the Payment of the Mariners.
- XII. The Venturers not payde.
- XIII. The Humble Petition of M<sup>r</sup> Lok for Charges disbursed.
- XIV. An Order fett downe by the Queenes Maj<sup>tie</sup> touchyng the Payment.
- XV. The Offer of Michael Lok for the Northwest Ewr at Dartford.
- XVI. An Offer made at Mufcovy Houfe by Jonas Sute before Mr. Feeld, Mr. Lok and Mr. Andrew Palmer.
- XVII. All the Stok of the Venturers in all the iij Voyages.
- XVIII. The Abufes of Captain Furbifher agaynst the Companye.

[*Colonial*, 102. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 22.]

October 29<sup>th</sup>, 1578. Minutes to *Mr. Locke* abowte *Mr. Furbifher* Viage.

After our very hartly commendations. Whereas the fhyps imploied in the viage of *Meta Incognita* are nowe returned all home in saffetie w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Ffurbuffer, and forasmuche as we are informed y<sup>t</sup> in this voyage dyvers new places and mynes have byn dyfcovred. We have thought yt necessfarye to require you to have a care in these matters, and to call before you the generall, and the captaynes, maisters and pilotes of the fhyps, and to demand of them account in wryting severallie of their doinges and procedinges in this voyage, w<sup>th</sup> discourse of the thinges happened in the same, And also to demand and take of them such platts and cartes

of descriptions of the countries and places as they have made, and to forbyd them and others to publish or gyve out to others any platts or descriptions of the same countries.

And also we requyre you to have dew confyderation of the state of the shypes and goodes now returned home, and to sett suche order therin as best may be for the saffetye of the goodes, and the commoditie and credite of the companie of venturers, and avoydans of unnecessarie expenses. And furthermore, wee doo earnestly pray and requyre you throughlye to confyder of the state of the workes at Dartford, that withe all expedition sum good prooffe and triall may be had of the trew valew of the ewr brought home, aswell in this voyage as in the other before; and that we may be certified therof from you, for that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> hathe very great expectation of the same.

The Commyffioners.

*Indorfed.*

[*Colonial*, 100. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 20.]

The Queens Authority to *Michael Lok* to collect of the Adventurers their Subscriptions.

After our hartly commendacions. Fforasmuche as the shippes now come home w<sup>th</sup> oure lovinge frende Martyn Furbusher have brought double the quantitie of ewar that was expected, wherby the charges of the ffraight therof, and of the maryners and mynars employed in the voyage are double the rate sett downe at the begynnyng therof, as it is certified to us by the Commyffioners therunto appoynted for the payment wherof and discharge of the said men, it is requyft to collect of the venturars presently the sum of vj<sup>m</sup> pounds of money. And forasmuche as it is greatly needfull to use all dyllygens for the present spedye collection of the said sum of money, aswell for the avoyding of excessyve great charges w<sup>ch</sup> grow theruppon daylye untill the said men be paid and shippes discharged, as also for the performans of dewtye and mayntaynans of credite of the companie. This is therefore to wyll and require you (being threformer appointed) presentlye, w<sup>th</sup> all the dyllygens that you can, to collect and receive of the venturars in this voyage the severall sums of money dew by them for the rate of their venture, according to a cedula of their names and sums herewithall under the handes of the said commyffyoners. And in case that you shall fynd any of the venturars to be remyffe in payment, and doo not presently pay his part and dewty as aforefaid (w<sup>ch</sup> we trust shall not happen), then doe you thinke meate that you gyve knowledg therof unto the Lord Mayor of London, and to Sr W. Cordell, Master of Records, whome we have appointed to be assystant unto you in that case, according to the tenor of our letters directed unto them in that behalfe.

Michael Lok.

[*Colonial*, 101. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 21.]

After our very hartly commendacions. Wheras our loving frynd Michael Lok is appointed presently and spedely to collect and receive of the venturars in the voyage of Mr. Ffurbusher, according to a cedula of their names delyvred to hym, a good sum of money for the payment of the maryners and discharge of the ships now come. And for that it may happen sum of them wyll not make ready payment of their partes, or wyll refuse to pay the same, w<sup>ch</sup> thinge would be a hynderans to the rest by great charges dayly groweng theron untill the maryners be paid and the ships dyfcharged.

Therefore we have thought good to requyre you twayne to be affystant to the said Michael Lok in this case, and uppon his information or complainte unto you to be made to calle before you suche parsons as shalbe found flak in payment, or shall refuse to pay their partes as aforesaid, and to perswade them eyther to pay the same presentlie, or els to comaunde them, as so dyrected by us, to appeare before us presentlye to shew cause why they doe not make payment accordingly. And so—

My L. Mayor.  
Cordell.

[*Colonial*, 107. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvii, No. 8.]

December 1578. M<sup>m</sup> from My Lords to certayne Gentlemen for the  
Payment of certayne Sommes due by them for their  
Adventure in *Mr. Furbishers Viage*.

After our hartly commendacions. The Quenes Mat<sup>ie</sup> being geven to understand that the myners, maryners and others imployed in the late vyage under our loving frynd Martin Furbusher, gentilman, are not yett paid all their wagys for their farvys in the sayd voyage, but doo lye styll at the great charges of all the venturars, for lak of payment of the money dew by dyvers of the particuler venturars, althoughe her Mat<sup>ie</sup> and many of the venturers have paid their partes dew for the same. And for that uppon thaccount taken it . . . . . appere that for yo<sup>r</sup> part therof you are to paye the sum of (*blank*). She hathe therefore geven us expresse commaundement to require you amongst others and fraytly to charge you in her name to geve order for the payment of the sayd somme in London unto the handes of Thomas Allen, treforer therunto appointed, w<sup>th</sup>in ten days after the receyt herof w<sup>th</sup>out . . . . . ffor that otherwyfe yt is ordered that suche as shall . . . . . or fayle to make payment at the daye lymyted shall be quyt exempted from all maner of benefytt and priviledg that may grow unto them by their former ventures made in the said voyages. And thus we hartely bid you Farewell.



[*Colonial*, 110. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvii, No. 12.]

December 8, 1578. The Exclamation of the Marriners, etc., for their Payment for Service under *Mr. Furbisher*.

My dewty remembryd unto your honar. This is to syngnyfy unto yo<sup>r</sup> honar that we, commynge home w<sup>th</sup> out mony where hit was declaryd beffore we came that we wolde brynge hit w<sup>th</sup> us, they keppe a gretor store nowe then they dyd before, and wyl beleve nothyng that we do faye. If hit maye please yo<sup>r</sup> honar that fuche order may be taken that thofe w<sup>c</sup> was taxyd by yo<sup>r</sup> honars maye be recevyd w<sup>th</sup> the refte that owght to paye who be in the corte by somme one yo<sup>r</sup> honar maye please to apoynt. And that hit maye please yo<sup>r</sup> honar to fende the messenger w<sup>t</sup> the letter to thofe in the fyete (city) that they maye paye presently, and I shall geve my attendance there to receve hit and to paye hit ageyne accordyng to order, ffor lyvyng at the corte is great charys, and all moſte be put to accownt. All ſo there is a great dell of ffreyt to paye: no ſhippe p<sup>d</sup> but one, w<sup>ch</sup> is cauldy the *Beare*, Lefter, w<sup>ch</sup> is Mr. Lockes ſhippe, and ſhe is holy payde, as yo<sup>r</sup> honar may ſe in his accownt of the mony w<sup>ch</sup> he dyd receve; hit is 350*li*. the laſte parfell. There is other that wolde be p<sup>d</sup> as well, as he Cryſtmas beyng ſo nere every man cryythe out for mony. I wyſhe all myght be payde before the tyme and hit be poſſybell, deſyeryng yo<sup>r</sup> honar to helpp at a pynche, or elce I wolde I had my mony and another had my offece. This I take my leve, commyttyng yo<sup>r</sup> honar to the Lorde, who bleſſe you and kepe you for ever. Wrytten at my howſſe in London this viij December in anno 1578.

You<sup>rs</sup> to commaunde,

Thomas Allen.

To the Right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Francis Walfingham,  
knight and principall Secretary to y<sup>e</sup> quenes  
highnes geve theſe.

[*Colonial*, 111. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvii, No. 16.]

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 11, 1578. From *Michael Lok* towchyng the Additaments.

Right honorable. This berar the messenger wyll report unto you what he hathe done w<sup>th</sup> the venturars for their money. We have not yet receved anye but of Wylliam Ormshawe. We hope the refte will come shortlye. This messinger fayethe he muſt have his fees. I know not what to anſwere him thereon but as yo<sup>r</sup> honar will appoint.

The great workes at Dartford ſtand ſtill untill additament come from the northe or the weſt; that of the northe wyll come ſhortlie I hope, that of the weſt is not

yet fent for, bycaufe the commyffioners had not byn togetheres fins I was at the court, but to morrow S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Gresham and others of them wilbe in towne as I am informed, but when they meete I think they cannot do moche for Mr. Edgecome's dytament, w<sup>th</sup>out sum speciall letters to hym from the courte. And in the meane tyme I think it very needfull that letters were wrytten to hym to fend a ton therof by land w<sup>th</sup> the very first spedy convayans, for that we are very certaynelye assured by Jonas and Denan that that is most good and most fitt to work w<sup>th</sup> our ewre, and the like furans have we by one Goodyere an English workman, who hathe wrought in my hows these iiij or v dayes on divers small fayes of our ewr by appointment of S<sup>r</sup> Leonell Duckett, whose report yo<sup>r</sup> honor shall know w<sup>th</sup>in ij or iij dayes. And thus I commit yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Almighty God. From London this Thurfdays xj December 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most bounden

Michael Lok.

To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Francis Walsingham, knight,  
her Ma<sup>ties</sup> principall Secretarie.

at the Court.

[*Colonial*, 112. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvii, No. 20.]

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup> 1578. *Mr. Lockes Account.*

Right honorable, I have received presently yo<sup>r</sup> letter wherein y<sup>r</sup> honor dothe write me of informations gyven against me to detayne in my handes the companyes money and their goodes, for answere therof I can faye no more, but that I have none of their money in my handes, and for prooffe therof I referre me to myne accounttes, w<sup>ch</sup> I am redye to showe in particulers, whensoever the commyffioners and audytors wyll take a tyme to paruse the same. And fyns that Mr. Allyn was appointed to be treforer I have not receved one peny of money of any of the venturars, but onely xxvij<sup>li</sup> of my Lady Martin, wherof I paid out xx<sup>li</sup> unto Denam for his journey into the northe, and the rest w<sup>th</sup> a more summe is paid outt for divers petty parfells w<sup>ch</sup> grow dayly uppon the workes of Dartford and amonges men for their farvyce. And I am fully determyned not to receave one penny of money nor other matter of any of the venturers but to gyve over myne offyce unto Mr. Allyn, although dayly I doo ftyll take payne to passe all accounttes w<sup>th</sup> all men, and wyll doo ftyll to bring this busynes to a good end, the best I can. And I have not receved of any of the venturers any one parcell of wares fyns Mr. Furbusher retorned home into England nor before he went on the voyage, but onely of iij or iiij of them, summe munition or tackeling for the ships, w<sup>ch</sup> stode for money for their venture outwards, w<sup>ch</sup> is answered in thaccounttes, butt nothing at all have I receved of any of them for this their dewtye for the ffraight

of the ships nor wayes of the men. And I have no goodes in my handes belonging to any of the venturers in particular, but I have my howffe full paystered of the goodes of the companie dyfcharged out of their ships come home, w<sup>ch</sup> is tackeling of ships, monytion, vyttells, and many od things, w<sup>ch</sup> is all by inventar ye receved under the handes of the masters and offycers of the ships, w<sup>ch</sup> goodes I am ready at all tymes to delyver into the handes and charge of Mr. Allyn when foever it pleases hym to receive ytt.

Herein have I wrytten to yo<sup>r</sup> honor the trewth of my doinges w<sup>ch</sup> I wyll iustifye. I besече yo<sup>r</sup> honor to stand my ffrynd as you shall see caufe of defect by my doinges. And bycaus that sclanderous tonges wyll not be stopped by wordes, I make no anfwere to them, but abyde the tyme when God shall make my doinges knowen wherby he shall stop them for me. And I comytt yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Almighty God. From London this Monday xv December 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most bounden

Michael Lok.

To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Francis Walsingham, knight,  
her Mat<sup>ties</sup> principall Secretarie.  
at the Court.

[*Colonial*, 123. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 57.]

The North-west Voiage. A brief Reporte of the Accompte of *Michaell Locke* concerning the Chardges of iij Voiages into the North-west Partes under the Conduicte of *Martin Furbuffher*, toguither w<sup>t</sup> the Charges of Buildinges at Dertford.

Divers fommes of money receved by Michaell Locke of the adventurers, viz., for the furst voiage, vij<sup>j</sup><sup>c</sup> lxxv<sup>li</sup>; the fecond voiage, v<sup>mt</sup> cccv<sup>li</sup>, and the iij<sup>de</sup> voiage, vj<sup>mt</sup> vij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> iij<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup> . . . . .

xij<sup>mt</sup> ix<sup>c</sup> lxij<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup>

Divers fommes of money receved of the faid adventurers for buildenges at Dartford . . . . .

m<sup>l</sup> iiij<sup>xxli</sup>

Divers fommes of money recevid for paiement of fraightes . . . . .

v<sup>mt</sup> vij<sup>c</sup> lxxvij<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup>

Sum totall of the receiptes . . . . .

xix<sup>mt</sup> vij<sup>c</sup> xxij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

Wherof

Allowed in the faid accomptes for buildeng repaireng and furniture of shippes, victuals, implements, wages, paiement of fraightes and buildenges at Dertford, and divers other things as in the accomptes maie appere . . . . .

xv<sup>mt</sup> ciij<sup>xx</sup> vij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>



And then remaineth to be accompted for . . . . .	iiij <sup>mt</sup> vj <sup>c</sup> xxxiiij <sup>li</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> viiiij <sup>d</sup>
Wherof	
Due by Thomas Allen, Threafurer of the voiage for money by him receivid of the faid adventurers . . . . .	viiij <sup>c</sup> iiij <sup>xx</sup> ij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Divers other perfons for their adventures yet un- paide . . . . .	ij <sup>mt</sup> v <sup>c</sup> xxxv <sup>li</sup> xiijs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Michaell Locke for money fupposed to remaine in his handes . . . . .	m <sup>t</sup> ccxvj <sup>li</sup> xvjs <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Whereof he demandeth allowaunce of m <sup>t</sup> ccli <sup>li</sup> for his attendance and charges fuftained in the caufes of the faid ij voiajes.	

Tho: Neale, Audit.

*On the back occurs*—Articles to be inquired of by Mr. Thomas Neale and Mr. — Baynham, Auditor<sup>s</sup> appoynted to take the accompt of the northweft viage.

What fom the whole adventure in the fayd viage dothe amount unto.

What fomme the adventurers in that viage have payd of the fame.

To whom the fame was payde.

What is behinde by the fayd adventurers.

What Michaell Lock is farther to be charged w<sup>th</sup>all for wares fowlde pertaynyng to the compaignye.

What hathe been paydd to Mr. Th. Alin the 2 Marcheant as Threaforer, and howe the fame hathe been uffede and what remaynethe in his handes.

What is dewe by the compaigny for fraight of flippes and otherwyfe and to whom the fame is dewe.

[*Colonial*, 126. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 35.]

An Aunfwere to *Mr. Lockes* request for 1200<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he demaundeth of the Companie of the Northwest Voiage for his service for iij yeres.

1576. The first yere.

1. Ffirst, where the faide Locke demaundeth for three yeres charges and for warehoufes and for kepinge of house. It is thought y<sup>t</sup> the first yere is not to be brought into this reckoninge, for that he was then in the service of the companie of Muscovia, and that yeare also the companie of the Northwest voiage had no need to use warehoufes or anie meetinges; ffor in the said first yere there went forthe but two pinasses, and the adventure was but 875<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was all loft and spent. Therefore, if the faid Lock be allowed iiij<sup>li</sup> for the hundreth, it is verye muche for 875<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is 20<sup>li</sup> . . . . . £20 0 0

1577. The second voiage.

2. This yere went out the *Ayde*, w<sup>th</sup> two pinasses, and the adventure was 1075<sup>li</sup>. And if the faid Locke be allowed for 200<sup>li</sup> after iiij<sup>li</sup> for the hundreth, w<sup>ch</sup> is 96:

that is, w<sup>th</sup> the most, he tarying at home and not travailing. Moreover, in this yere he was not much troubled w<sup>th</sup> house room, servantes, or greatt dyett. But lett there be allowed him above his provision towards his charges and servantes, xx<sup>li</sup> . . . . . £116 0 0

## 1578. The third voiage.

3. In this third voiage there went out ten ships, w<sup>ch</sup> the said Locke had to deale w<sup>th</sup> all the *Ayde*, the *Judith*, and two pinasses, and the adventure this yere was 7000<sup>li</sup>, wherof the said Lockes adventure was 2030<sup>li</sup>. Being allowed for 5000<sup>li</sup>, after iiij<sup>li</sup>, for the hundreth 250<sup>li</sup>, and for his servantes, three in number, at xiiij<sup>li</sup> vs viij<sup>d</sup> the pecee, w<sup>ch</sup> is 40<sup>li</sup> (thoughe in the said Lockes accompt nothing is putt downe for their charges), and for meetinge of the commiffioners diverse times after, 10<sup>li</sup> the monthe, for iiij monthes, w<sup>ch</sup> is x<sup>li</sup>; this may be thought sufficient, ffor the commiffioners did not eate often w<sup>th</sup> him, and but a few of them at a time . . . . . £230 0 0

Touchinge the interest of money taken upp by the said Locke  
by exchange.

4. It is not thought meet that he shoulde be allowed anie thinge, because it is verely thought he tooke not upp anie monie for the use of the said companie, but rather for him selfe, because he was so greate an adventurer in the voiages aforefaid: at the leaste, if he did take upp anie it could not be verie muche. This demaunde being so greate, it is like he knoweth for whom he tooke upp so muche money, who are to repay the same to him, and no reason that other adventurers w<sup>ch</sup> have paide their money should pay him interest.

5. Ffor boate hire, to and from the Courte at fundrie times in two yeres, the said Locke may have allowance of x<sup>li</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> is reasonable.

6. Ffor the time of the buildinge at Dartforde, for his riding charges, and keepinge three horses about fixe monthes after, xv<sup>s</sup> the weeke, w<sup>ch</sup> amounteth, to xviiij<sup>li</sup>. As for his mens and his owne diats are allowed before: yet, because riding charges be great, he may be allowed for him selfe and his men xxij<sup>li</sup> more . . . . . 40<sup>li</sup>

7. Ffor the said Lockes charges to the Courtes, and following hir Matie in progresse, a certain estimat cannot be made thereof: it being uncertain howe often and howe farre he did ryde; but it is to be supposed not farre, because hir Matie was ever in hir progresse when the ships were absent in their voiages, at what time Locke had leaft to doe w<sup>th</sup> the Courte. And his ridinge in this case and time could be but part of two progressees in the two last yeres, for w<sup>ch</sup> he may be allowed xx<sup>li</sup> . . . . . £430 0 0

[*Colonial*, 114. *State Papers. Eliz.*, Vol. 129, No. 4.]

13 January, 1578-9

The Second Minute for this purpose.

After o<sup>r</sup> hartie comandacions, &c., albeit that not longe fithence uppon information given unto the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, that the myners, maryners, & others imploied in the late voiage under o<sup>r</sup> loving freind, Mr. Martyn Furbusher, weare unpaide of their waiges for their service in the said voiage (and thereby do lye still at the great increafe of charges of all the adventures). We wrote o<sup>r</sup> letters by her Ma<sup>ts</sup> precise commandem<sup>t</sup> to [yo<sup>r</sup> L.] emonge others, to make paiem<sup>t</sup> of [clxxij<sup>li</sup>], w<sup>ch</sup> remayned unpaid of the somme that [yo<sup>r</sup> L.] assented to contribute to the said adventure to the hands of Mr. Thom<sup>s</sup> Allin, threfourer, appointed for that p<sup>o</sup>se w<sup>th</sup> in x daies after the receipt of o<sup>r</sup> said letters: yet the same not w<sup>th</sup> standinge her Ma<sup>tie</sup> is estefones given to understand that the said somme gevon by your L., as also lyke sommes geven by other the adventurers, remayne yet unpayed, whereby as the inconvenience aforesaid, onelie by the wante of paiement of fuche money, is increased. So is her Ma<sup>tie</sup> the more moved to mislike thereof (Her Highnes & diverse of us & others having paid o<sup>r</sup> parts according to o<sup>r</sup> promise). Theise are therefore once againe to praye yo<sup>r</sup> L. to geve present order for the payment of the sayd some, for besides her Ma<sup>ts</sup> good contentacion, that hath alwaies bene well effected to the voiage: though somme men, uppon misliking, can be contented to withdrawe themselves, & to be exempted from the adventure & all privileges of the same, as was mencioned in o<sup>r</sup> former letters that all fuche should be as refused to make paiement by the daie lymitted: yet is it not thought in any wise resonable, howe foever the thing shall fall out; but that they should make satisfaccion of so muche as they have promised, for without these promises the voiage had never bene taken in hand. And thus trusting that for the respects aforesaid, we shall nede in this case to write no more; we bidd yo<sup>r</sup> L. hartely farewell.

(*Endorsed.*)

M<sup>d</sup> To the adventurers.

[*Colonial*, 119. *State Papers*, Vol. 129. *Domestic Eliz.*, No. 9.]

My dewtie remembred. Hit maye pleise youre honor to undarstand that Mr. Furbusher doyth moche myseuse me in words, saynge, I have complayned to the consell of hym. And that I have saide that all ys nothing worth at Dartforde, and howe he hayth receyved so moche monye and donne w<sup>th</sup> it, he pleafeth w<sup>th</sup> all, where in I ame une oneste and have no onestie in me. I do remebar I dide declare unto yo<sup>r</sup> own honor, wiche was wryten in my byll of debts at the lower ende, that he dide reveve 86<sup>li</sup> of Mr. Frances, 50<sup>li</sup> of my L. of Warwicke, 7<sup>li</sup> of

Mr. Turwill, wiche I most nedes declare, be caufe I have gyven no quyttans for yt. And youre honor axed me what he hade donne w<sup>th</sup> all. I anfred, I colde not well tell; but, as I dide here p'ade frawght unto some of those shippes wiche he dide frawght in the west contrye, & some of the myners, he fayth those shippes dide hym the best ferves when owre other shippes dide rune away. Sr, he wyll werye us all, and he have the brydell to moche. Sr, under youre correction, I do not thincke yt amyse, and yt be youre honors pleasure, that there weare comyfon frome youre honors that Mr. Furbusher accounte sholde be nowe presentlyc awdited w<sup>th</sup> these same auditors, for Mr. Lockes wylbe downe this daye, and so shall youre honor see boythe the accounts to gether, and what ys owyng by them. And that ordar may be gyven by youre honors, that all superfluous charges may be cutt of whyth spede or else yt wyll rowne one styll to great charge. I wolde I weare dyfcharged, rather then I wyll be thus raled at for my paynes. This I take my leave of youre honor, commytting youe to the All Mightie. Wrytten at my howse in London, the xiiij of Janewary, 1578.

Your honars to commaunde,

Thomas Allen.

(Endorfed.)

To the right honorable Sr Frances Walsingham, knight,  
and prenfevall secretery to hir Ma<sup>tie</sup>, geve these.

[*Colonial*, 120. *State Papers*, Vol. 129. *Domestic Eliz.*, No. 11.]

*Mr W<sup>m</sup> Borough, to Sr F. Walsingham.* 14 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1578-9.

After my dewty unto yo<sup>r</sup> honoure, dewly confidered, this daye being Wenfday, the xiiij<sup>th</sup> Janewary, I receved yo<sup>r</sup> letters bering date at Richemond the xij<sup>th</sup> of this present, wherby I understand it hathe ben informed yo<sup>r</sup> honour that I shuld owe for myne adventure in this last voyage w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Frobisher, the som of lvij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>, the w<sup>ch</sup> yo<sup>u</sup> requyre me to paye out of hand, or els to repayr presently to the court, wher I shuld understand her Ma<sup>ties</sup> furder pleasure.

True it is, right honorable, that at the setting forth of this last voyage to Meta Incognita, Myghell Loke, then treafurer, and cheefe dealer for the same voyage, bought of me (to ferve in the same voyage) a shipp called the *Judeth*, of burden about lxxv tons, for the som of 320<sup>li</sup>, the w<sup>ch</sup> he condicioned to pay me in Maye last, wher of I allowed him then lxxvij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup> for my adventur, in the sayd last voyage. Afterwards (in June last) I recevid of him lxxx<sup>li</sup>. So I accompt to have recevid 157<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>, (and he then rested dettor to me 162<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>), the w<sup>ch</sup> rest I cold by no meanes get of him, unles I shuld have recovered it by lawe, w<sup>ch</sup> I was loth to doo.

Since the commyng home of the fleet of that voyage, and the charges of the same knowne; and, theruppon, every man allotted his porcion thereof, according

to his adventure, my parte (as I understand) comyth to lvij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>, the w<sup>ch</sup> I accompt to be payd out of the fayd 162<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>. And yet remaynyth dew to me, 106<sup>li</sup>.

Thus, as appearith, I have payd my porcion fully w<sup>th</sup> the first, and ought not to have ben brought in now as a dettor. But, feeing Mr. Lok, his dealing towards me herein, hat ben w<sup>th</sup> so small credit or honesty, that neyther he wold paye me the money that hath ben so long time dew to me, nor yet accompt my porcion of charges to be payd as before I have shewed; but hath geven report unto yo<sup>r</sup> honour that I shuld yet remayne dettor for the fayd som of lvij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>. I will no longer credit him. And therefore doo befech yo<sup>r</sup> honoure, that by yo<sup>r</sup> good meanes I maye be appointed payment of my rest, 106<sup>li</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> hath ben dewe to me so longe since.

I wold have attended uppon yo<sup>r</sup> honoure according to yo<sup>r</sup> order; but, true it is, that I have ben ever since Christmas very much troubled w<sup>th</sup> an extreme payne in my hed, so as I have ben forced to keepe my howse, and yet am not clear of the fame, but hope of amendment shortly. Thus I comyt my cawse to yo<sup>r</sup> honoure, and yo<sup>r</sup> selfe to the tuicion of the Almyghty, who bleffe the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>th</sup> longe most helthfull, happy life and rayne. Amen.

Lymehowse, the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Janeuary, 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honours most humble to use and commande,

W. Borowgh.

(Endorsements.)

To the right honorable, Sir Francis Walsingham, knyght,  
principal secretary to the Queenes most excellent  
Ma<sup>tie</sup>, at the Court.

14 Januarie, 157 .

From Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> a Burrough.

He hath payd the 5 . . . 10<sup>s</sup> demanded, in a shipp Mr.  
Locke had of him for Furbishers last viage: &  
there remayneth due to him more for that shippe  
106<sup>li</sup>.

[*Colonial*, 121. *State Papers*, Vol. 129, No. 12.]

*Michael Loke to Sr F. Walsingham.*

Right honorable,—

I have receved yo<sup>r</sup> letter, wherin I am charged to paye ix<sup>c</sup> x<sup>li</sup> to Mr. Allyn, for my part of the freight of the ships returned since w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Furbuffher, in this third voyage. For answere whereof, it may please yo<sup>r</sup> H: to be advertysed, my part of that freight cometh to iij<sup>c</sup> xvj<sup>li</sup> v<sup>s</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I have paid, as by

myne accountt dothe appere, w<sup>ch</sup> accountt the Awditors are now in hand w<sup>th</sup> all, and by them yo<sup>r</sup> H: shalbe advertified very shortlys, bothe of thatt, and of all the rest of my doinges in the companies bufynes. And for more part of the said ix<sup>c</sup> x<sup>li</sup> it is sett downe that the right honorable th'erle of Oxford, ys to paye iiij<sup>c</sup> l<sup>i</sup> accordinge to the order and rate of all the rest of the venturars, wherfore it may please yo<sup>r</sup> H: to call on his H: for the same sum. And yf that his H: be not satisfied of this matter, I am to be ruled by yo<sup>r</sup> H: and others, uppon vew of the bargayne w<sup>ch</sup> I made w<sup>th</sup> his honor, w<sup>ch</sup> he hathe under my hand and sealle, for I will not doo any wronge wytingly to any man lyving, especiallye to his H: to whome I doo owe bothe dewtye and reverence.

And thus for this tyme I take my leave humbly of yo<sup>r</sup> H: and commytt the same to almightie God. From London the xiiij Januarie 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> H: most bounden

Michael Loke.

(Endorfements)

To the right honorable Sr Francis Walsingham Knight  
her Ma<sup>ties</sup> principall Secretarie.

at the Court.

14 Januarie 1578.

From Mr. Michaell Locke

Towchyng the money w<sup>ch</sup> he was written unto to pay to Mr. Allen for his adventure in Mr. Furbishers viage.

[*Colonial*, 132. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxix, No. 44, 1.]

The 20 Januarie 1578. The Answer of me *Michaell Lok* unto the worshipfull the Comyffioners and Auditores of myne Accountes upon the Seconde Audite therof.

*First audite  
of myne  
accountes.*

In the month of Auguste laste 1578 my iij bookes of accountes of the iij voyages made by Martine Ffurbusher for the northwest partes were audited by sufficient parsones therunto appoynted, who uppon the particular examinacon of the same, dide certifye under their handes writtinge that uppon those accounttes dide remayne dewe unto me the summe of ix<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xxix</sup> ix<sup>li</sup> iiij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> of money, besydes all my stocke in venture w<sup>th</sup> the companye, w<sup>ch</sup> was about iiij<sup>mt</sup> l<sup>i</sup> in all thes voyages.

*Seconde  
audyte of  
myne  
accountes.*

Afterwardes M. Furbusher beinge returned home, he of his owne evell disposed mynde dislyked of myne accounttes, and made greate complaynt of the audite therof and procured you the new comyffyoners and new auditores to rewewe and examine better all myne accounttes and doinges w<sup>ch</sup> you have done. And now by that w<sup>ch</sup> you have fene well provide agayne, you doo fynde my said accountes

to be iuste and trewe as they wer befor in all partes excepte onlye in iij poyntes following, to the whiche I doo now anfwere.

Ffirfte you wold dyfalowe me a somme of 96<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I make paid to the shippe *Beare lester* for vittels of men that were passingers therin, wherunto I answere that I dide paye that some of mony and agreater summe unto that shippe befor her departure from London, and I dide knowe by a covenaut of agreement made in the charter partie, that the said shippe was to carrye xx men passingers, for the w<sup>ch</sup> was dew eyther that somme of monye or so muche vittells as should suffice for them. And I did know that shippe dide carrye from London to Hawiche more than xxx men w<sup>th</sup>out any manner of vittalls put into the shippe for them, and they fedd only of the shippes owne provissione, and I dide know that thes vittelles were denyed her in the Tames, and I dide not knowe that any vittells were put into that shippe for them at Harwiche, but I was informed that none would be ther delivered therfor although this payment be fett doune and allowed unto me in account, yett is yt but uppon a good accounte, for myfreconyng is no payment for I have receivid no mony for yt of the company uppon that account made, but now yt standeth stille as mony paid uppon the freight dew to that shippe.

*The j objection for 96li. paid.*

The second poynte is matter of yo<sup>r</sup> dislykinge of the order of my said accounttes, in that you saye I ought to have charged myfelfe uppon the fotte of that myne accounte for fuche debts as were owinge for the goodes bought and were not then paid: to this I answere that in dede yf I had so done ther wold not so great a remayner of ix<sup>ciiij</sup>xxix<sup>li</sup> have appered to be then dew unto me by the somme of vj<sup>c</sup>li w<sup>ch</sup> I hade not then paid, but I fynde no cause neather in reason nor in iustyce that I should have made fuche manner of accounte forasmoche as no day of payment was assigned but present mony and for the same by appoyntement of the commissioner I was become bounden unto those men that were unpaide, and they daly and howerly calleyng and exclaiminge on me for the mony and thretening me to priffone for yt, from w<sup>ch</sup> how hardly and chargablye hether to I have kepte myfelf, bothe I and my frindes doo knowe and felle; wherin I coulde fynde no helpe of any of all the companye w<sup>ch</sup> trouble might have bene avoyded yf the companye accordinge to equitie and right had payed me that some of mony that therw<sup>th</sup>all I might have paid the creditors.

*The ij objection for the order of myne accounts.*

The thirde poynte is an objection made uppon my stoke that I have in venture w<sup>th</sup> the Company in these iij voyages; to the whiche I nede not answere, for the account sheweth yt planly, that I and my parteners have in stoke and venture in all the summe of £4,680 of money w<sup>ch</sup> is all paide excepte £450 w<sup>ch</sup> muste he paide shortlye, wherof God graunt good successe and then all this ware wilbe turned into peace.

*The iij objection for my stoke.*

Morover you doo nowe see by myne accounttes that over and beydes all the said summe of mony for any stoke and venture and over and above all that I dide receive of all the companye I dide disburse of myne owne mony for the Company

*The great sumes of mony w<sup>ch</sup> I have disbursed for the Company.*

as follow<sup>th</sup>: In the firste voyage more then vij<sup>li</sup>, and in the second voyage xij<sup>li</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> afterwarde I dyde lette stande styll for my stoke and venture therein.

And in the thirde voyage iij<sup>li</sup>, and in the buildinges and workes at Darteforde vij<sup>li</sup> beydes other great fumes dyburfed in other meane tymes w<sup>ch</sup> myne accounttes cannot declare particularlye, bycause the same are made up w<sup>th</sup>out dystinction of dayes or tymes but onlye one daye at thende of every yeres accountte.

All w<sup>ch</sup> said fummess of mony I have forborne longe tyme to my great trouble and charges of interesse, and I was not repayd the same untill of late, about amonthe laste parte, as myne accounttes doo declare wherof I know that you will have dew consideracone as reason requirethe.

This answere may suffice unto you that be wise and reasonable, and as for Mr. Furbufhers faultye in this matter, yt deservethe none answer at all.

The 26 Januarye 1578. *Michaell Lok* saluteth the worshopfull  
Comyffioners and Auditors of his Accompts of  
the iij Voyages of *C. Furbufher*.

Ffor as muche as wordes are but winde and are easely forgotten of those whome they towche not, and yet beinge misplased by ignorauns of the speker, or misheard by negligence of the hearer, or misconstrued by the malicious, they do breed oftentymes contention and displeasure w<sup>th</sup>out cause, therfor I have thought good to fet downe my mind in this writtinge wherby you maye the better consider therof and so resolve uppon that w<sup>ch</sup> reason and equitie will requier.

*Myne accounttes found right and true as at the first audite.* Nowe that you have gonne throughe all myne accounttes and have particularlie examined the same, you do fynd that I have made them justelye and trulye, and have not charged them w<sup>th</sup> and matter wrongfullie nor falselye. And by the course of them you maye perceave my great labour cost and trouble had w<sup>th</sup> this busynes in these iij yeres voyages.

*My great venture in these voyages.* And by conclusion of thes accomptes you do fynde that I have a great somme of mony of myne owne in stoke and venture in thes voyages, and that I have disburfed and paid from time to tyme great somes of monye uppon the credit of my selfe and my frindes for the companyes busynes, to furnishe those voyages. And that in my handes no monye dothe remayne dew unto the companye.

*The charges in iij yeres busynes.* And wheras in thende of that myne accmpt I do fet downe a summe of xij<sup>li</sup> of monye in divers particuler parcells followinge, w<sup>ch</sup> I have paid and disburfed in the companyes busynes in these iij yeares, and have not had any allowance therof, nor have sett downe anye demande untill nowe at thend and conclusion of these myne accounttes to saye,

1. Ffirst for my ridinge charges in iij yeres to the courte and abroade for collection of monye of the venturares and other busynes of the company	Summe	£120
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2. for my ridinge charges to Darteford in viij monthes folicitinge the buildinges thear . . . . .	Summe	£60
3. for my boathire to the corte at Grenwhiche and to the shipes and other places about the forefaid bufynes in these iij yeares . . . . .	Summe	£20
4. for the table diate of the commiffioners, auditores, captaynes and others, dalye meatinge at my howfe about the bufynes of these 3 yeres . . . . .	Summe	£150
5. for intereffe of money taken uppe frome tyme to tyme to furnishe this bufynefs and difpatche of the shippes on ther voyages in dewe tyme for lacke of the venturars mony . . . . .	Summe	£250
	Summe	£600
6. for charges and travayle of my felfe, my fervauntes, and howshold, to followe this bufynes, and takinge charge of thaccomptes and howf-rome of the goodes in these iij yeres . . . . .	Summe	£600
	Summe	£1200

uppon w<sup>ch</sup> faid parcelles fome of you the commiffioners do make dowbt of the fpendinge of the mony of fome of these parcells and of the dewtie of other fome of them, wherefore hereunder I do declare unto you my reafon and prooffe of dewtie for the fame.

At the firfte begyninge of these voyages for the difcovery of Cathay, etc., Martine Ffurbufher did procure the fame to be taken in hand of a good mynd towards his contrye and comodite towards him felfe, by the good likinge of the right honorable the Lorde Burghley, Lord Highe Treaforer of England, and others of her Maties honorable privie counfell, whose letters he brought in that behalfe, dated in December 1574, directed to the Company of Mufkovie for their lycens by their priveledge to doo the fame, w<sup>ch</sup> firft they refused to graunte, of whose bufynes I had then the chiefe charge and whole doinges, whereby I entered into knowledge of the matter, and althoughe (accordinge to my dutie towards the Company of Mufcovie, knowinge the inconveniences that therby might growe unto their trade of marchandiz) I did alfo diflyke of this motion for a tyme; yet afterwarde, uppon confideracion of my dutye towards my contrye, and knowinge by myne owne knowledge (as my manifold writtings therof wille witnes) the greate benyfitte that therby might growe to the fame, and perceavinge the corrage and knowinge the aptnes of Martine Furbusher (by former acquayntance w<sup>th</sup> him, and uppon newe conference had w<sup>th</sup> him) to execute that attempte, I did fo enterlie joyne w<sup>th</sup> him therein, that through my frindshippe w<sup>th</sup> the company I obtayned of them a priveledge and lycens to followe that attempt, datid the thirde of Ffebruarye 1574, w<sup>ch</sup> I have, and fo gave out my felfe openlye for a chiefe frynde and followar of the matter, wherby many men wer brought into a good likinge of the matter, w<sup>ch</sup> before could fynde no trace therof. And here-

*The firfte  
begyninge  
of thes  
voyages.*

*M. Lok  
joynethe  
with M.  
Furbusher.*

uppon I used M. Furbufher as my fellow and frinde, and opened unto him all myne owne private studies and labores passed in twentye yeares continuans befor, for knowledge of the state of the worlde, and shewed him all my bookes, cartes, mappes, instruments, so many as cost me v<sup>c</sup> poundes of mony, and writtinges, and my nottes collected therof. And dalye instructid him therin to my skyll, and lent him the same to his owne lodginge at his will for his better defence in talke thereof w<sup>th</sup> other men. And to be shorth, dalye increased my good will towards him, makinge my howse his howse and my purse his purse at his neede, and my credite to his credite to my powre, when he was utterlye despitute boath of mony and credite and of frindes, as his letters unto me and his protection of her M<sup>tie</sup> dothe witnes, when he was first lodged at the house of one Browne in Flete Street, and afterwarde to have my better helpe and relief removed nearer to me to the howse of a widowe named Mrs. Hancocks in Marke Lane, who cane bare witnes of the same, w<sup>th</sup> others more that I cowld name. Herew<sup>th</sup>all M. Furbufher was a glad man, and hooped of great good fortune towards him, and towld me great matters of venturars that he would procure to furnishe this matter, wheruppon to begine the matter I made a writtinge dated the 9 of Februarie 1574, for the venturars to sett downe their some of monye w<sup>th</sup> their owne handes, and for the better incorraginge of others I first sett doune my selfe for one hundreth poundes, wheruppon divers others followid in the cittie to the some of v<sup>cli</sup>, and afterwards M. Furbufher carried that in writtinge to the court (for befor that tyme no handes wold be hade there), and there he had the handes of divers of her M<sup>ties</sup> honourable privy councell to the [sum] of iij<sup>cli</sup>, wherin the right honorable the Lorde Burghley sette doune a condicion that a convenient parson should take charge of this farvice, and afterwarde divers other parsones did sett doune divers sommes of monye of small value. And more venturars could not be gotten for that time, wheruppon thenterprice was geven over for that yere.

*The attempt  
overthrowne  
first yere,  
1575.*

And now Mr. Furbufher was become a fade man, for that by this meanes his credite grew dalye in questione, and more & more dislikinge grew of his dealinges; yet he conteneded styll abowt London and the Court, hoapinge and folicitinge what he could agaynst the next yere. And my good will and good word contynued still towards him as before, w<sup>ch</sup> did him no hurte, but in the meane tyme coste muche monye for thinges provided and charges bestowed for the same voyage.

*Th attempte  
revived  
next yere,  
1576.*

The next yere beinge anno 1576, the enterprice of the voiage was revyved agayn, and the question beinge asked of the venturars, they said they wold contynew their good will and venture sett doune the yere before. Hereuppon, M. Furbufher was alyve agayne, and folicited the furtheraunce of the matter by the helpe of Mr. Burde, then costomer of London, and Mr. Alderman Bonde, now deceased, at whose howse we had divers conferences of the maters.

*Order of  
the busynes.*

Now, in procedinge to the preparacion of this voyage questione grewe amongst the venturars, accordinge to the noate of condicion sett doune by my Lord

Treaforer, who should take charge of the mony to be colected of the venturares, and who for the provicion and furniture of the shippes, and who in the conducte of the voyage w<sup>th</sup> the shippes at sea; yt was aunfwered, that for the monye I would not meadell; and theruppon Mr. Hogan and Mr. Borow was named; but Mr. Borrowe uterly refused, and would not medell. Wheruppon Mr. Hogan tooke paynes for a tyme and receaved fuche mony as he cowld gette, and percevinge the travell therin or ells no voyage at all, had bine made that yere neyther, and for the provicion and furniture of the shippes M. Furbufsher did sett doune divers noats of divers thinges w<sup>ch</sup> grewe to a great somme, w<sup>ch</sup> the said 3 or 4 of the venturares dide correct, and did ordayne dalye what they wolde have donne, and I daly keapte regestar in writtinge of all there agreements, and accordingly I did see all thinges accomplished and executed, and tooke charge of the accompts of all thinges; but now the greatestt matter remayned still in doubte, and not satisfied amongst the venturares, w<sup>ch</sup> was who should take charge of conducte and commandement of the shippes beinge alreadye at the see; for that M. Furbufsher had verie littell credite at home and mucche lesse to be credited w<sup>th</sup> the shippes abroad: this matter was the cause of the overthrow of the voyage in the yere before, and this matter also now was like to overthrow it this yere, and did cause most of the venturares to keape backe their moneye in thend; but, to forther the voyage, I dide helpe this matter the best that I cowld, and I staped in w<sup>th</sup> my credite for his credite to satisfie all the venturars that he should deale honestlye and lyke a trewe man w<sup>th</sup> the ships in the voyage; but this would not farve their torne. Wheruppon, afterwarde, by their consent, I devised a writtinge wherin was joynd w<sup>th</sup> him in comission Christofer Hall and Owen Griffen, M<sup>rs</sup> of the shippes, and Nicholas Chaunfler, marchaunt & purser of the voyage, who were knowne for trustye men, w<sup>th</sup> out whosé consent he should not comaund nor carrie the shippes, but accordinge to the comission geven them by indenture under their handes and seales, w<sup>ch</sup> I have to showe. This did satisfie most of the venturars, but all this dilligens would not bringe in mony to furnishe owt one quarter of the shippinge intended for the voyage. Wheruppon the shippinge was dyminyshed, and insteade of iij shippes, we could scante furnishe two small barkes and one lyttell boate wherw<sup>th</sup> all he went w<sup>th</sup> cost xvj<sup>cli</sup> of mony wherof ix<sup>cli</sup> came out of my purse alone, as thacomptes doo wittnes, besydes other thinges not declared in myne accomptes. And now this was the beggininge of my travell and service done to the Company in theis iij voyages.

Now, when Martyn Furbufsher was returned hom againe, in October 1576, w<sup>th</sup> his strange man of Cataye, and his great rumor of the passage to Cathai, he was called to the courte and greatly embraced and lyked of the best. And uppon his great informacione of many great matters of this new world, yt pleased her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Honorable Privie Counsell to directe their letters and comissiones unto Sr William Winter, Mr. Thomas Randall, my selfe, and others, to calle unto us M. Furbufsher and Christofer Hawle, and to take accompt of them of all their

*A treaforer.*

*A chefe  
governor of  
the ships at  
sea.*

*Lytle mony  
of the  
venturares  
but M. Lok  
ix<sup>cli</sup>.*

*M. Furbufsher  
returned home.*

doings in this voyage, and to take knowledge what were requisite to be donne in the followinge of this difcoverie made for the passage to Cathai, for another voiage the next yere, and to certifie their honors therof.

Hereuppon manye meetinges were at my howfe and sometymes at S<sup>r</sup> William Wintares howfe, and certificat was made by the comiffioners to their honors of good lykinge of the passages to Cathai.

*The first  
stone of  
ewer brought  
home.*

In this meane tyme happened to be difcovered the riches of a mynerall stone brought home by chaunce by Mr. Furbufher and delivered to me, wherof I caufed prooffe to be made by skilfull men, and was fertifyed the same to be of a myne of golde, wherof I gave knowledge to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> accordinge to my dutye, wheruppon muche marvale was made and muche enquire and triall made by others of more credite, by whome att the last it was confirmed to be trewe, and fo was certified; wheruppon M. Furbufher was called to knowe what quantitie therof was to be had in that new worlde; he aunfwered, that ther was inough to lade all the fhippes of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and theruppon now was prepared the fecond voyage anno 1577, w<sup>th</sup> muche greater preparacione then was purposed before for that her Ma<sup>tie</sup> would be a great venturar therin.

*Second  
voyag, 1577.*

And here uppon daly grew new bufynes and new venturars and new colleçiones for greater matters then befor and dalye new comyffiones and new direçiones from her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Honorable Cuncell, w<sup>th</sup>out whose knowledge no great matter might be donne. And stille the chief charge comitted unto me as treaforer as many of their honors letters to me directed in that behalfe doth wittnes; wheruppon many affembles of the Comiffioners and others wer made at my howfe dalye, as the regefters of manye of their meetinges and agrementes of the bufynes can declare. And thus now may you see how and by whose comaudem<sup>t</sup> my travaylles, trobles and charges in this bufynes was contynewed and encreafed stille unto this daye.

*The thirde  
voyage, 1578.*

Thes forefaid matters beinge well confidered, and callinge to yo<sup>r</sup> remembraunce the great bufynes w<sup>ch</sup> ther uppon followed in the thirde voyage made in the next yeare followinge, w<sup>ch</sup> was anno 1578, w<sup>ch</sup> remayneth stille befor your eyes. I trust you will thinke my foarefaid demaundes of xij<sup>cl</sup>i for my charges layd out of my purfe in this bufynes to be verye reasonable.

*M. Lokes  
answere for  
the charges  
paid.*

And never the leffe, bicaufe you fhall know that I do not demaund ytt w<sup>th</sup>out ground of dutie, I will now anfwere unto your doubttes and make prooffe w<sup>th</sup> a good confciencie, as followithe:—

*No. 1.  
Ridinge  
charges.*

Ffor my ridinge chardges I have fett downe cxx<sup>li</sup> for these iij yeres, w<sup>ch</sup> is xl<sup>li</sup> by yere, in w<sup>ch</sup> tyme I have travyled to the courte in the countrie, and in progresse not fo fewe as c dayes yerlye, for colleçion of mony and comiffions for bufynes, sometyme w<sup>th</sup> one man, sometym w<sup>th</sup> twayne, w<sup>th</sup> my horfes and companye that hath drawne to me about this bufynes, hath cost me some tymes xx<sup>s</sup>, sometymes xv<sup>s</sup>, and when least xiiij<sup>s</sup> iijij<sup>d</sup> a daye.

For my ridinge chardges to Darteford, I have fet downe lx<sup>li</sup> in the tyme of viij monthes, yt is well knowne I was there everye weke fometymes iiij dayes, fometymes iij dayes, and moft comenly ij dayes w<sup>th</sup> iij horfes, fometymes iiij or vj by the workemen carried w<sup>th</sup> me for the buyldinges where I was lodged in a comyn yn as I am stille when I go thether and all my folke alfo, when they be there by caufe. C. Furbufher hathe nowe taken uppe the lodginge that is at the worke houfes, lefte I and my men w<sup>ch</sup> have charge of the thinges there, fould lye neare unto o<sup>r</sup> chardges to loke to the falfe garde of the thinges there, w<sup>ch</sup> hath coft me w<sup>th</sup> the workemen, refortinge to me dalye about buffynes xl<sup>s</sup> adaye xxx<sup>s</sup>, and never under xx<sup>s</sup> everye daye that I tarried there.

No. 2.  
Dartford.

Ffor my boat hire to the Court at Grenew<sup>ch</sup> and to the shippes and other places about this bufynes, for thefe iij yeres, I have fett downe xx<sup>li</sup>. The number of jorneyes I cannot remember, they were fo many; but well I do remember that everye jorney to Grenew<sup>ch</sup> dide coft me and my men, and his meate theare gevinge attendance everye daye v<sup>s</sup>, and when leaft iij<sup>s</sup> liij<sup>d</sup>, and manye dayes makinge two jorneyes thether in one daye.

No. 3.  
bote hyer.

Ffor the table diatt of the comyffioners, auditores, captaynes, fhippe mafters, and other daly metinge and refortinge to my howfe, about the bufynes in thefe iij yeares, I have fett downe the fomme of cl<sup>li</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> is after l<sup>li</sup>, by the yere, one w<sup>th</sup> another. What refort hathe byn there at daly about this bufynes, the men themselves can wittnes makinge my howfe as their howfe, and my table as their table, and what yt hath coft me above myne ordenarie, I do knowe and ffeale, and thofe that have experience of howfhold chardges in thefe dayes, alfo can confider; but fure I knowe that, yf I were allowed iij<sup>cli</sup> for thefe iij yere yt would not recompense my charges therof.

No. 4.  
table dyat  
of the co-  
myffioners, etc.

Ffor the intereffes of mony taken upp from tyme to tyme to furnifhe this bufynes and difpatche of the shippes on their voyages in dewe tyme for lacke of the venturares mony, I have fet downe but ccl<sup>li</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> parchaunce fomme of you maye thinke to be verye muche, not havinge byn acquainted befor w<sup>th</sup> my deallinges in the bufynes, nor havinge confydered by myne accomptes what great fomes of mony I have difburfed and paid for the Companye from tyme to tyme for the furniture of the voyages above all y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I receaved for them; yet I praye you thinke of my doinge thus faborably, as the reft of my doinges dothe geve you caufe, that I will not willingly charge the accomptes w<sup>th</sup> any more fomme then that I thinke may stand w<sup>th</sup> equitye and good concience. Trewe it is, that I have a great fomme of mony for myne owne ftoke and venture in the feconde and third voyages, w<sup>ch</sup> would have ftoped a great hole in the paymentes of thofe ij voyages, wherby you maye fufpecte that I needed not to have taken uppe fo muche mony for the farvice of the reft of the venturares; but verrie trewe is this alfo, that it were to hard dealinge w<sup>th</sup> me to make my mony flope the gape for other mens duties, and make me ftylle bare theyr burden; and reafon would that yf anye

No. 5.  
Intereffes  
paid for  
mony for the  
venturars.

of all the venturares be favorably borne w<sup>th</sup>all for the payment of this monye, I should have the most favor of all others therein, considering my charge and my care and travell for all; but for playne proffe of my uppright dealinge in this matter, yt shall appeare unto you by wytnes of the brokers by whose handes I have taken uppe the mony from tyme to tyme for the farvice and furniture of this busynes, that the intereffe w<sup>ch</sup> I have paid for mony taken uppe, therfor w<sup>th</sup>in these iii yeres hath cost me of my purse the somme of v<sup>cli</sup>, beydes c<sup>li</sup> more w<sup>ch</sup> I payed for the furans of v<sup>cli</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> remayned in the seconde voyage, at I cannot telle whose venture, but at the least lighted uppon myne owne venture and coste, w<sup>ch</sup> is togeathers vj<sup>cli</sup> of reddie monye paid out of my owne purse, w<sup>ch</sup> is not charged in any of myne accomptes, but only now in thend of myne accomptes I have fett downe ij<sup>cli</sup> for the companyes parte of that v<sup>cli</sup> of interest paid the other rest being ij<sup>cli</sup>. I do bare and paye of myne owne purse, w<sup>ch</sup> I thinke may suffice for the interest of myne owne stoke yf it were not paid to thaccompte so sone as you would have it, but so sone as reason required that it should be.

All these foresaid sommes of mony fett downe do amount to the somme of vj<sup>cli</sup>. of redye mony w<sup>ch</sup> I have paid out of my purse by extraordinarye charges in the farvice donne for the busynes of the company, wherof I trust you do now see good cause to be owt of dowbte of my dutye therof, and so to allowe me the same.

No. 6.  
M. Loks  
owne  
charges for  
his travayll  
ijj yeares.

Also I have fett downe at thende of myne accompt the somme of vj<sup>cli</sup>. of mony, w<sup>ch</sup> I demaund of the ordinarie charges and travayle of my selfe, my farvantes and howshold to followe this busynes and takinge charge of thaccompts and howse rome of the goodes in these ij yeares, w<sup>ch</sup> is after the rate of cc<sup>li</sup> by yeare, wherin I trust I shall not neade to faye muche, considering that all of you be men of good reason, and can consider what belongeth to the mayntenaunce of fuche a famely as I have.

The  
auctoritie  
and com-  
maunde  
given  
to M. Lok  
to follow  
this busynes.

And somme of you by yo<sup>r</sup> owne experience have founde, and all of you have feene, what a chargable travayle and great troble bothe I and all my hows hold have had in the executione and followinge of this busynes in thes ij yeares, and also all of you do know that wheras I was well placed in the busynes of the Companye of Moskovia, w<sup>ch</sup> I did execute quietlye, and for the doinges therof I had of them a pention of cc markes by yeare, bysides my howse rent ffree and other thinges well worthe to me cc<sup>li</sup> by yeare; I have forsaken and given over that office and assured trade of quiet lyvinge purposely to follow this bussines of the companye w<sup>th</sup> better effecte, according to my good wille and mynde desirous to farve them to the best of my skille and power, w<sup>ch</sup> I trust shall not be evill bestowed on them nor evell recompensed towards me, havinge now torned all my goodes into the stones at Darteforde, and left to my selfe a howse full of children, w<sup>ch</sup> maye bagge their bread yf the stones at Dartford be but stones.

Thus, I trust I have satisfiied you confernynge my dutie of the vj<sup>cli</sup> fett downe for monye paid owte of my purse for the extraordinarye charges in matters of the

Companyes busynes, and also conferringe the other vij<sup>li</sup> for the ordinarye mayntenance of my selfe and famely during this tyme that I have farved the companie and followed their busynes accordinge to the office and charge comitted and comaunded unto me from tyme to tyme by the letters and comiffiones of her Maties most honorable privye counsell and accordinge to the agreements and direccionnes sett downe by the comiffioners in writtinge remayninge by me w<sup>ch</sup> I have faithfully and dutifully executed from tyme to tyme to the best of my skille and power, w<sup>ch</sup> sommes of mony you ought justly to allowe unto me, and maye as lawfullye so doo by yo<sup>r</sup> owne discretione w<sup>th</sup>out expectinge any further auctoritie as you and other comiffioners by their owne discretiones have all redye paid and allowed unto C. Furbuscher more then viij<sup>li</sup> for his service not so well bestowed as myne.

*C. Furbuscher paid and allowed him viijli.*

But yo<sup>u</sup> maye objecte against me that when I had received the Quenes Maties monye dewe towards the freight of the shippes and wages of men come home, I might have paid it owt unto them. To this I aunswer that in dede I might have so done and so I did the moste parte of it, but in all that tyme that I was in the courte futer for hir Maties monye and for others of the venturars w<sup>ch</sup> was more then 3 wekes tyme continewally, C. Furbuscher was at Darteford sollicitinge the workemen their to make some good proffe of their worke w<sup>ch</sup> thinge beinge so greatlye longed for at the courte as w<sup>th</sup>out that ther was no money to be had amongest the venturars, and havinge so evell successe at Darteforde as cowld not be worfe then was reported, the matter grew to so great discredit, as I could not parceave any hope where to receive any more mony amonge the venturares to performe this busynes, and here w<sup>th</sup>all my debt beinge great for mony taken for the Company for the furniture of this busynes and my venture knowne to be so great therein as all that I had was worth, my credit decayed w<sup>th</sup> the discredit of these workes, so as I could not prolonge my debte any longer tyme, but was forced to paye the somme w<sup>th</sup> fuche mony as I hade left me, w<sup>ch</sup> was dewe to me by the Company. And heruppon all matters growinge to miserie throughc scarcitie of mony because the rest of the venturares would not paye their dewtyes. And C. Furbuscher lackinge now the mony he was wont to have still at my handes for the askinge, and I havinge no mony now for him to paye his men, he entred into great stormes and rages w<sup>th</sup> me lyke a made best, and rayfed on me fuche shamefull reportes and false sclaunders as the whole court and cittie was full therof, w<sup>ch</sup> did me great hurt, and did muche more hurte to the state of the companyes busynes, w<sup>ch</sup> is not yet recovered, but wilbe shortlye, at w<sup>ch</sup> tyme his false talles wilbe returned uppon his owne heade, but in the mean tyme his flanderous reportes have byn made agaynst me w<sup>th</sup> fuche vement wordes of affirmation to be trewe, that through their found of matter for the venturares profite and vantage, they are yt credited to be trew amongest them in the court, and so will remayne styлле untill you do scertifye them of the truth of my doinges uppon yo<sup>r</sup> audite made of myne accomptes.

*The objection for the Q. Maties monye.*

*C. Furbuschers rage against M. Lok.*

*M. Loks  
great floke  
and venture  
in thes  
voyages.*

Moreover you doo see that uppon my good hoape and desier of the good successe of this busynes I have put in stoke and venture in the same all the goodes that I have in the world w<sup>th</sup>out exceptione, and for the accompliffhinge of the same to the companyes desire, I have gaged all that I have and have pressed my selfe and my frindes w<sup>th</sup> all the credite that I could make, and have spent all my tyme and oppressed my selfe w<sup>th</sup> continuall labour and troble therein, wherby maye appeare that thear hathe not byn any lacke of good wille nor dewtie on my parte, for the good successe of this busynes, wherfore yf any evell successe should happen in this busynes of the ewre at Darteford, w<sup>ch</sup> I trust shall not yet is not that any way to be imputed to me, whose innocentie therin my goodes bestowed and ventured therin shall witnes and my writtings delivered to her Ma<sup>ties</sup> honorable privie counsell of my dewtifull farvis donne in that behalfe shall declare, but yf any fuche mischief shoud happen, w<sup>ch</sup> God forbed, the same wer rather to be imputed and layed on Martine Furbusher, who therin hathe comytted great abuses agaynst the companye, as in a paper of artickells therof shall appeare in dewe tyme, and uppon Jonās and Denham who be the chiefe workemen thereof. And on them the same were to be punished sharplye as men who have byne the fynders and bringers of that ewer w<sup>ch</sup> is brought, and causers of the cost bestowed for the fetchinge and workinge of the same, but I trust no fuche cause shalbe given.

*M. Lok not  
gilltie in the  
busynes at  
Darteforde.*

*Request of  
M. Lok to  
certifye the  
truthe of  
his doinges.*

And now I praye you waye uprightly my former doinges and consider w<sup>th</sup> equitie my present state, and give not eare to the false reportes and sclanderous clamores latly rayfed and sprede against me by Martine Furbusher w<sup>th</sup>out any foundacion of trewth, but defend my cause as my inocentie deserveth. And certifye her Ma<sup>ties</sup> honorable privie counsell planly the effecte of my doinges in this farvice and busynes, as you do fynd it by myne accomptes, that their honors maye be satisfied of me. And that I maye satisfie the worlde by the tryall of my doinges w<sup>ch</sup> I will justifye. And yf you thus do, yo<sup>u</sup> shall do justice, and I shall give thanks. And yf you thinke otherwise of the premises, I referre me to that w<sup>ch</sup> shall stand w<sup>th</sup> reason and equitie.

The 18 of Ffebruarie 1578.

*The co-  
myffioners  
hard dealinge  
w<sup>th</sup> M. Lok.*

And nowe to conclude this my aunfwer unto yo<sup>u</sup>, I must saye that yo<sup>u</sup> have delt verrie hardly with me in that you have suffered myne accomptes to lye dead and not touched ever fyns the xvij of Januarie last untill yesterdaye, by w<sup>ch</sup> meanes mucche suspicion and clamor is growen agaynst me without just cause. Albeit yo<sup>u</sup> maye saye in trewth that in this tyme the chief commiffioners have byn so occupied about the busynes of Duke Cefimirus, and the awditors about their busynes in the tearme tyme that yo<sup>u</sup> could not assemble together, yet when some of yo<sup>u</sup> did assemble, ones to make aunfwer to the busynes of Captayn Ffenton in the west cuntrye and agayne to make inventorie and prayment of the shippes to be fould, some thing more then is donne myght have byn donne in myne



acomptes, yf the awditors would or could have come to yo<sup>u</sup>, in whose abfence yo<sup>u</sup> would do nothing in myne accomptes.

Alfo I maye faye that yo<sup>u</sup> have donne me great wrong in writting yesterdaye unto her Maties honorable privie councell yo<sup>r</sup> aunfwer uppon the conclusion of myne accomptes w<sup>th</sup>out having had anny maner of confideracion of my demaundes fett downe in my book of accomptes delivered to you for my great chardges paid and fustayned for the doing of the companyes bufynes in thefe iij yerres voiaages, and chieflye in that I having made this present book of myne aunfwer uppon yo<sup>r</sup> awdit of myne accomptes and making some of yo<sup>u</sup> acquaynted therw<sup>th</sup>all privatlye bifoare, and yesterday laying it open byfoare yo<sup>u</sup> to confyder, yo<sup>u</sup> would not vowchefeafe to here it readde, which iustyce requyrethe to be donne, alledging that the tyme was fpent and yo<sup>u</sup> cowld not tell when to mete agayn any more. And tharfore (in poft hafte) yo<sup>u</sup> would make aunfwer uppon myne accomptes and referre my demandes to their honors.

And wheras Mr. Awditor Neale of privat affection hathe fet down in the letter of yo<sup>r</sup> aunfwer that myne accomptes are w<sup>th</sup>owt controlement, fuerly he dothe me great wrong therin for myne accomptes are controlled by billes and quyttaunces w<sup>ch</sup> I have showed and delivered to the awditors in prefens of yo<sup>u</sup> the comiffioners and of Captayn Furbisher, in whose presentts they have byn examyned w<sup>th</sup> my bookes of accomptes for the proffe of all the emptions of the goodes and the payementes of monney fett down therin w<sup>ch</sup> faid bills and bookes have byn now iij monthes in custodie of Mr. Neale, Mr. Furbisher dayly comyng to his howfe as hys famyliar frynd, who in all this tyme might have controlled the fame, and would have donne it, yf they cowld have found anny matter. And yet never the lesse yf all thesse awdytinge and reawdytinge be not sufficient to iustifie my trewe dealinges in myne accomptes I will take no vantage therbye, but let them be awdited and controlled agayn by some others, and I will abyde the uttermost tryall of anny man that can controll anny part of my doinges in myne accomptes. And for all the payementes therin contayned I will bring before them the partyes themfelves of whom the goodes were bought and to whome the monny was paid (yf they be lyving) or ells a sufficient testimoniall from them by othe or wyttneffes by notarie.

And whereas by the examynacion of myne accompts yt dothe playnly appeare that I did paye and difburfe of myne owne for the companyes bufynes, the somme of ij<sup>m</sup> poundes of monney at dyvers tymes for yers and monthes of tyme w<sup>ch</sup> is repaid me but w<sup>th</sup>in thefe ij or iij mounthes last past, you the comiffioners and awditors have not made anny manner mention in this yo<sup>r</sup> last letter unto her Maties honorable councell of that good torne donne by me for the companye w<sup>ch</sup> equitye requiereth yo<sup>u</sup> should have donne.

And thus it may appeare that yo<sup>u</sup> have a thorne in yo<sup>r</sup> owne foote w<sup>ch</sup> dothe fomwhat prick yo<sup>u</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> now yo<sup>u</sup> would pull owt and put into myne who am not

*The comiffioners would not heare the anfwere of M. Lok.*

*Mr. Auditor Neall controlethe not thacounttes.*

*M. Lok difburfed ij<sup>m</sup>li for the Companye.*

*Do as you  
would be  
done to.*

able to cure it so well as yo<sup>r</sup> selves, but I praye yo<sup>u</sup> put yo<sup>r</sup> selfe into my place and then do to me as yo<sup>r</sup> selves would be donne to. And so shall God prosper us all.

[*Colonial*, 131. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxix, No. 44.]

Feb. 18, 1578. From *Michell Locke* certefieth the Auditors and Commissioners proceedinge w<sup>th</sup> him about his last Accompte.

Right honorable,—Hereinclosed I fend to yo<sup>r</sup> honor the letter of the report of the Commyffyoners and Audyto<sup>rs</sup> upon their last awdyte of myne accounttes, wherein they have delt very hardly w<sup>th</sup> me bothe in wordes and in deedes, but I trust I shall fynd their honors of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> councill bothe reasonable and good unto me, according to my trew delynges in thaccounttes and paynfull farvyce in their busynes. Wherof to the end their honors may be better informed I fend to yo<sup>r</sup> honor herew<sup>th</sup>all a large declaration in wrytynge w<sup>ch</sup> I directed unto the commyffyoners, purposinge therby to gyve them knowledge therof to their satisfacion, but for lak of tyme convenient they have not read ytt, for ttheir meetynges hathe byn so felldome and the busynes in thaccountts hathe byn so tedious unto them to paruse that they waxed wearye before their tyme and so have knytt up the end in haft as yo<sup>r</sup> honor may see and would not read myne anfwere but referred it to their honors. Yo<sup>r</sup> honor was my fyrst and chief frynd at myne entrans into this troblesom and chargeable busynes, and I would be right sorye that any of my doinges should move you to repent, and I trust there is no fuche cause. Wherfore, I beseeche yo<sup>r</sup> honor to stand styll good unto me, and to gyve me styll yo<sup>r</sup> favor and good countenans, and to thinke of me as of a trew man, for so wyll I trye my self in all my doinges, and wyll abyde the uttermost tryall of any man that can controll any part of my doinges in myne accounttes. This booke of myne anfwere upon this awdyte of myne accounttes may seeme to yo<sup>r</sup> honor tedious to reade, wherfore ytt may please yo<sup>r</sup> honor that one of yo<sup>r</sup> men may read ytt and report unto you the effect therof and afterwarde that yt may be used for the information of my Lords of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Councill, as my cause shall requyre. And I wyll not be furder tedious unto yo<sup>r</sup> honor at this tyme, but onely agayne I crave yo<sup>r</sup> favour towards my trewth. And I commytt yo<sup>r</sup> honor to Almightye God. From London the 18th of Februarie 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors most bounden,

Michael Lok.

To the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Francys Walsingham, knight,  
her Ma<sup>ties</sup> chyef Secretarie.

[*Colonial*, 103. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 33.]

The humble Sute of *Thomas Bonham*.

Ffyrste the said Bonham furnished a shippe called the *Thomas of Ippifwicke*, beinge of the berthen of viii<sup>xx</sup> or thear aboutes, and victualed the same, and furnished hir with all thinges necessarye to the somme of above iij<sup>cli</sup>.

Item, the said shippe was so beaten by weather in hire viadage as *cli*. will not suffice to repayer hir, besides continuall charges of victualles for y<sup>e</sup> mariners finste hir comminge home.

Item, the pilate being apoynted by the companie of adventurers, and by Mr. Ffurbufher, so as I ame not to be charged withe hir retorne without ffraight, the same being happined onely by the ffaulte of them.

My humble sute therefore is, y<sup>t</sup> by yo<sup>r</sup> honorable good meanes some spedie order may be taken y<sup>t</sup> thextreme charges I have bene at for not paymint of enie ffraight maybe presently releved withe the satisfacion of siche somes of monye as yo<sup>r</sup> honor, withe y<sup>e</sup> reste of hir Majesties moste honorable counsell, shall thinke mete and requifite for the sayd shipes ffraighte.

*Indorsed.* Thomas Bonhams sute. Towchyng allowance to be yealded him for Furbishers viage.

[*Colonial*, 135. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 21.]

March 28, 1579. From *Sir Thomas Gresham* and other touchynge y<sup>e</sup>  
Order they have taken for the Payment of the Mariners.

Ytt may lyke yo<sup>r</sup> good LL. to understand that we haue received yo<sup>r</sup> LL. letter of the 26 Marche, wherby yo<sup>r</sup> LL. plesure is, that we shall appoint iiij men for the sale of the other ships and other thinges remaynyng, for the payment of the men not yett paid. Accordingle, we haue appointed men therto, who shall see the same executed as spedie as may be, but that beinge done, is but a verie small matter to pay that w<sup>ch</sup> is owinge to the men that are unpaid, and the ffraightts of the shyps owinge. Wherfore yt may pleise yo<sup>r</sup> LL. to gyve order, that fuche of the venturars as have not yet paid their partes towards the said fraights and wagys may pay the same forthw<sup>th</sup>, for that otherwyse wee see not other present remedye for the same. The names of the venturars w<sup>ch</sup> have not yet paid their full part is in a wrytinge hereincloused, to whome ytt may please yo<sup>r</sup> LL. to gyv fuche straight order, as that they may pay their partes owinge, as the other venturars have done, or ells to be seclued from all benefyte that may grow to them by their former ventures made, and other ventures hereafter to be made, and to lose all that w<sup>ch</sup> alreadye they have disburfed.

Alfo yt may lyke yo<sup>r</sup> LL. to understand that this daye we have had conferens w<sup>th</sup> one John Barton, gentleman, who semethe to have experiens of myneral

workes, who hath offered to make a proffe of the ewr at Dartford, at his owne charges in the great workes at Dartford, and theruppon will procede in the work of all the ewr there, to have for his industrie, vpon the valew of the ewr after this rate; to faye, for everie ton yeldinge the valew of xx ponds money clere above all charges, he to have ten shillings for his paynes and industrie, and yeldinge the valew of xxx ponds the ton clere of all charges, he to have xx shillings; and yeldinge the valew of xl ponds the [ton] to have xxx shillings for his industrie; and he to work ytt at his charges, and wyll work xv<sup>c</sup> tons by yere, to whom (yf yo<sup>r</sup> LL. lyke of ytt) we have confented he shall make prooffe ymediatelie after Ester, wherof yt may plese yo<sup>r</sup> LL. to advertyse us yo<sup>r</sup> plesures, for that we doo staye the man in towne uppon yo<sup>r</sup> LL. answere to be had.

And for the procedinge of the great workes at Dartford by Jonas, we thinke ytt very requyfytt to procede in the fame, and therto is needfull of dyttamentts to be provyded for them, and other necessarie charges at Dartford for the working of the fame, w<sup>ch</sup> in all would ask the fuum of v<sup>c</sup> pondes untill the workes wyll mayntaine ytt self for the reste, for the w<sup>ch</sup> money we have nott any means heere, for that the former cessementts wyll not suffyce for the fraights and wags of men yet unpaid, neyther doo we know how to provyde the fame but by a new cessione uppon all the venturars, and the charge and accountt therof to be commytted to a severall man.

Thus humbly we take our leave of yo<sup>r</sup> LL., and commytt the fame to the tuition of Almighty God. From London the xxvij Marche, 1579.

At yo<sup>r</sup> LL. commandements,

Thomas Gresh'm.	Lionell Duckett.
John Dee.	Martin Frobisher.
Thomas Allen.	Edwarde Fenton.
X <sup>o</sup> pfer Hoddesdonn.	Gylbert Yorke.
Michael Lok.	Mathew Fyeld.

To the Right Honorable our very goods Lordes  
the LL. of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Honorable Privie  
Councell.

[*Colonial*, 138. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 42.]

The Venturars w<sup>th</sup> him note payde at the 25 Aprill 1579.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Lord High Treforer . . . . .	065	00	00
The Lorde High Admerall . . . . .	065	00	00
The Erle of Suffex . . . . .	065	00	00
The Earle of Warwicke . . . . .	065	00	00

The Earle of Lecefter . . . . .	011 03 04
The Lorde Hondeston . . . . .	085 00 00
Sr Francs Knowles, Trefore . . . . .	032 10 00
The Earle of Oxforde . . . . .	450 00 00
The Earle of Penbroke . . . . .	172 10 00
The Countesse of Warwick . . . . .	057 10 00
The Countesse of Penbroke . . . . .	028 15 00
The Lady Ann Talbott . . . . .	010 00 00
Sr W <sup>m</sup> . Winter . . . . .	040 00 00
Sr Johane Broquete . . . . .	077 10 00
Mr. Phallapp Sydney . . . . .	067 10 00
Mr. Edward Dyer . . . . .	067 10 00
Mr. Willm Pelhame . . . . .	135 00 00
Mr. Thomas Randolphe . . . . .	085 00 00
Johne Somers . . . . .	067 10 00
Symonde Boyere . . . . .	028 15 00
Antony Jenkenfon . . . . .	057 10 00
Jeffry Turvill . . . . .	007 00 00
Richerd Bolande . . . . .	027 10 00
Mathewe Kenerfley . . . . .	028 15 00
Robarte Kinerfley . . . . .	057 10 00
William Burde . . . . .	020 00 00
Thomas Owene . . . . .	012 15 00
Christopher Androwes . . . . .	005 00 00
Robart Martine . . . . .	005 00 00
Marten Furbysher . . . . .	270 00 00
	<hr/>
Sum of all . . . . .	2167 03 04
	<hr/>

Thes whos names be under wrytten be fuche as adventured in the second viage, and not in the thirde, except the Countesse of Suffex, who was no venturer in the second vyage, and Sr Lionell Duckett who hathe adventured the moytie in the third viage accordinge to the some adventurid by \_\_\_\_\_ in the second viage the w<sup>ch</sup> moste be refered unto the confideratione of your Honors.

The Countesses of Suffex . . . . .	135 00 00
The Lady Ann Talbote . . . . .	062 10 00
Sr Lyonell Duckett . . . . .	067 10 00
Sr William Winter . . . . .	500 00 00
Willm Burde . . . . .	250 00 00
Christopher Androwes . . . . .	062 10 00
Robart Martyne . . . . .	062 10 00

There is also owing by Mighell Locke for the foote of his accompte 1217*li.* 19*s.* 04*d.*, the consideration whereof moſte be in like caſe referri'd to the determinatione of your Honors.

There is alſo a reare acompt of Mr. Locks for dyvers marchandizes and victuales, etc., retornid in the ſhipps, and by him ſould unawdited.

Even ſo in leke caſe the whole and full acompt of Mr. Furbyſher as yete to awdite to bothe w<sup>ch</sup> acompts I cann ſaye nothinge untell the fame be fyniſhed and by the comyſſioners throughly ſeane.

*Indorſed.*—A note of the accompt towchyng the northweſt viage.

[*Colonial*, 140. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 47.]

After o<sup>r</sup> hartie commendations, whereas for want of the paiment of ſuche ſomes as are due by fundrie the adventurers to the northweſt in the late voiage made by Mr. Frobisher, not onely manie that ſerved in the ſaide voiage be yet unpaide and undiſcharged, but alſo the ewre brought home remainethe untried and ſo unprofitable Her Matie hath cauſed an order to be ſette downe by my LL for the aunſwearinge of the ſaide ſommes whereunto her pleaſure is that ſo manie as be behinde hand in their paiments, and intend by continewinge in the ſocietie of this companie to reape the benefitte that may happely growe thereof, ſhall ſubſcribe their names in the teſtimonie that they will ſee the ſommes due by them paide to ſuch perſon, and w<sup>th</sup>in ſuch time as is expreſſed in the ſaide order. And to that ende we are willed to ſende to you, as we do by this bearer the ſame order to be by you ſubſcribed in caſe you meane to continue an adventurer, otherwiſe purpoſinge to venture no more, to require you to ſubſcribe to one other bill w<sup>ch</sup> this bearer alſo hath to exhibite to you, thereby teſtifyinge yo<sup>r</sup> refuſall to be for the preſente anie longer an adventurer of this companie. By a note w<sup>ch</sup> this bearer hath under the hands of the Commiſſioners appointed to regarde the accounts of this Companie, you may ſee what is behinde to be by you paide, w<sup>ch</sup> if you ſhall like to ſee paide accordinge to the order, then are you by a note of yo<sup>r</sup> hand to ſignifie the day of yo<sup>r</sup> ſubſcription to the order, that accordingly the ſommes w<sup>ch</sup> you are to pay may be looked for and received here by the Threafurer of the Companie. And ſo we bid you hartely farewell from the courte  
the                      of Aprill, 1579.

Yo<sup>r</sup> lovinge frende.

[*Colonial*, 109. *State Papers. Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 16.]

The Venturars w<sup>ch</sup> have not paid to *M. Lok*, but must paie to *Mr Allen*.

	Wages second voiage. 1577.	Buyld- ings Dartford.	Third voiage outwards.	Freight retorne. 1578.
The Lord Highe Treaferer -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 118
The Lord Highe Admirall -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 118
The Erle of Suffex -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 118
The Erle of Warwick -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 118
The Erle of Leycester -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 11 3 4
The Lord of Hunfdon -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i> 17 10	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Sr Frauncs Knowlls -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
The Erle of Oxford -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 450
The Erle of Penbrook -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 172 10 0
The Countesse of Penbroke -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 28 15 0
The Countesse of Suffex -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i> 67 10	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
The Countesse of Warwick -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
The Ladie Anne Talbot -	<i>li</i> 5	<i>li</i> 5	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
Sr Henrye Wallope -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10
Sr Thoms Grefham -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 230
Sr Leonell Ducket -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 5	<i>li</i> 33 15	<i>li</i> 28 15
Sr Will <sup>m</sup> Wynter -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 40	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
Sr John Brocket -	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10
Mr Phillip Sidney -	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10
Edward Dier -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 5	<i>li</i> 33 15	<i>li</i> 28 15
Will <sup>m</sup> Pelham -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i> 67 10	<i>li</i> 57 10
Thomas Randolph -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 27 10	<i>li</i> 57 10
John Somers -	<i>li</i> 10	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Symon Bowyer -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 28 15 0
Anthony Jenkynson -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Jeffrey Turvile -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 37
Will <sup>m</sup> Paynter -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Richard Bowland -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Mathew Kynderfley -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 28 15 0
Robert Kynderfley -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10 0
Mr <sup>s</sup> Anne Frauncs Kynderfley	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 86 5 0
Will <sup>m</sup> Burd Mercer -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 20	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>
Will <sup>m</sup> Ormefhawe -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 28 15 0
Thoms Allen -	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>li</i> 57 10

Richard Young	-	-	-	li	li	li	li	57	10
Will <sup>m</sup> Bond	-	-	-	li	li	li	li	115	
Thoms Owen	-	-	-	li	li	li	li	28	15 0
Will <sup>m</sup> Dowgell	-	-	-	li	li	li	li	28	15 0
Anthony Marlor	-	-	-	li	li	li	li	28	15 0
Chriftopher Androwes	-	-	-	li	li	5 li	li		
Robert Martyn	-	-	-	li	li	5 li	li		
Martyn Furbifther	-	-	-	li	li	20 li	li	138	115
				<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
				li 35	li 145	li 382 10	li 2855	13 4	not rec <sup>d</sup>
							2923	1 8	received

38  
 145  
 382 10  
 2855 13 4

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li 5778 18 0

3418 3 4 Not rec<sup>d</sup> by Mr Lok

72 1578  
 The Venturars money not paid to Mr Lok but to Mr Allyn.

[*Colonial*, 124. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 18.]

The humble Petition of *Michael Lok* for Charges dyfburfed.

To the right Honorable the Lordes and others of Her Mat<sup>ties</sup> moſte  
 Honorable Privie Councill.

In moſt humble dewtye befechethe yo<sup>r</sup> Honors, yo<sup>r</sup> moſt humble ſuppliant Michael Lok, that wheras by the manyfold comandementts of yo<sup>r</sup> honors, and by the dayly direçions of the comyſſyoners appointed for the voiages lately made by Martin Furbuſther, yo<sup>r</sup> ſaid ſuppliant for the ſpace of theſe iij yeres hathe taken the charge and dewtyfully to his power hathe followed and ſeene executed all the buſynes therunto appertaininge, according to the orders to him appointed in that behalf from tyme to tyme, w<sup>ch</sup> he hathe to ſhew to his continewall great paynes and trouble, and his very great charges and expenſes. And of all his doinges in the premiffes he hathe made dew and trew accountt, w<sup>ch</sup> is awdyted and certiffed unto yo<sup>r</sup> Honors, in w<sup>ch</sup> accountt yo<sup>r</sup> ſaid humble ſuppliant hathe fett downe the ſum of xij<sup>li</sup> by hymn expended and layd out of his owne purſe for dyvers particular charges, for the followinge of the ſaid buſynes in the ſaid tyme of iij yeres, as therein dothe appeare; w<sup>ch</sup> ſaid awditors would not allowe unto yo<sup>r</sup> ſaid ſuppliant upon his ſaid account ſayenge that they had none auctoritie



therto, but doo referre the same to the confideration of yo<sup>r</sup> Honors. Now yo<sup>r</sup> Honors said humble suppliant, most humbly befechethe yo<sup>r</sup> Honors to have confyderation of the premyffes, in refpect of his dewtyfull farvyce done therein, and his trew dealynges in his accountt made, as also for that most trewlye he hathe expended and layd out of his owne purfe for the said bufynes the said fum of xij<sup>li</sup> fett downe in thaccountt, and also iij<sup>li</sup> more not fett downe in thaccountt, as he wyll make dew proffe beydes the great fum beinge ij<sup>mij</sup><sup>li</sup> of money w<sup>ch</sup> he hathe paid in the said voyages, for his owne ftok and venture therein, whiche is all the goodes that he hathe in the world w<sup>th</sup>out exception; wherby now hym fellf and wyfe and xv children are left in ftate to beg their bread henfforthe except God turne the ftones at Dartford into his bread agayne, and that yo<sup>r</sup> Honors be good unto hym in this his humble fute, accordinge to his dewtyfull trew meaninge in this his farvyce done. And yo<sup>r</sup> said humble suppliant and his children, according to their bounden dewtye, fhall pray to God contynewallye for the encreas of all yo<sup>r</sup> Honors eftates with all prosperitie.

[*Colonial*, 125. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 19.]

*Michael Lok* hathe paid for dyvers Charges for the Affayres of the Companye in the iij yeres of the iij Voyages of *Martin Furbusher*, Gent., for the Northwest Parts, as folow<sup>th</sup> :—

For my rydyng charges to the Court at Hampton, Wyndfore, Rychemond, and other places in progresse to attend on Her Maties most Honorable Privie Councell, for comyffyons, directions, and money collections of the venturars in iij yeres, at xl <sup>li</sup> by yere . . . . .	cxx <sup>li</sup>
For my ryding charges to Dartford, and for the bylldings and workes theare, and to other places. daylye, for necessaries in these viij monthes . . . . .	lx <sup>li</sup>
For my botehyer to the Court at Grenewiche to attende on the Councell for the comyffyons, and money collections of the venturars, and to the ships, and other places li . . . . .	xx <sup>li</sup>
For the table dyatt of the comyffyoners, awdytors, captaynes, and others of these voyages, at my howffe often and daylye in these iij yeres, at l <sup>li</sup> by yere li . . . . .	cl <sup>li</sup>
For interestes of money taken up from tyme to tyme to furnishe thes iij voyages and dyspache of the ships in dew tyme, for lak of the venturars money . . . . .	li ccl <sup>li</sup>
	S <sup>m</sup> mm vj <sup>li</sup>

For the ordynary chages and travayll of my fellfe and my farvants  
 and howshold to follow this bufynes and take charge of thac-  
 countts, and howferome of the goodes in these iij yeres voyages  
 at cc<sup>li</sup> by yere . . . . . vj<sup>cli</sup>  
 S'mm of all xij<sup>cli</sup>

Thus moche money xij<sup>cli</sup>, and more hathe ytt cost me out of my  
 purfe, wherof nothinge is yett allowed me in accountts. Allow  
 me what reason and equitie requyrethe.

And Michael Lok hathe in stok and venture for hym fellf and hys  
 chyl dren w<sup>ch</sup> he hathe paid . . . . . ij<sup>m</sup>clij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>  
 And in the name of John Dee . . . . . iij<sup>xx</sup>xvij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

S'mm . . . . . ij<sup>m</sup>ccli

Befydes the stok and venturre of the Right Honorable the Erle  
 of Oxford, w<sup>ch</sup> is . . . . . ij<sup>m</sup>iiij<sup>xxxli</sup>  
 By me, MICHAEL LOK.

[*Colonial*, 105. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvj, No. 56.]

The Venturars w<sup>ch</sup> have not paid their partes for ffraight and  
 wages the last November, 1578.

Off the Court.

The Lord High Treafurer . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50	} Ffor third voiag 200 venture outwards.
The Lord High Admirall . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50	
The Erle of Suffex . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50	
The Erle of Warwick . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50	
The Lord Hunfdon . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	} 50 xxvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Sr Ffraunces Knowles . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	
The Erle of Oxford . . . . .	iiij <sup>cli</sup>	200	} 275 lxx <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
The Erle of Pembroke . . . . .	clxxij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	60	
The Countez of Suffex . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	
The Countez of Warwick . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	} 40
The Countez of Penbroke . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	
Sr Henrie Wallope . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	} 125 xx <sup>li</sup> x <sup>li</sup>
Sr John Brocket . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	
Mr. Philip Sidney . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	
Mr. William Pelham . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	
Mr. Thomas Randolphe . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	} 40 xxxvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> x <sup>li</sup>
Edward Diar . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	
John Somers . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	

Symon Boyer . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	} 65	clv <sup>li</sup>
Martyn Ffurbifher . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50		
Anthonye Jenkynfon . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25	} 115	
Jeffrey Turvile . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
William Paynter . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
Richard Bowland . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
John Dee . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15		
	Sum ij <sup>m</sup> cxvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>			

Off the Cittic.

Sr Thomas Greffham . . . . .	clxxx <sup>li</sup>	65	} 90	xxxiiij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>
Sr Leonell Ducket . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
My Ladye Martyn . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	} 105	
Mathewe Kynderfleye . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15		
Robert Kynderfleye . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	15		
Mrs. Anne Fraunces Kynderfleye . . . . .	lxxxvj <sup>li</sup> v <sup>s</sup>	35		
Mathew Ffield . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
Edmund Hogan . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50	} 115	
William Bond . . . . .	cxv <sup>li</sup>	50		
Thomas Owen . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	} 100	
William Borrowe . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>	25		
William Ormehawe . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15		
William Dowgle . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15		
Anthonye Marlo <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15		
William Harrington . . . . .	xxvij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>	15	} 220	
Michael Lok . . . . .	iiij <sup>li</sup> cx <sup>li</sup>			
	Sum j <sup>m</sup> iiij <sup>li</sup> clxxxvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>			
	and ij <sup>m</sup> cxvj <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>			

Not receved fraight ij<sup>m</sup>v<sup>li</sup>cx<sup>li</sup>  
 outwards venture vj<sup>li</sup>cx<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

Sum ij<sup>m</sup>cxv<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup> not receved  
 Ffor the fecond voiaq.

----- x<sup>li</sup> My Ladic Anne Talbot  
 ----- xl<sup>li</sup> Sr William Wynter  
 ----- xx<sup>li</sup> William Burde  
 ----- v<sup>li</sup> Christofer Androwes  
 ----- v<sup>li</sup> Robert Martyn  
 Sum vj<sup>li</sup>cx<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

Accompt of *Michael Lok*, Treasurer, made the last of November, 1578, of Monney received and paid by hym fyns his last Accompt, audited in August 1578.

## Receiptts.

Off the Quens Matie for freight, and wages . . . . .	mcl <sup>li</sup>
Of Therle of Leycester, for freight . . . . .	clxxj <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Of Therle of Oxford, part for freight . . . . .	v <sup>c</sup> lxxxv <sup>li</sup>
Of Mr. Secretarie Walsingham, for freight . . . . .	ij <sup>c</sup> xxx <sup>li</sup>
Of hym, for venture owtwardes . . . . .	lxij <sup>li</sup> xij <sup>s</sup>
Of Mr. Secretarie Wilfon, freight . . . . .	cxij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Of S. Thomas Gresham, venture owtwards . . . . .	c <sup>li</sup>
Of hym, for parte of freight . . . . .	l <sup>li</sup>
Of Thomas Allen, freight . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Of Christopher Hadfon, freight . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Of Richard Young, freight . . . . .	lvij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
Sum receved, xxv iiij <sup>xxli</sup> iij <sup>s</sup>	

## Payments.

To Michael Lok, rest of his accompt . . . . .	ix <sup>c</sup> lxxxix <sup>li</sup>
For the workes at Dartford, above all receved . . . . .	iiij <sup>c</sup> lxxx <sup>li</sup>
To the Erle Leycester, ewr from Bristow . . . . .	clxxij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
To the fhippe <i>Hoapwell</i> , part of freight . . . . .	c <sup>li</sup>
To the fhippe <i>Anne Fraunces</i> , part freight . . . . .	c <sup>li</sup>
To the fhippe <i>Tho. Allen</i> , part freight . . . . .	clxxij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup>
To the mynars and men, part of wages . . . . .	ij <sup>c</sup> l <sup>li</sup>
To the fhippe <i>Beare Leycester</i> , freight . . . . .	iiij <sup>c</sup> l <sup>li</sup>
Sum paid, xxv <sup>c</sup> iiij <sup>xxix</sup> ix <sup>li</sup>	

By me, Michael Lok.

[*Colonial*, 137. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvii, No. 10.]

An Order fett downe by the Queenes Maties expresse commandement, touching the supplying of such Summes of Money as are due by the Adventurers in the Northwest Voyage, otherwife called *Meta Incognita*.

The Q. Matie being given to understand that diverse of those that were adventurers in the late viages performed by Martin Ffurbusher, gent., into the northwest partes (not w<sup>th</sup> standing fondrie admonitions given by letters directed unto them from the lords and others of the privy counsell), that they shold bringe in such fummes

of money as were due by them at tymes and daies limited by the said letters, have not brought in the said summes accordingly; wherby diverse mariners continewed a long season undischarged, and the fraught of the moste parte of the shippes employed in that voyage unpayed to th' utter undoing of diverse of the owners of the said shippes, and greatly to her Ma<sup>ties</sup> dishonor, being an adventurer in the said voyage, and having payed all such summes of money as were due by her. Ffor redresse wherof her Ma<sup>tie</sup> doth therefore order that all such adventurers as have not yet payed in such summes of money as are by them due, shall w<sup>th</sup> in ten dayes after notice given to them of this her Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure bring in and deliver into the hands of Thomas Allen, appoynted to be the treasurer for this purpose, the moytie of such summes as are by them yet due, and th' other moytie w<sup>th</sup> in a moneth after, w<sup>ch</sup> if they shall not observe that than they shall not only be forthw<sup>th</sup> excluded out of the company, but also loose the benefitt of such summes of money as they have already putt in, being a matter agreeable w<sup>th</sup> lawe and justice for not observing the rules of societie. And for that it may be knowen out of hand who meane to continewe the said adventure by making payment of such sommes as are by them due accordingly, as is above mentioned, and who shall refuse: yt is by her highnes thought meete, and so ordered that such as meane to continew the same shold subscribe there names to this order, as thereby binding themselves to the payment of the summes by them due, as above is expressed. And that such as shall refuse to subscribe the same therby to bind themselves to the payement, but meaning to adventure no more money in the said voyage shalbe hereafter utterly excluded in fuche forte as is above specified. And to thintent that no man shall pretend ignoraunce what he ought to paye at this present, the bearer herof hath a scedule conteyning the names of all such as have adventured w<sup>th</sup> the summes by them payed, and what summes are remayning due to be payd, subscribed by such commissioners as have had authorysie to have regard thereto.

*Al/o*, The L. Treasurer.

The L. Admirall.

The L. Chamberlain.

The E. of Warwycke.

The E. of Leycester.

The L. of Hunfdon.

Mr. Threforer.

Secret. Walsingham.

Mr. Secret. Wylson

[*Colonial*, 141. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 36.]

The Names of them that be lefte owte of this laft Bill and thofe that be fett leffe in this laft Byll then in the other thefe Names ffolloinge.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Randolphe . . . . .	10	0	0
Jeffraye Turvell . . . . .	20	0	0
Jhon Dice . . . . .	28	15	0
Sr Lyonell Duckett . . . . .	28	15	0
My Ladye Martyn . . . . .	28	15	0
Mathew Ffelde . . . . .	57	0	0
Edmond Huggan . . . . .	115	0	0
Wylliam Burroo . . . . .	57	0	0
Wylliam Harryngton . . . . .	28	15	0
Mychell Locke . . . . .	460	0	0
	<hr/>		
	835 <sup>li</sup>	0 <sup>s</sup>	0 <sup>d</sup>

[*Lansdowne MS.*, xxx, No. 4, fol. 12. *Colonial*, 153.]

The Offer of *Michael Lok* for the Northwest Ewr at Dartford.

He requirethe to have lycense for iij yeares to ferche for myneralls by the patent made to William Humfrey or by the mynes Royall. And libertye to work them at his pleafure at his owne charges, gyving therfore v of the c, of the clere gayne that fhall grow therbye.

To have the ufe of the workhoufes at Dartford for iij yeres, and libertye to work the northwest ewr that is there at his pleafure, at his owne charges.

To have a man affigned to be of his councill, and take account under hymn in all that fhallbe done. And all the clere gaynes that fhall grow by this workes, he is content fhallbe gyven to the payment of the debttts owing by the companye, for the northwest voiages of Captaine Furbuſher.

That he may have recompens of the Royal Majestie for his land bought and recovered from hym, the which recompens he is content fhallbe employed in theſe workes, to be repaid hym in account of the workes, withall his owne travayll and induſtrie.

That he have a proteccion of her Majestie for iij yeres, and a quietus eft of his accountes, and a clere difcharge for all his bondes, and all the debtes of the companye of the voiages of Captain Furbuſher.

That                    may have commyſſion to collect the goodes of the companye that

lye scattered, and to recover the debtes owing to the companye, and fet downe what is owinge to them and to take account of the state of the companye.

And after that he hath paid and fattyffied the creditors of the companye for the debttes owing to them, he shall have freelye the leasse of the workhouses at Dartford, with all the companyes interest therein.

A letter to be wrytten from my Lords of the Counsell unto the Commyffyoners, to examyne all the workmen for the addytaments used with the northweft ewr, in the small fayed made in Meta Incognita, which shewed clene gold.

## Commyffyoners.

Sir William Wyntar.  
 Sir William Pelham.  
 Mr. Thomas Randolphe.  
 Mr. Dyar.  
 Mr. Dee.  
 Mr. Yonge.  
 Mr. Hogan.  
 Mr. Lok.  
 Mr. Palmar.

## Workmen.

John Baptista Agnello.  
 Jonas Shutz.  
 Robert Denam.  
 William Humfrey.  
 Humfrey Cole.  
 D. Burcot is deade.

[*Lansdowne MS.*, xxx, No. 4, fol. 10. *Colonial*, 152.]

The Offer of *Michael Lok*.

All the northweft ewr brought home by Captayne Furbusher is estemed xij<sup>cc</sup> tons. For the which ewr Michael Lok shall paye v<sup>l</sup> the ton, which amountethe vj<sup>ml</sup> of money.

The first payment to begyn at the end of one yere, and then to pay every monthe c<sup>l</sup> of money untill the vj<sup>ml</sup> be payd.

And for furetye of this payment he shall fyrst receive 1 ton of ewr upon his owne bond, and afterward shall gyve furetye for the ewr as he receveth the yt.

And he shall have the whole leasse of the mylles and workhowffes at Dartford, and benefyt therof in fuche state as the fame is taken of the Quenes farmar, and as the fame now ys.

He shall have freelye all the implements and furnytur for the workes now beinge at Dartford, and all the myneralls and mettals that are there being wroughte.

He shall have lycens for terme of the faid leasse to ferche and myne for ewrs and myneralls in all groundes which are not already opened and myned, and therout dygged the quantyte of fyve ton of ewr within all the Quenes Majesties domynyons, except the priviledges of the flannerie of Cornwall for their tynne ewrs, and the fame ewrs and myneralls to take and carye away and use at his pleafure, compounding with the ownars for the brekyng of their ground.

*To have better fuerty than by self. The vallew of the lesse of the knowen.*

*The exceptyng all other former grants made by her Majesty or by any her progenitors.*

And, nevertheles, this Lycens fhall not reftrayne any other man to ferche and dygge alfo for any ewrs and myneralls in any other place not beinge within fyve myles of the place that fhallbe dygged and followed by vertew of this Lycens.

He fhallbe clerely dyfcharged and kept harmeles, quyete of all maner debtes and demandes of all men, for all the bufynes of the Companye done before this day.

The Quenes Majeftie fhall have libertie to take agayne into her handes this grant and contract at the end of vij yeres, payenge and recompensyng the charges done and damage to be fustayned therebye by the arbitrement of vj indyfferent parfons.

[*Lansdowne MS.*, xxx, No. 4, fol. 11.]

Or ells yf the forfaid offer be not lyked, then Michael Lok fhall caufe to be wrought all the faid northweft ewr, for the account and ufe of the companye of venturars.

And fhall make yt worthe v<sup>ls</sup> the ton at the leaft, and better yf yt wilbe clere of almaner charges from hens forthe to be done.

And the company of venturars fhall gyve hym the awc<sup>h</sup>oritie to governe, command, and direct all the workes.

*The Com-  
pany hath  
loft over  
much money*

And fhall pay hym x<sup>s</sup> a day for his owne charges and travayll, out of the fayd valew of the ewr. And fhall provyde a ftok of money iiiij<sup>c</sup>£, to buye and provyde addytaments and to begyn the workes. And fhall appointe a man to be of counfell of his doinges and to kepe the money and to take thaccounts daylye of all that paffethe.

And he fhallbe clerely dyfcharged and kept quyete of all maner debttts and demandes of all men, for all the bufynes of the companye done before this day.

And after that all this northweft ewr is wrought as aforefaid, Michael Lok fhall have the ftate and right of the faid leaffe of the fayd mylles and workhowffes at Dartford for the reft of the yeres therein then to come.

And allfo the Lycence to ferche and myne and work all ewrs and myneralls as aforefaid, duringe the reft of the yeres of that leaffe for his owne account and ufe, payeng to the Quenes Majeftie fyve fhillinges money for every tonne of ewr that fhallbe dygged and melted by vertew therof.

[*Colonial*, 104. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 47.]

18 Novembris, 1578. An Offer then made at *Moskovy Houfe* by *Jonas Sute* before *Mr Feild*, *Mr Lock*, and *Andrew Palmer*.

A tonne of ewer	. . . . .	vij <sup>li</sup>
vj <sup>c</sup> of copper rerquisite from Kefwicke	. . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
Of lead, i <sup>cwt</sup>	. . . . .	x <sup>s</sup>



Of lead ewer, vi <sup>cwt</sup>	. . . . .	xxiiij <sup>s</sup>
Wood for rofte, di (2 <sup>cwt</sup> ) mt? (500)	. . . . .	v <sup>s</sup>
Coles for meltinge	. . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
Ffees and wages a tonne	. . . . .	xx <sup>s</sup>
Ffor extraordinary charges	. . . . .	xvj <sup>s</sup>
Sum, xiiij <sup>li</sup> xv <sup>s</sup>		

Hereof Jonas will deliver gold and filver nett to the valewe of xxiiij<sup>li</sup> xv<sup>s</sup>

*Indorsed.* Mr. Palmers note touchynge Jonas offer abowt Furbifshers ewre. 18<sup>th</sup> Nov., 1578.

[*Colonial*, 103. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxvi, No. 34.]

All the Stok of the Venturers in all the iij Voyages.

Sum of all the stok of all the venturars.	All the venturars.	} wherof	{ Michael Lok and his children.
For the first voyage, anno 1576 . . . .	£875 . . . .		£100
For the second voyage, anno 1577 . . . .	£4275 . . . .		£1075
For wagys at retorne therof . . . .	£1030 . . . .		£225
For byldinges at Dartford . . . .	£1105 . . . .		£260
For the third voyage, anno 1578 . . . .	£6952 10s. . . .		£1755
For freight & wagys at retorne therof,	£3347 10s. . . .		£845
Sum . . . .	£17585 . . . .		£4270
For the second rate of freight . . . .	£2575 . . . .		£650
Sum all . . . .	£20160 . . . .		£4920

And note that of the forfaid fumme of £4270 of his venture, the Erle of Oxford became partner w<sup>th</sup> him for £2000 in fuche order and maner as hym selfe was and is venturar.

And over and beydes the faid fumme of £4920 of his venture Michael Lok dyd pay of his owne purfe for the furnytur of the first voyage £700, whiche was restored to him in account of the second voyage.

And he dyd also paye of his owne purfe, for the furnytur of fecond voyage, £400, whiche is now lately repaid hym in accountt.

And he did also pay of his owne purfe, for furnytur of the third voyage and byldyng at Dartford, £700, whiche is nowe lately repaid hym in accountt.

And, more over, he hathe taken great paynes and travayll, and byn att very great charges and expenfes in doinge the companies bufynes in all thefe iij voyages, and hathe not yet charged anye of his accounttes withe one peny for the fame, knowinge that the venturars wyll confyder of it withe reafon.

And now, Michael Lok havinge done all the premyffes in farvyce of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the venturars, he is openlie sclandered by Captaine Furbusher thus to be:—

A false accountant to the companye.

A coffener of my L. of Oxford.

No venturer at all in the voiages.

A bankerot knave.

Wherefore most humblye he besechethe yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships to direct yo<sup>r</sup> letters unto the comyssioners of the busynes and the awdito<sup>rs</sup> of his accounttes to certyffye yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships what he hath done in the premyffes.

[*Colonial*, 122. *Domestic Eliz.*, cxxx, No. 17.]

The Abuses of *Captayn Furbusher* agaynst the Companye. *An<sup>o</sup> 1578.*

*No. 1.  
The ewr  
promised  
was not  
brought.*

In the first voyage he brought home by chaunce a stoane of riche ewre, and being examyned by S<sup>r</sup> William Wynter, M<sup>r</sup> Randall, M<sup>r</sup> Hogan, and the rest of the Comissioners, what quantitie was to be had, he said that in that countrie was inoughe therof to lade all the Quenes shippes, and promised to lade the shippes of the seconde voyage ther w<sup>th</sup>all, wheruppon the seconde voyage was prepared, and comyssion geven him to bringe of the same. And Jonas, Denham, and Grigorie, were sent with him for the same; but he performed nothinge at all, & brought not so muche as one stoane therof; for ther was none to lade, as Jonas and the rest do witnes, but laded the ships w<sup>th</sup> other mynes founde by chaunfe.

*No. 2.  
The ewr  
promised  
was not  
brought.*

In the seconde voyag he returned the shippes laden w<sup>th</sup> stoanes of strainge ewr found by chaunce there, sainge they were of gold myne worth *iiii<sup>xx</sup>* poundes a tonne, w<sup>ch</sup> is not yet so founde; and also he brought some stoanes of redde ewre and yellow ewer of Jonas mount, verye riche of gold, as D. Burcot witnessed, and the stoanes are yett to be seen. And promised to the comissioneres that ther was mountaynes therof, and he would lade all the shippes therw<sup>th</sup>al in the thirde voyage, wheruppon the thirde voyage was prepared w<sup>th</sup> so great chardg; but he brought home not one stoane therof afterwards that is yet found.

*No. 3.  
Superfluous  
shippes and  
chargs.*

*He carried  
4 shippes, and  
c men,  
w<sup>th</sup>out  
comission.*

In the thirde voyage he promised to lade all the shippes w<sup>th</sup> the ewr of Jonas mount, and other so riche ewre as the best of the second voyage was, and carried owt a number of ships for that purpose, and a c. men to inhabit there under culler of the Frenche mens preparacon to that countrie, and beydes the number appoynted to him by the Comissioners, he carried mor 4 shippes and a c. men more for his owne purpose, w<sup>th</sup>out the knowledge of the Comissioners, w<sup>ch</sup> now rest upon the charge of the Companye, and he brought home those shippes laden w<sup>th</sup> none of the ewre that he promised, but w<sup>th</sup> other strainge ewr, wher he could fynd yt, w<sup>ch</sup> he said was better then the best that was brought the yeare befor, w<sup>ch</sup> is not yt so found.

Also he promised to the Comissioners and had special charge by comission first to plant C. Fenton and the c. men to inhabit in that new land, wheruppon the great preparacon was made; but afterwards, before his departure from London, he dislyked that enterpryce, and diswaded the same cullerablie, and when he came there he would not helpe them therin one jote, not so muche as for 50 men wherewithall C. Fenton would have tarried there, he feringe that C. Fentons deede therin woulde dashe his glorye, and becaufe he toke the victualls of that provicion to victuall his owne 4 shippes taken w<sup>th</sup> him extraordinare, w<sup>ch</sup> went from hens unvictuallled uppon his promisse made them to victuall them, as Captayn Fenton and others witnes.

No. 4.  
He would  
not place  
C. Fenton  
there.

He promised and had comission to fend the two barks this yere to make some discoverie of the passage for Cathai, w<sup>ch</sup> he might have donne; but when he came at Meta Incognita, he would do nothings at all therin as Hawll & Jakman wytenes, but made all his endeavour to lade his owne shippes, and the rest home agayne w<sup>th</sup> ewre.

No. 5.  
He made no  
discourie of  
passage.

He hathe byn still verrie costlye and prodigall in the furniture of the shippes and men for the voyage, and his owne men beinge shipped for officieres of the shippes have made verie great spoile, waft, and pilfrye of the goods in the shippes, for the w<sup>ch</sup> he must give account.

No. 6.  
His owne  
men evell  
officeres in  
the shippes.

He did practyse to advaunce D. Burcot into the place of Jonas, & mayntan Burcots false proffes made of the ewre, to thend he might be sett on agayn in this third voyage, as the Comissioneres and Denham canne witnes.

No. 7.  
He mayn-  
tayned D.  
Burcott's  
doings.

He was sent to Bristowe to dispatche the ships, the *Ayde* on the thirde voyage, wherin he was made victualler of the shippe, for the whiche sarvice he had money before hand, but he dide so evell vittell the same, as wheras the Companye allowed him to vittell her w<sup>th</sup> fleshe 4 daye in the weke, he sarved the men therof onely 3 dayes, and 2 dayes in the weke, and the rest of the weke w<sup>th</sup> evill fishe, and that w<sup>th</sup> scarfetie wherbye manye of them died, as the men do reporte.

No. 8.  
He vittelled  
the shippe  
Ayde.

He was sent into the west countrie to provide the 120 myners for the voiage, for whose furniture he received money of the Companye by fore hande, for their wags *li*240, and for their weapons *li*120, but therof he paid these men upon their wags, to some xx<sup>s</sup>, to some xiii<sup>s</sup> iiiii<sup>d</sup>, and to some nothinge the man, as the accounts declare. And what weapones they had, or he for them, as yet is unknowne. But in the west countrie is spreade agreat clamor that those mynares beinge preft by comission many of them were afterwards chaunged by favour for showmakeres, taylores, and other artificers, no workemen, and were furnished to see in the charge of the townes and villages in maner of a subfedye as it is reported openlye.

No. 9.  
He dealt  
doble in  
the myners  
provision.

He toke the shipe the *Sallomon* of Weymoth, in the west countrie, w<sup>th</sup>out knowledge of the comissioneres, by force of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> generall comission to him geven, and therby caused the owner, Hew Randall, to furnishe her, and to be with him

No. 10.  
He toke  
the shippe  
Salomon by  
comission.

in this farvice of the thirde voyage, promisinge hime victualls and other great matters, w<sup>ch</sup> he performed not, as Hewe Randall dothe faye.

No. 11. He led the *flote of ships to wrong place.* He led all the shippes this yere to a wronge place of Meta Incognita, throughe his obstinate ignorance, wherby they were all in great danger to perrishe, as Hawll, Davis, and the rest of the shippes masters will witnes.

No. 12. He denied the *Councells comission.* He, beinge at Meta Incognita, did refuse conference and counfell of all others, and said his instrucciones, geven by her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Honourable Privie Councell, were but the device of Fenton and Lok, and never reade by the Councell, though their hands were at the same, as Captayn Fenton and the other captaynes, and Hawell do witnes.

No. 13. He caused the *great disorder of the ships retourne home.* And when the shippes were mored falf in harbor in the countey of Warwicks Sounde, where they should lade, and from whence they should have departed orderlye, he beinge at Beares Sound, comaunded all the shippes (w<sup>th</sup>out anney advice or difcretion) to come thether to take him and his men in, w<sup>ch</sup> place beinge no harbor, but wilde see, a storme of weather happened w<sup>ch</sup> put all the shippes to see to save them selves, w<sup>th</sup> losse of all their boates and pynneses, and other spoile, leavinge him there behind them in the barke *Gabriell*. And so they came home in fuche diforder as is openly knowne.

No. 14. His *arrogancie.* He is so arrogant in his government, as Hawle, Jakman, Davis, nor the other of the masters wille no more take charge of ships under him, and so imperious in his doinges as some of the Comissioners are werie of his company, and manney of the venturares mynded to medle no more w<sup>th</sup> him.

No. 15. He drew his *dager on Jonas.* He drew his dagger and furioslye ranne uppon Jonas, beinge in his worke at Tower hill, and threatned to kill him yf he did not finishe his worke owt of hand, that he might be sett owt againe on the thirde voiage, wheruppon Jonas did confeave so cavell nature in him, that he made a follempe vowe he would never go to see any more w<sup>th</sup> him, w<sup>ch</sup> hath byn no small damage to the Company in the ewre brought home the thirde voyage.

No. 16. He drew his *dager on C. Fenton.* He drew his dager on Captayne Fenton at Darteford, uppon a quarrelous humor, and wolde haue mischefed him uppon the fodayne, yf Mr. Pelham and others had not bine present.

No. 17. Little *trewthe in his talke.* He is so full of lyinge talke as no man maye credit anye thinge that he doth speake, and so impudent of his tonge as his best frindes are most sclandered of him when he cannot have his wille.

No. 18. He *sclandered M. Lok, to the great damage of the Companye.* He hath rayfed lately such sclanderous reportes against Mr. Lok, and geven fuche vehement false informaciones of iii<sup>m</sup>li, and other greate somes of money to remayne in his hands dew to the Company, to paye the shippes freights and mens wages, as hath well lyked some of the venturares, which hoaped therby to be forborne of the payment of their owne parts of money dewe for that purpose, wherby littell money cane yett be had of them of the li3,400 dewe by them to dyfcharg that dutye whiche hath caused the Company to spend mli of monye in vayne,

for chardgs of the shippes and men fynes they came home, and by that meanes for lake of payment of their dewtye, a fclanderous rumoor is fpreade over all the realme, to the great difcredite of the Company.

He did paye wages to the men of the shipe *Thomas* of Ipswiche for v monthes, wheras the Comiffioners did agree and comannnd to paye them but for iiij monthes.

He hath brought into wages of the Companye so many men, and fuche men as he lyste, and many of them at fuche wages as he lyste, w<sup>th</sup>out regard of their farvyce or deferts wherof he is to geve accountt for that many of them are dead, and gone awaye.

He hath plased styll in the shippe *Ayde*, now in the Tames, a nomber of men at the Companyes charges, wherof many are fuche difordered men, bothe of their tonges and of their hands, as are the cause of moche fclander to the Company, and great spoyle done in their shippes, and yt have but small dutye of wages owinge to them, when their accounts shalbe examined particulerlie.

He receaved *cli* of mony by Her Maties order, at retorne of the seconde voiage, as of Her Maties gyfte and reward to be diftrybuted amonge the marineres and other men w<sup>ch</sup> farved in that voyage, but no diftribution is made therof as yett, as the men doo complayne.

To conclude, yf his doinges in thes iij voyages be well looked into, parchanfe he wilbe found the most unproffitable farvante of all that have farved the Companye therin.

No. 19.  
He paid wages to men against comaunderment.  
No. 20.  
He brought men into wages without order.  
No. 21.  
The men in the Ayde make great spoyle.

No. 22.  
He hath not distributed the cli to the men.

No. 23.

The fclanderous Clamors of *Captaine Furbusher* against *Michael Lok*. 1578.

He hath made false accountts to the Companye, and hath coffened them of iii<sup>m</sup>li of money.

He hath coffened my Lord of Oxford of mli.

He hath not one grote of venture in these voiages.

He is a bankerot knave.

### The Answers of *Michael Lok*.

All these forsaide clamors are proved to be false fclanders, aswell by the new awdyte made of M. Loks accountts as also by the open knowledge had of all his doinges certified to Her Maties Honorable Privie Councell.

And now, yf any evell successe should happen in the work of the ewr now layd at Dartford, w<sup>ch</sup> I trust shall not happen, yet wear not that to be imputed anye wayes unto M. Lok, whose innocentie therein is proved by his great goodes beinge ij<sup>m</sup>vi<sup>c</sup>li of money bestowed and ventured therein, and by the testimonie of the Comyffioners certiffieng the first proffe of the work made in the second voiage,

but rather yf any fuch myfchyef fhould happen, w<sup>ch</sup> God forbyd, the fame wear to be layed on Captaine Furbusher, whose great abuffes therin are before declared, and on Jonas and Denam, being the workmen therof, as men who have byn the fyndars and bringars of that ewr w<sup>ch</sup> is brought, and caufars of the coft bestowed for the fetchinge and workinge of the fame, and on them the fame weare to be punished sharplie, but I trust no fuche caufe fhall be gyven.

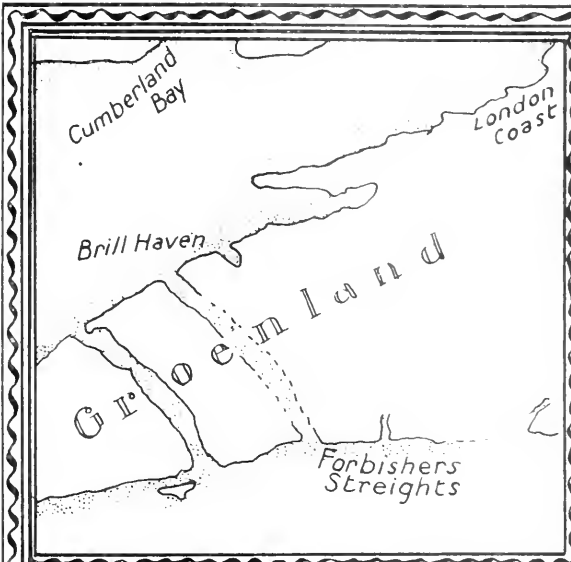
1578.

The Abuffes of *Captayne Furbusher* againft the Companie.

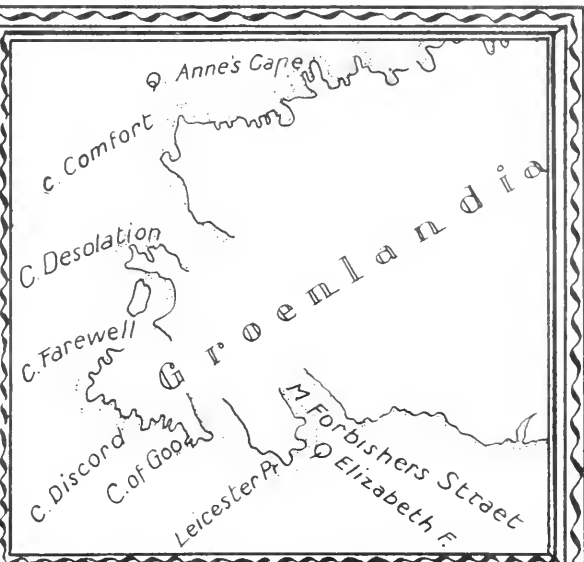
## APPENDIXES



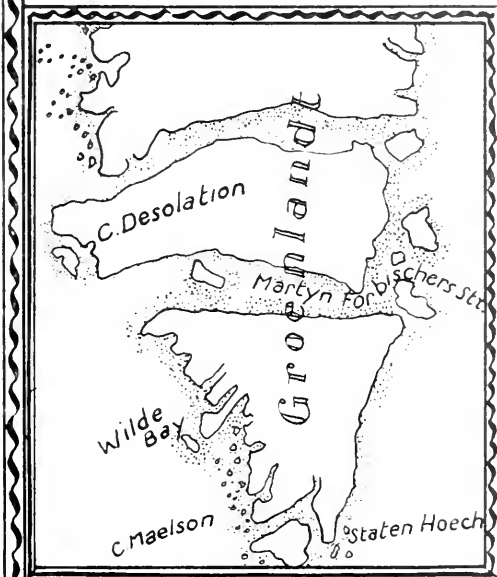




from Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, London. 1728



from Blaeu's Atlas, Amsterdam 1664



from Doncker's Zee-Atlas, Amsterdam. 1675



from De Lisle Atlas Nouveau, Amsterdam 1740



## APPENDIX I

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### NEW MATERIAL ON THE THIRD VOYAGE FROM THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

By Prof. G. B. Parks

The monetary details of Frobisher's voyages of exploration are better known than those of any other English oversea enterprise of the sixteenth century. A mass of documents relating to the Kathay Company, the official name of Frobisher's "venturers", has remained in the archives, and a large body of these papers was printed by Admiral Collinson.<sup>1</sup> Mainly from these printed documents, Professor W. R. Scott was able to give a precise financial history of the company.<sup>2</sup> This material, together with information from the later calendars of state papers, was also used by Dr George B. Manhart in his recent survey of the whole Frobisher enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

The main reason for the preservation of so many papers was the failure of the voyages. Had the ore which was brought back from Baffin Land proved valuable, the enterprise would more or less have paid its way, and the documents would sooner or later have been discarded. Since the ore was in fact valueless, and since the capital raised was inadequate, the investors were seriously annoyed, as were also the unpaid crews and the incompletely paid shipowners. The treasurer of the company became the natural target of reproach, and his defense involved the submitting and justifying of his accounts. The Queen was a large shareholder, and many of the Privy Council were also interested. The result was that the Privy Council was called in as umpire of the battle of words, and the papers submitted to them remained in the archives.

The full accounts of the treasurer have not been printed. They fill two large volumes in the Public Record Office.<sup>4</sup> In the first of these, pages 1 to 60 contain

<sup>1</sup> *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, ed. Richard Collinson ("Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society," Chap. xxxviii, London, 1867).

<sup>2</sup> *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, Vol. II, 76-82, Cambridge, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> "The English Search for a Northwest Passage", pp. 31-92 (in *Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Philadelphia, 1924).

<sup>4</sup> Miscellaneous Books (Exchequer King's Remembrancer) 35, 36. They are described in *Proceedings of H.M. Commissioners on Public Records, 1832-1833*, pp. 74-7, 558-62. A transcript of about 1821 is now Additional MS 39852 in the British Museum.

the summary accounts for the first voyage, 1576, as submitted to the auditors; pages 83 to 174 contain like accounts for the second voyage, 1577. Pages 175 to 305, and all the next volume, contain the accounts for the third voyage, which were protracted down to 1583.

Despite their bulk, these last accounts are not complete. They begin: "Thaccountt of Michael Lok treasurer of busynes done by him syns his laste accountes, w<sup>ch</sup> were geven vpe and awdited in August, 1578."<sup>1</sup> The accounts of August, 1578, have long been separated from the Exchequer volumes, and are now in the Huntington Library.<sup>2</sup> Since it is unlikely that Michael Lok's accounts will be published in full, some material from this interim account is here presented.

HM 715 consists of 53 leaves of paper, unbound, of which leaves 28 to 53 are blank. The pages used are numbered in pairs or openings; the third leaf recto carries the number 1, leaf 3 verso and leaf 4 recto are both numbered 2, and so on, by openings, to 27. References in the accounts themselves do not distinguish between the left-hand page and the right-hand page of a given opening.

The title, on leaf 2 recto, is "Thaccountt gyven by Michael Lok of the third voiage of Martin furbusher / for the discourye of Cathaj &c. / by the Northwest partes /." This is in Lok's bold handwriting, as are, generally, the headings and totals, together with some interpolations. Three other hands were employed, the first one suggesting particularly the careful script of the bookkeeper. Still another hand, that of the auditor, has checked every item of expenditure with an "ex<sup>r</sup>" (*exoneratur*), which shrinks to a dot in the long pay-roll account. The auditor has likewise checked the footings with "pr<sup>r</sup>" (*probat*), and has disallowed two items by marginal note. He has made no mark on the final summary, and has written no certificate of audit on the account-book itself.

## I

The first item of interest is the list of investors. The subscribers to the two earlier voyages are known. For the third, Dr Manhart compiled a conjectural list,<sup>3</sup> which may now be corrected and completed. Not included in Lok's list were those "Gentlemen and others" who, having served in the first two voyages, were to be given free shares in the third.<sup>4</sup> Nor was the Earl of Oxford as yet a subscriber, and his later entry into the company was apparently by private arrangement with Lok<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxxv, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> HM 715.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 161-3.

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxiii, No. 50 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 210-11).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* cxxix, No. 12 (printed *ibid.* p. 330).

I give the list from Lok's first account,<sup>1</sup> "The Receytt of Money by me Michael Lok mercer / Tresorer of the Companye", etc.<sup>2</sup>

the Queenes Ma <sup>tie</sup>	£1350.
the Lorde Highe Tresorer	135.
the Lorde highe Admirall	135.
the Lorde Chamberleyne Earle of Sussex	135.
the Earle of warwicke	135.
the Earle of Leycester	202. 10
the Lorde of hundesdon	67. 10
S <sup>r</sup> Frauncys knowles tresorer &c <sup>r</sup>	67. 10
S <sup>r</sup> Frauncys walsingham secretyarye	270.
M <sup>r</sup> doctor Willson secretyarye	67. 10
the Earle of pembroocke	202. 10
the Countesse of pembrooke	33. 15
the Countesse of warwicke	67. 10
the Countesse of Sussex	67. 10
M <sup>r</sup> philipe sydney	67. 10
S <sup>r</sup> henrye Wallope knight	67. 10
S <sup>r</sup> thomas greshame knight	270.
S <sup>r</sup> Leonel Dvckett knighte	67. 10
S <sup>r</sup> John brockett knight	67. 10
M <sup>r</sup> william pelhame	67. 10
M <sup>r</sup> thomas Randoll	67. 10
M <sup>r</sup> Edwarde Dier	33. 15
John Somers	67. 10
Symon boyer	33. 15
John Dee	33. 15
Anthonye Jenkinesone	67. 10
Martine Furbusher Captaine	135.
Edmvnd hogaine mercer	135.
Richard younge Cvstomer	67. 10
thomas allyn skynner	67. 10
Mathewe Filde mercer	67. 10
Christofer hoddesson mercer	67. 10
William painter	67. 10
Jefferye turville	67. 10
William burrowe	67. 10
Thomas Owine gent	33. 15
Richard Bowlande	67. 10
william Bonde haberdasher	135.
Robert Kindersley	67. 10
Anne Frauncys wydowe [Kindersley]	101. 5
Mathewe kindersley	33. 15

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr H. C. Schulz, of the Department of Manuscripts, for essential help in transcribing these accounts.

<sup>2</sup> HM 715, opening 1, right page. The lists are at opening 2, right page, and opening 3, left page.

william harington	£33. 15
william Dowgle	33. 15
Anthonye marler mercer	33. 15
william Ormeshawe	33. 15
Zacharie Lok	33. 15
Eleazar Loke	33. 15
Gerson Lok	33. 15
Beniamen Lok	33. 15
Mathewe Lok	33. 15
henrye Lok	33. 15
Michael Loke Junior	438.15
*Julio Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Thomas Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Charles Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
henrye Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
william Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Elizabethhe Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Dame Elizabeth Martine	33. 15
John Castelyn mercer	33. 15
Michael Lok mercer, and the remaynder of the second voyage being £1750	2632. 10
Suñ of all the Stok of the Venturars	£8370.
Wheroutt paid in the dyscharge of this Accountt . . . .	£8939. 0. 7
And so rest dew to this Accountant vpon this Account ended the Last day of August 1578. Suñ	£ 569. 0. 7

\* These were Lok's stepchildren.

## 2

Three accounts (openings 8-14) record the cost of equipping the three ships and the hundred men who were to remain in the new land. The pay roll of the hundred colonists follows (openings 15-18). The remaining accounts are the pay roll of the fourth ship, the "Ayde" (openings 19-21), and its equipment bills (openings 22-24), and the summary of expenditures. This summary is as follows (opening 26, right):

Suñ of all the paymenttes for the dyscharge of this Accountt, as folo <sup>th</sup> /	
For the Ships & men to dwell there/ paid for the iij ships, Judethe, Gabriel, and Michael, & their furnyture	£1309. 5. 9

For Implementtes of the mynes, and for the howssynge, & howse, to dwell there	£ 743. 13. 5
for vyttelles of the said 3 ships, & C men	1478. 13. 2
for wags of C men [that is, advances on wages],	818. 6. 4
	<hr/>
Sum to dwell there	£4349. 18. 8
For the Shyps & men, to retorne/ paid for the ship Ayde, and her whole	
Furnytur	£1486. 7. 5
For vyttelles of 170 men	1053. 2. 8
for wags of them	1124. 8. 10
for marchandyse	150. 0. 0
for Fraightt of Shyps [that is, advance payments]	200. 0. 0
	<hr/>
Sum to retorne	£4013. 18. 11
	£4349. 18. 8
	<hr/>
Sum all payd in this voyage outwardes }	£8363. 17. 7
paid more for dyvers Sums charged in the Receytttes for the venturars w <sup>ch</sup> haue nott yett paid,	£ 575. 3. 0
	<hr/>
Sum of all the dyscharge } of this Accountt a <sup>m</sup> <sup>h</sup> }	£8939. 0. 7

It will be seen that the expenditures kept well within the tentative original budget.<sup>1</sup> This had, to be sure, provided for a larger party; but, roughly reduced to actual dimensions, it forecast an expenditure, in advance of sailing, of £10,166. 13s. 4d., as compared with Lok's actual payments of £8363. 17s. 7d. The latter figure tallied neatly with the capital subscribed, which Lok gave, above, as £8370. Doubtless the treasurer's own pocket was drawn on to produce this happy result.

One will observe, further, the weak point in the scheme—the collection of only enough money to get the ships off. Again referring to the budget, one finds that the treasurer should have been prepared to pay, on the return of the ships, no less than £10,470—£4670 for wages, and £5800 for the freight of the 1200 tons of ore (actually 1350 tons were brought back). He had paid perhaps one-third of the wages in advance (for two months to those who were to “return”, up to six months to those who were to remain overseas), and only £200 toward the “freightage” (at the rate of £5 per ton of ore carried) of the auxiliary ships. It is therefore amazing that no move was made toward a capital assessment until the ships returned.

Even if the ore had been valuable, its disposal would have taken time. Meantime the crews remained on the pay roll, the freighted ships were still on hire. When the

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxiv, No. 1 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 209–10).

assessment was made, it was for £6000, and was imposed on the pretext that the ships had brought back twice as much ore as had been expected.<sup>1</sup> This assessment provided only for the freight. Since, however, it called for a levy of about 85 per cent,<sup>2</sup> we should not be surprised that it was not mentioned until the ships came home.

## 3

The names of the hundred who were to be left in Meta Incognita (Baffin Land) for a year have not hitherto been known. Hakluyt printed the list of the hundred (actually 108) first English colonists in America, those of Raleigh's Virginia in 1585.<sup>3</sup> The list of the first intending colonists may therefore be of interest (openings 15, right, to 18, right). I add the wage rates (per month), which depart from the rather limited scale set down in a preliminary memorandum.<sup>4</sup>

## Gentlemen and Souldiers./

m <sup>r</sup> Edward fenton Capitaine	£10.	m <sup>r</sup> brooke gent	£1.
Rychard phillpott Ansent	5.	Nycholas conger soldier	1. 6. 8
george beast lyfetenant*	5.	Anthonie hews soldier	1. 6. 8
John Lee livetenant	2.	John Johnson soldier	1. 6. 8
Edward Harvie livetenant	2.	Rychard chamberes solder	1. 6. 8
peter vincent gent	1.	william ormeshawe soldier	1. 6. 8
william staunton gent	1.	w <sup>m</sup> lydiet soldier	1.
Lyonell skypwith	1.	James vtrey soldier	1. 6. 8
m <sup>r</sup> woolfall preacher	2. 10.	Rychard greene solder	1.
harry kirkman Ansent	1. 13. 4	George Roper soldier	1. 6. 8
Jamees settell gent	1. 6. 8	John Stanley soldier	1. 6. 8
Cipio Essex gent	1.		
John Hartgill gent	1.		

Artificeres Minerers and labore<sup>r</sup>s./

Roger Dardes Labourer	£ 1.	Thomas Jennynges fownder	1.
nicholas Larrance Laborer	1.	John page myner	1.
Edmond horsey Laborer	1.	titus Landam laborer	1.
Ryc. Tailo <sup>r</sup> myner	1. 6. 8	Godfrey Johnson Shumaker	1.
Edward smithton laborer	1.	william tailo <sup>r</sup> shumaker	1.
w <sup>m</sup> Joyner myner	1.	william Sea Cole	1.

\* Best was the historian of the three voyages.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* cxxvi, No 20. (printed *ibid.* pp. 319-20).

<sup>2</sup> The individual assessments are given in State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxx, No. 16 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 348-9), and in Exchequer, Vol. xxxv, pp. 175-9.

<sup>3</sup> *The English Voyages* (Glasgow ed., 1903-5), Chap. viii, 317-18.

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxiii, No. 51 (printed in *Three Voyages*, p. 211).



Robert hind Surgian*	£2. 5.	John hodgys smith	£1. 6. 8
John paradise Surgean of the Judith	2. 10.	w <sup>m</sup> Seely stuares	1. 13. 4
Lyonell cracknell laborer	1.	Rychard Salt myner	1.
John heywodd cooke and myner	1. 3. 4	Christopher flowey fishmon- gar	1. 5.
John price Baker	1. 10.	Sebastian Symondes cooper	1. 10.
davy Evans Baker	1. 10.	John loe Cooper	1. 6. 8
nicholas chauncello <sup>r</sup> purser†	2.	George Stawker howse car- pinter	2.
Robert Tedder smith	1. 10.	Rychard cooke Taylo <sup>r</sup>	1.

## Mariners of the Judith.

charles Jackman m <sup>r</sup>	6. 13. 4	Robert hayson gvner	1.
w <sup>m</sup> ward m <sup>rs</sup> mate	2. 3. 4	George Lydger shipwright	2.
Robert Trybe sayler	1. 10.	Steven nancarne sayler	1. 10.
George Larman sayler	1. 3. 4	Adam holt Shipwright	1. 10.
Guy whit sailer	2.	John wilson Sailo <sup>r</sup>	1.
Rychard burnit gunner	2.	Rychard fishburne sayler	1.
Raphe larkin sayler	1. 10.	charles Jackmans man sailer	1.
John gamaige fisher & sailer	1. 13. 4	thomas graves sailer	1.
Richard harberd	1. 3. 4	John lowring sailer	1.
Robert Awle sayler	1. 6. 8	martin williams	1.
peter Robinson sayler	1. 6. 8		

## Mariners of the Michael.

Bartholomew bull m <sup>r</sup>	4. 10.	william laborne sayler	1. 6. 8
william Bennes m <sup>rs</sup> mate	1. 16. 8	dominick leonard	1.
Giles syllebin botswaine	1. 13. 4	Thomas Anderson Cooke	1. 3. 4
John lawson saylor	1. 6. 8	harry Sprage shippwright	1. 13. 4
Thomas stubble sayler	1. 6. 8	Edward mathew sayler	1. 4.
John norton Boye	10.		

## Maryners of the Gabriell.

Thomas price m <sup>r</sup>		Thomas phillippes	
John Lunt maisteres mate		Tege hewse sayler	1. 6. 8
manus gryffin		Rychard Cowley	1. 6. 8
John Incent		James Jacklin sayler	

These maryners & others were discharged, and went not on the third voyage being found vnfit for service

Arthur warcoppe

Andrew dyer m<sup>r</sup> of the Judith £5.

John white sayler. .he dyed at blackwall the  
3 maye 1578: hired the j Aprill. . 1. 8.

\* Marginal note: "of ye michael".

† He was also given "further Allowance for his great charge".

hary hethersaye Boye of Androw dier	£ 10.
thomas wyares boteswaine	1. 6. 8
John Browen. .being hurt in the <i>service</i> , & not able to <i>procede</i> on ye viage	1. 6. 8
Robert hopkins gvnnesmith, discharged in maye	
John smith m <sup>r</sup> of the michael, dischardgyd in Aprill	
Theise men were appointed for service in this third voyage, And Ranne awaye	
william Coomes Sailer gvnner	1. 13. 4
Symon Dee howsecarpinter	

## 4

The above lists may be supplemented (openings 19, right, to 21, right) with the names of the personnel of the "Ayde", which was to return in the autumn, leaving the three smaller vessels behind.

Capitaines, Gentelmen, And Soldiers, and  
others, w<sup>ch</sup> do Retorne w<sup>th</sup> the Shippes

martyn frobusher Capitaine generall [paid £1 a day in port from the  
preceding September]

Gilbert yorke Capitaine [at £5 per month]

Edward Selman m<sup>r</sup>chaunt\*

mathew kindersley gent

Gregory Bona goldfiner

Thomas thorneton purser

A preacher to go w<sup>th</sup> m̃ frobusher

Maryners, offyceres and others for  
service in the Ayde./

Christopher hall m <sup>r</sup>	£6. 13. 4	Thomas Jenkins pvmpemaker	
Hughe Jones sailer gvnner		James Jacklin sayler	
Roger Owen sayler		Harry Baterby sailer	
John Cotton sayler		John wilmot sailer	
Thomas price sailer		John Cvttter Cooper	1. 5.
frauncys Austen	1. 6. 8	Alexsander Creake sayler	1. 10.
Esdras Draper sayler	1. 6. 8	thomas batterick	1. 2.
John Ardington boy	10.	Owen Corbet sayler	1. 8.
Robert Denham goldsmith	3.	william dod sayler	
John Lambell	1. 6. 8	william English sayler	
John pecocke	1.	Jamees Barret sayler	
william humfrey goldfyner	2. 10.	tege Lewis sayler	
w <sup>m</sup> payne carpinter	1. 13. 4	John hall Boye	
nycolas warrin Carpinter	1. 6. 8	Samvell bere gvnner & sayler	
george badcock carpinter	1. 6. 8		

\* Selman wrote for Lok an account of the voyage, which is published in *Three Voyages*, pp. 290-316.

John williams m <sup>rs</sup> mate		John Sawnders sailer	1.
Anthonie Sane sailer		Harry bendall sayler	1. 4.
James Treviller sayler		Henry Afferton sayler	13. 4
walter Streate Sailer		w <sup>m</sup> manneryng sayler	1. 14.
pawll Jonas Sailer		Christopher Jackson trvmpeter	
Edward Robinson	£1. 13. 4	Anthonie fisher Trvmpeter	
Thomas Aliryd* Sayler	1. 10.	Thomas dragford sailer	
Rychard watson sailer	1. 6. 8	John denyse sayler	
Thomas thorte sailer	1. 8.	walter homes sailer	
william bowgale sailer	2.	John Sampson sailer	
Thomas Cvnnyngham sayler	1. 8.	harry davies sayler	
John Commynges purser		thomas Erelease sailer	
w <sup>m</sup> davies Sayler	1. 6. 8	harry mychaell sailer	
John harwood Surgiean	1. 16.	Steven Boys Sailer	
w <sup>m</sup> Bowrey carpinter	1. 10.	Androwe Lydger sailer	
w <sup>m</sup> Saunderses sayler	1. 4.	Roger Bogar sayler	
Robert wilnater sayler	1. 6. 8	John Taylo <sup>r</sup> sayler	
John Ellys Sayler		John hilpe Sayler Boye	
John Cornishe sayler		Edward pavie Sailo <sup>r</sup> Boye	
water kelley Carpinter	1. 5.	John frie Sailer	
Anthonie Sparrow sayler		John hitchcocke Sailer	
James walter sayler		John Thorne Boye	
Rychard whetleye sailer	1. 6. 8		

\* An apparently meaningless stroke cuts the "l" and "i".

## APPENDIX 2

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARTIN FROBISHER

Compiled with the collaboration of Dr Wilberforce Eames

- GILBERT, SIR H. *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*. London, Middleton, 1576.
- WILLES, RICHARD. *For M. Cap. Furbyshers Passage by the Northwest* (included in Willes's edition of Richard Eden's *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, London, R. Jugge, 1577).
- SETTLE, DIONYSE. *A true reporte of the last voyage into the west and northwest regions, &c. 1577. worthily atchieved by Capteine Frobisher of the sayde voyage the first finder and generall*. London, Henrie Middleton, 1577.
- BEST, GEORGE. *A True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher, Generall*. London, Henry Bynnyman, 1578.
- ELLIS, THOMAS. *A true report of the third and last voyage into Meta incognita: atchieved by the worthie Capteine, M. Martine Frobisher, Esquire, Anno. 1578*. London, Thomas Dawson, 1578.
- CHURCHYARD, THOMAS. *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk, etc.* Contains poem, "A Welcome home to Master Martin Frobusher". London, Bynneman, 1578.
- *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita*. London, Andrew Maunsell, 1578.
- SETTLE, DIONYSE. *La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher Anglois, és regions de west & Nordwest, en l'année M.D.LXXVII*. Geneva, Anthoine Chuppin, 1578.
- *Beschreibung Der schiffart des Hauptmans Martini Forbissher auss Engelland in de Lender gegen West und Nordtwest im Jar 1577*. Nürnberg, Katharinam Gerlachin und Johans vom Berg Erben, 1580.
- *De Martini Forbisseri Angli navigatione in Regiones Occidentis et Septentrionis Narratio historica. Ex Gallico sermone in Latinum translata per D. Joan. Tho. Freigium*. Noribergae, in officina Catharinae Gerlachin, & Haeredum Iohannis Montani, 1580.
- ANANIA, GIO. LOR. *Lo Scoprimto dello stretto artico e di meta incognita ritrovata nel' anno 1577 e 1578 dal capitano Martino Forbisero, . . . posto nuovamente in luce nel nostro idioma italiano dal sig. Gio. Lorenzo Anania*. Napoli, G. Cappelli, 1582.
- HAKLUYT, R. *Divers Voyages*. London, Woodcocke, 1582.
- PECKHAM, SIR GEORGE. *A True Report of the late discoveries and possession taken in the right of the crowne of England, . . . by, . . . Sir H. Gilbert*. (Contains poem by Frobisher.) London, Printed by I. C(harlewood) for Iohn Hinde, 1583.
- HAKLUYT, R. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, etc.* (1 vol.) London, George Bishop & Ralph Newberic, 1589.

- HAKLUYT, R. *The Principall Navigations, voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc. London, George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker, Vols. I-II, 1598; Vol. III, 1600.
- PURCHAS, SAMUEL. *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims . . . in Five Bookes*. London, Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625-6.
- FOXE, LUKE. *North-West Fox; or Fox from the North-West Passage*. London, B. Alsop and Tho. Fawcet, 1635.
- LA PEYRÈRE, ISAAC DE. *Relation du Groenland*. Paris, chez Augustin Courbe, 1647.
- SAEGHMAN, G. J. (Publisher). *Drie Voyagien Gedaen na Groenlandt, Om te ondersoecken of men door de Naeuwte Hudsons soude konnen Seylen; om alsoo een Door-vaert na Oost Indien te vinden*. Amsterdam, Saeghman, 1663?
- SETTLE, DIONYSE. *Historia Navigationis Martini Forbisseri Angli Praetoris sive Capitanei, A.C. 1577. . . Ex Anglia, in Septentrionis & Occidentis tractum susceptae, ephemeridis sive diarii more conscripta & stilo, triennioq; post ex gallico in latinum sermonem, a Joh. Thoma Freigio translata, & Noribergae, ante A. 94. . . edita*, etc. Hamburgi, Joh. Naumanni & Georgi Wolffii, 1675.
- AA, PIETER VAN DER. *Drie Seldsame Scheeps-Togten Van Martin Frobisher. De Erste na China ondernoomen, om derwaards een Straat, of Doortogt te vinden. In't Jaar 1576. De Tweede, oom in het Noord-Westen een nieuwe Doorgang na Cataya, China en Oost-Indien, te vinden. In het Jaar 1577. De Derde na Cataya, om derwaards een onbekande Straat, naar het Noord-Westen, te ontdekken. In het Jaar 1578. This is Deel 17 (covering voyages 1563-1576) in van der Aa's *Naaukeurige versameling der Gedenk-Waardigste Zee en Land-Reysen na Oost en West-Indien*. Leyden, Pieter van der Aa, 1706.*
- BERNARD, JEAN FRÉDÉRIC (Editor). *Recueil d'arrests et autres pièces pour l'établissement de la Compagnie d'Occident. Relation de la baie de Hudson. Les navigations de Frobisher, au détroit qui porte son nom*. Amsterdam, J. F. Bernard, 1720.

The licences only are extant for the following :

- FULLER. *Farewell to master ffourboisur and the other gentlemen adventurers who labour to discover the right of way to Cathay*. John Jugge, 20 May 1577. (See Taylor's *Tudor Geography*, p. 182.)
- ANONYMOUS. *A Thing Touching Ffourboyser*. A. Maunsell, 1st July 1577. (Taylor, p. 183.)
- ANONYMOUS. *A Description of the purtrayture and shape of those strange kind of people which the worthie Maister Martin Ffourboiser brought into England Anno 1576 and 1577*. John Aldee, 1578. The licence is dated Jan. 30. (Taylor, p. 183.)
- CHURCHYARD, THOMAS. *A pamphlet in the praise of Master Captain Ffrobisher in forme of A Farewell at his third voiage in Maye 1578 by the northeest [sic] seas towards the Island of Cataia*. R. Jones, 1578. ("Only the licence is extant, but Churchyard refers to having composed such a work", Taylor, p. 183.)

## APPENDIX 3

### NOTES ON THE ACCOUNTS OF FROBISHER'S VOYAGES

#### *Dionyse Settle.*

The first printed account on record of any of the Frobisher voyages is Dionyse Settle's *A true reporte of the last voyage into the west and northwest regions*, etc., published by Henry Middleton in 1577. This account of the second voyage is among the rarest of English Americana. It is a pamphlet of twenty-four unnumbered leaves, reprinted the same year, the chief difference between the two prints being the signatures. The first has A and D in fours, B and C in eights, whereas the second has only three signatures of eight leaves each. It contains a prefatory "Rythme Decasyllabicall" in praise of Frobisher, by Abraham Fleming (see also Ellis's account, below).

This account was again printed by Hakluyt in his *Principall Navigations*, in both the 1589 one-volume edition, and in Vol. III of the 1598-1600 edition.

A French translation of Settle was brought out the following year in Geneva, by Anthoine Chuppin, edited by Nicolas Pithou, entitled *La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher Anglois és regions de west & Nordwest, en l'année M.D.LXXVII*. There are some differences, however, between this and Settle's English version, chief of which is the interjecting (at the point where Settle brings his account to the arrival at Milford Haven and Frobisher's riding to court) of an account of the joyful reception of Frobisher and his party in London and an original account of the Eskimos brought back.

After this the French version returns to Settle's narrative, describing the arrival of the other two ships at Bristol and Yarmouth, and then appends matter from Settle's preface, on the suitability of the various newly discovered countries to the respective climates of their discoverers. The point is stressed that, thanks to Frobisher, it has now been found that the northern lands are habitable. The translator then asks the reader's forgiveness for faults of translation, saying he had done the best he could, and gives the following excuse: "la copie qu'il avoit entre mains, estoit en quelques endroits si embrouillée & confuse, qu'a peine en pouvoit on tirer ce qu'on desiroit, & a fallu qu'on aye plustost deviné le sens, que d'avoir esgard a ce qui estoit escrit."

He adds regarding the inserted Eskimo material: "Ne voulans au surplus celer, qu'outre le contenu en la copie du present discours, nous avons adiousté à la fin d'iceluy quelques articles concernans l'arrivée de ces sauvages en Angleterre, qu'on nous a asseuré estre veritables, & nous ont semblez dignes d'estre escrits."

In 1580 there were issued in Nürnberg a German and a Latin edition, translated from the French, both rare. The German edition is entitled *Beschreibung der*

*Schiffart des Hauptmans Martini Forbisscher auss Engelland in de Lender gegen West und Nordtwest im Jar 1577.* It contains as frontispiece an interesting cut of Eskimos, one in a canoe throwing darts at wildfowl. It follows the French exactly.

The Latin edition contains the same cut as the German, a dedication to "Hieronymus Paumgartnerus", and a translation of Pithou's translation, including all his prefatory material. Footnotes are added, among them one on Cathay, a Latin poem on America by Adolphus Mekerchus, a note on the "Mare Australe" saying that "Valboa" discovered it, and a note on the "monceros marinus". It closes without the French translator's apology and explanation. It has the Eskimo cut of the German edition. This Latin version was republished in Hamburg in 1675. It contains the same cut, as the earlier, with the addition, on the same page, of a map showing "Forbisscher's Straet" (in Greenland); and a picture of unicorns.

### *George Best.*

Best's *A True Discourse* is the only contemporary account of all three of Frobisher's voyages by one who participated in them. (Best went on the second expedition as Frobisher's Lieutenant aboard the *Aid*, and on the third as Captain of the *Anne Frances*.) It was published in 1578 by Henry "Bynnyman", and by Hakluyt in his Vol. III (1600) of the *Principall Navigations*. It contains two maps which are reproduced in this edition.

### *Thomas Ellis.*

Thomas Ellis, "sailer and one of the companie", wrote *A true report* of the third voyage, published by Thomas Dawson in 1578. It contains drawings by the author of four different views of a huge iceberg, and is profusely ornamented with flowery poems—a prefatory "Rythme Decasyllabicall" in praise of Frobisher's voyage, by Abraham Fleming (who, as said, wrote a similar poem for Settle's book: both are on the Ulysses theme), one by Ellis "in praise of Maister Martine Frobisher", one by "John Stanley to his friend Thomas Ellis", one by "John Kirkham in the praise of M. Martine Frobisher", and a poem from "The Author to the Reader".

Richard Hakluyt included Ellis's narrative in his one-volume edition (1589) of *The Principall Navigations*, as well as in Vol. III of the 1598-1600 edition.

### *Christopher Hall.*

Hakluyt also included in these editions an account of the first voyage by Christopher Hall, Master of the *Gabriel*, to which is appended a list of Eskimo words.

*Other Accounts.*

The only other extant separate contemporary accounts of the voyages are one of the first voyage by Michael Lok, printed for the first time from the MS., in the Hakluyt Society edition of *Frobisher's Voyages*, edited by Collinson, pp. 79-87; and an account of the third voyage by Edward Sellman, "servant" of Michael Lok, also published first in the Hakluyt Society edition, pp. 290-316.

Hakluyt also printed in both editions relevant supplementary material, as Gilbert's "Discourse", Richard Willes's argument (discussed separately in the present volume), the report of Thomas Wiars, passenger, on the discovery of "Buss Island", and the "Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple Esquire, given to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobisher in his Northwest discoverie, for their directions".

An account of the voyages was also published in Italian, by G. L. Anania, Naples, G. Cappelli, 1582, under the title *Lo Scoprimiento dello stretto artico e di meta incognita ritrovata nel' anno 1577 e 1578 dal capitano Martino Forbisero*, etc. This appears in *Lowndes Biographical Manual*, 1869, as included in the Bright Sale. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris apparently has a copy. Although we have not been able to examine this work, the title indicates that it is more than a translation of Settle, as the voyage of 1578 is also treated.

The Churchyard effusions have been discussed separately.

In many of the travel collections following subsequent voyages, accounts of Frobisher's voyages were included, sometimes in résumé and sometimes in translations from the English, or from other translations. Some of these works are listed in the Bibliography. La Peyrère says that he took his account of Frobisher from "a long narrative" in a Danish chronicle. His *Relation du Groenland* was translated into Dutch (Van Vries) and German (Sivers). The map in van der Aa's collection is interesting as identifying "Yslandia" and "Frisland". Like most maps of this period, it shows Frobisher's strait in Greenland.

Works for which the licences only are extant are listed in the Bibliography.



## APPENDIX 4

### RICHARD WILLES

Richard Willes published in 1577 his *History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*. This consisted of Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the newe worlde or West India* which had been published in 1555, and new material which was added by Willes, including the discussion, "For M. Cap. Furbyshers Voyage by the north west", etc.<sup>1</sup> This latter was written at the request of the Earl of Bedford's daughter Anne, Countess of Warwick, wife of Ambrose Dudley, promoter of the voyage, and herself an investor. Prof. Taylor says of this discourse:

Willes displays . . . a wealth of learning and a wide familiarity with globes and maps (including, as was natural, a majority of Italian origin), which bears witness to a prolonged study of cosmography. It is here, too, that he discusses the Cabot map in the Earl of Bedford's possession, which seems to prove unmistakably a passage by Sebastian Cabot through Hudson's Strait, presumably in 1508-9.

. . . It is clear that Willes anticipated that Frobisher would pass safely to the Moluccas, doubtless because he had heard the explorer assert that he had already reached a point where he saw the Capes of America and Asia on either hand, at the entry to Mar do Sur.

Little appears to be known of Willes himself. He had been Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Perugia until June 1572. He published his *Poematum Liber*, dedicated to Burghley, in 1573, with a treatise on poetry addressed to the masters and boys of his old school, Winchester. "From the poems", says Taylor, "it may be gathered that Willes had a wide circle of friends not only in Italy, but in France and Germany, and in the 'Travels' he speaks of the famous Jesuit traveller and writer, Petrus Maffei, as his old acquaintance. . . . The edition of the *Decades* was his first work in the English tongue, but he had for a long time, he says, had some other important geographical work on hand, while he also mentions a work on the coins of all nations as one he hoped to publish if his life were spared."

He appears to have died before completing these projects.

<sup>1</sup> For a treatment of the entire Willes collection and a summary of what is known of Willes, see Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 38-41.

## APPENDIX 5

### THOMAS CHURCHYARD

Of the collateral Frobisher literature Prof. Taylor writes: "Some curious minor publications arose from the voyages, as for example ballads in praise of Frobisher, and ballads in welcome and farewell; of these only those by Thomas Churchyard, soldier of fortune and court rhymester, now survive."<sup>1</sup>

The ballad referred to is appended to one edition of Churchyard's *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk, etc.*—a rare volume—and is entitled "A Welcome home to Master Martin Frobusher". It is a diffuse poem praising those who go exploring. The following stanza is a sample of it:

O Frobusher, thy brute and name  
 shalbe enroled in bookes,  
 That whosoever after coms,  
 and on thy labor lookes  
 Shall muse and marvell at thyne actes,  
 and greatness of thy minde.  
 I say no more, least some affirme  
 I fanne thy face with winde.

The "Welcome Home" is found bound up at the end in only a few copies of *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk, etc.* and it is likely that the verses were put to print after most of the copies had been bound.

Churchyard also wrote a pompous work in prose, entitled *A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage* (London, Andrew Maunsell, 1578). He begins this with announcing that, having sped Frobisher and his companions on his voyage with both prose and verse,<sup>2</sup> he now salutes them with a welcome. He calls to mind the "travaile" of Columbus, Thevet, Cabot, Magellan, etc., and announces his purpose of encouraging discovery, trade, and the spread of the gospel.

"And surely", he says, "this is a true testimonie of greate goodnesse intended, that our Nation in suche a christian sorte and maner, refuseth no hazarde nor daunger, to bryng Infidelles too the knowledge of the omnipotent God, yea, albeit great wealth and commoditie maie rise to us of their labours, yet, the purpose of manifestyng Gods mightie woorde and maiestie among those that feed like monsters (and rather live like dogges then men) doeth argue not only a blessed successe, but perswadeth a prosperous and beneficiall retourne."

<sup>1</sup> *Tudor Geography*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The licence for the prose work, entitled *A pamphlet in the praise of Master Captain Frobisher in forme of A Farewell at his third voiage in Maye 1578 by the northeest [sic] seas towards the Island of Cataea*, is extant, but there is apparently no record of a poem of farewell.

He asks, "was not this a valiaunt adventure, to take in hande a voyage never sailed before, (but by one *Gabotha* whiche hereafter I will speake of)".

He discourses upon "the hardie and brutishe maner of the people lately discovered"—which they manifested by fighting with our men, and by their "dissemblyng pollicie to seeme lame, when thei pretende a mischief". He marvels "that they have no skill of submission, nor will not learn to knowe the courtezie of a Conqueror which resolution in them (though barbarous it seeme) shows a settled opinion thei have in their force and liberties, and utters a miraculous manlinesse to abound in that brutish nation".

He cites reasons for the support of a further voyage, and gives a résumé of the second voyage. Then, he continues, "because Maister Mighel Locke hath alwaies furthered Maister Forboisher, I maie not omitt his paine and willyng expences, but bryng to remembrance the merites of so worthie a Marchaunt".

He commemorates "Willowbie", and says, "I knewe myself twoo notable menne of them, the one called Chancelar, and the other Borrowes, which Chancelar especially was the odde man of his Tyme, for matters touchyng the Sea." He mentions also Hawkins and Jenkinson.

He argues the right of the English to enter into competition with the Spaniards and says: "For in conscience and right thei [the Spaniards] were better to have our companie, then neither wee nor thei enjoye the mightie Masse of wealthe, that these Indians would yelde us"; and further: "The earth was made for the children of men, and neither the Spaniard, nor the Frenche, hath a prerogative too dwell alone, as though God appointed them a greater portion then other nations."

England is over-run with poor, he says, and makes a plea for colonization.

He says "*Gabotha*" sailed from 67° to the north, and then to the south as far as 36½° (citing Belle-Forest<sup>1</sup> and Eden's *Decades*), but his voyage in no wise detracts from Frobisher's achievement, as the former merely sailed along the coast, whereas Frobisher made "a parfaite prooffe of the Mines".

<sup>1</sup> Belle-Forest, François de, translator of Sebastian Munster. His *L'histoire universelle du monde* was published in Paris in 1570.

## APPENDIX 6

### THE SPELLINGS OF "FROBISHER"

Manhart, p. 160, gives the following contemporary spellings of "Frobisher":

Fforbiser	Ffurbisher	Frobiser	Frubishere
Fforbisher	Ffurbissher	Frobisheir	Furbiser
Ffourbosier	Ffurbusher	Frobisher	Furbisher
Ffourbousier	Ffurbysher	Frobishor	Furbissher
Ffourboyser	Forbischer	Frobissher	Furboisher
Ffrobiser	Forbisher	Frobrisher	Furbosher
Ffrobisher	Forboisher	Frobusher	Furbusher
Ffrobissher	Forbossher	Frobussher	Furbussher
Ffrobusher	Forboysher	Frobysher	Furbysher
Ffrobysher	Fourbisher	Froobiser	Furbysshyer
Ffurbesher			

To these may be added the form "Fourboiser" used by his cousin George Gascoigne in the preface to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse*; "Froboisher" (occurring once in Churchyard's *Prayse*, though Churchyard's usual forms are "Forboisher" and, in the poem appended to *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment*, "Frobusher"); "Ffourboisur", in the licence granted to John Juggé in 1577 for the publication of a work not extant; "Ffourboiser", in the licence granted to John Alder in 1578 for publication of a work not extant; "Frobichet", the form used by the French Ambassador, Castelnau de la Mauvissière, in his Despatches to the court;<sup>1</sup> "Forbissher", in the German version of Settle; "Forbisserus", in the 1580 Latin version of Settle; and "Forbisero", in the translation by Anania, published in 1582. Then there are several later variants: "Forbicherus", on Thorlacius's Map of Greenland in the 1668 edition of Torfaeus's *Groenlandia Antiqua*; "Forbisser", on a map in the 1675 Latin edition of Settle, showing "Forbissers Straet"; "Forbeisser", in Isaac de la Peyrère's *Relation du Groenland* (1647) (repeated in various translations and editions of de la Peyrère, such as Simon de Vries's *Ausführliche Beschreibung . . . des Grönlands . . . so M. Forbeisser*, etc., Nürnberg, 1679); a map in Pieter van der Aa's *Drie Seldsame Scheeps-Togten*, etc., shows "Frobichers Straat".

<sup>1</sup> See Jameson, J. F., "Despatches of Castelnau de la Mauvissière (on Frobisher, Gilbert, de la Roche, Drake), 1577-1581", in *American Historical Review*, Vol. xxxi, 1926.

## APPENDIX 7

### THE ESKIMO WORDS IN FROBISHER'S VOYAGES

Before discussing the one formal word list and the Eskimo names which occur in the Frobisher texts, we recall that travellers are not usually accurate when transcribing strange words, and that they are liable to identify foreign sounds carelessly with those of their own tongue.

There was, for instance, a Yankee on the north coast of Alaska in 1907 who called his Eskimo wife Kasha. When I, puzzled, asked why, he replied that it was her name. I would have written it *Ikayuak*. My then commander, Captain Ejnar Mikkelsen, who dealt with Mr and Mrs Arey a full year, began with Kasha, but grew dissatisfied as his ear became more accustomed, started varying by calling her *Ekaya* and finished by writing it in his book *Ekajuak*.<sup>1</sup>

I knew an Eskimo, *Kalakutak*, whom the Herschel Island whalers called *Calcutta*, not to be amusing or as a nickname but because to them it sounded that way.

Whalers and Royal Canadian Mounted Police agreed to call *Escape Reef*, just west of the Mackenzie River, *Apawutji* (or, as they usually spelled it, *Appawoochee*). *Apawutji* is meaningless to the best scholar in Greenlandic Eskimo; but let it be spelled *Akpagviatsiak* and its meaning leaps to his eye: "little place where you run foot races", "little race-course".

With modern writers so difficult, we can attain reasonable probabilities for those of three hundred years ago only by cross-bearings. First we search for like-sounding words; then we try to find some common ground between the meanings assigned by the Elizabethans and those which come from our knowledge of current Eskimo.

The Frobisher word list was doubtless made by pointing to or touching a part of the body, or an object, and then asking the native for a corresponding word. This does not of necessity yield correct results, as when a traveller was questioning a man whose little daughter stood near. He touched the girl's arm and said, "What is that?" to which the father replied, "*Pannigma tallikpia*" which, though the traveller thought it meant just "arm", really means "my daughter's right arm".

A study of the Eskimo word list appended to Christopher Hall's account of Frobisher's first voyage<sup>2</sup> has been made by a master of Eskimo phonetics and a thoroughgoing student of all aspects of the language, William Thalbitzer.<sup>3</sup> With

<sup>1</sup> Ejnar Mikkelsen: *Conquering the Arctic Ice*, London, 1909, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Hakluyt*, Glasgow, 1903, Vol. VII, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> William Thalbitzer: "Fra Gronlandsforskningens Forste Dage", *Festskrift Udgivet af Kobenhavens Universitet I Anledning af Hans Majestaet Kongens Fodselsdag*, 26 September 1932. Copenhagen, 1932, p. 11.

the above things in mind, however, and others like them, I cannot follow him all the way.

We copy from Thalbitzer first that part of the Frobisher list where our scrutiny has discovered no reason for comment:

Baffin Land (1576)	Corresponding Greenlandic forms; * marks (conjectured) earlier forms
argoteyt, <i>a hand</i>	*arjatit, now assatit, <i>your fingers</i>
arered, <i>an eye</i>	*erjit (> irsit) > isit, <i>your eye</i> or <i>your eyes</i>
cangnawe, <i>a nose</i>	? { qinga·q, <i>nose</i> ; qinga·vit, <i>of your nose</i>
keiotot, <i>a tooth</i>	{ qaneq, <i>mouth</i> ; qanivit, <i>of your mouths</i>
chewat, <i>an eare</i>	kiguitit, <i>your tooth, or your teeth</i>
callagay, <i>a pair of breeches</i>	siut, <i>ear</i>
attegay, <i>a coat</i>	*qalra- > qardla-, cf. modern qardlit, <i>trousers</i>
	atigai < atigeq, <i>a woman's outer coat of caribou skin</i>
mutchatet, <i>the head</i>	(?) nutsatit, <i>hair (on the head), your hair</i>
coblone, <i>a thumble</i>	(? *quvdlone), kuvdlune, <i>on the thumb</i>
teckhere, <i>the foremost finger</i>	tikera(q), <i>the first finger</i>
kettekcle, <i>the middle finger</i>	qiterdle(q), <i>the middle (finger)</i>
meckellacane, <i>the 4th finger</i>	mikilerqane, <i>on the ring finger</i>
yacketrone, <i>the little finger</i>	*jeketqune > egerqune, <i>on your little finger</i>
pollevetagay, <i>a knife</i>	? *pulavatagai, <i>his (its) (knife?) (to stick into a sheath?)</i>

Those Thalbitzer identifications which seem to require comment are:

Frobisher	Greenlandic form
comagaye, <i>a legge</i>	? kumagaq, <i>eaten or plagued by lice</i>
atoniagay, <i>a foote</i>	? atorniagai, <i>the ones he uses</i>

The Greenland Eskimo words selected by Thalbitzer do sound like the Frobisher text; but do they meet adequately the cross check for probability of meaning? Why should a leg, of all parts of the body, be favoured by lice? Why is a foot "the ones he uses"? Are there not words near in sound that have a more probable meaning?

The Frobisher *comagaye* calls to Thalbitzer's mind *kumak*, "a louse", leading to the tentative interpretation that *comagaye* was a transcription of *kumagak*, "eaten or plagued by lice". To my mind *comagaye* suggests *kamik*, "a boot". I visualize the Englishman touching his own (booted) leg and asking, "What is that?" He was thinking of "leg"; but the Eskimo got the idea "boot" and replied "*kamigin*" ("your boot"), or "*kamagin*" ("your pair of boots").

The Baffin dialect of to-day so slurs the final consonant that it eludes the unaccustomed ear. An Englishman would hear for "your boots" something like *kamagai*, very close to Frobisher's *comagaye*.

For a similar reason of improbable meaning I cannot follow Thalbitzer in that Frobisher's *atoniagay*, "a foote", suggests *atorniagai*, "the ones he uses".

I visualize the man whose foot was a property of the performance as sitting or lying in such a way that the questioner, who intended to touch, or to point at, a foot as a whole, did really touch or seem to point to the sole of a shod foot. What the Eskimo would then say is *atungain*, "your boot sole"; in the Baffin dialect it would sound like *atungai*, which is not far from *atoniagay*.

With regard to the last word in the Frobisher list, *accaskay*, "a shippe", Thalbitzer makes no suggestion. I make one, most tentative.

No word meaning a ship, boat, or anything related, has (to the best combing of my wits) a sound resembling *accaskay*. However, the Mackenzie Eskimos and some others have an exclamation *aka* or *akali* which they use for things that seem to them overwhelmingly large. The Frobisher ships were overwhelmingly large to people used only to small skin canoes.

On rare occasions I have heard a second exclamation *ki* coupled with *aka*. The English ear, more than most European, is inclined to hear an "s" or "sh" sound (as in the above case where Mr Arcey got the sound of "sh" in the name of his wife though Mikkelsen and I failed to hear it). *Akaki* might sound to an Englishman like *akashki* or *akaski*, whereupon you are near Frobisher's *accaskay*.

We repeat: this, about *accaskay*, is mere speculation. One might say almost anything while looking at a ship.

The word taken to mean "a king", or to be the name of a particular Eskimo king, is given by Best as *catchoe*, by Settle as *cacough*, and by a German translation from the French as *cacouche*. In the French version it is *cacoughe*.

If we take the word as a designation of rank, there appears no ready correspondence with a known term of the present. The nearest is the Mackenzie River Eskimo *katatje* (*katache*), which they use for the ranking trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. This, however, is certainly a loan word.

Failing, then, to identify the word with a known Eskimo term, we fall back on the idea that what the Frobisher documents report is a personal name. I do not recall any Eskimo name that bears a close resemblance.

For the man, woman, and child captured and brought to England, the names in the documents are:

- Man's name: *Calicho* (*al' Cally Chough*)—Seyer's *Memoirs Hist. and Topograph. of Bristol*.  
*Calicho*—Seyer's *Annals of Bristol*, which has a note on the man's name: "*Callichog*, called *Cully Cla*."  
*Calichoe*—French edition of 2nd voyage (Settle).
- Woman's name: *Ignorth*—Seyer's *Annals of Bristol*.  
*Ignorth*—Seyer's *Memoirs Hist. and Topograph. of Bristol*.  
*Egnoge*—French edition of 2nd voyage (Settle).
- Child's name: *Nutioc*—French edition of 2nd voyage (Settle).

The name for the man is difficult in all its forms. Probably it is a real name and at present not identifiable with certainty.

What the English took to be the name of the woman is clearly just the Eskimo word for woman. At present this is spelled *arnak* for Greenland in the Danish orthography. In my own early notes of the Mackenzie dialect the word sometimes appears *agnak*. The French form *egnoge* is just about what one might expect if a modern tourist wrote the Mackenzie Eskimo word.

What was taken as the name of the child, *Nutioc*, is the Eskimo word for child, *nutaak* (*nuta(r)ak*).

John Dee says<sup>1</sup> that the Eskimos who were brought to England called their land *Pygmenai*, *Pyckenay*, or *Pycknea*. This may, of course, be some rather inadequate phonetic representation of an Eskimo name, but more likely it is the locative case of the Eskimo *pika*, "up there". When asked where something is, Eskimos may well reply, *pikani* (Dee's *Pyckenay*), which, while it literally means "up there", is understood to mean "up on the high land". This the English might well mistake for the name of a district.

John Dee says that the Eskimo captive denied that there was gold "up there" (*Pyckenay*) but pointed towards a place which he called *Mania*. This Dee thinks may have been intended for *Ania* or *Anian*, a name (for a country or a strait) that preoccupied Elizabethans. The likely explanation seems that when Dee was questioning the Eskimo there was before them some sort of map,<sup>2</sup> and that the Eskimo, putting his finger on a district farther west than Frobisher Bay, used the expression *mani*, meaning "here".

<sup>1</sup> E. G. R. Taylor: *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583*, London, 1930, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Travellers have reported from the Eskimos of various districts their immediate understanding of maps and their ability to draw enlightening representations of lands and waters with which they are familiar.



## APPENDIX 8

### THE ESKIMOS BROUGHT TO ENGLAND BY FROBISHER

On the first voyage one Eskimo was captured, and, according to Best's account, "when he founde himself in captivitie, for very choller and disdain, he bit his tong in twayne within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but lived untill he came in Englande, and then he died of colde which he had taken at sea". Michael Lok says that since so many "strange tales and fayned fables" had been reported "of this strange man", he thinks it well to declare the truth concerning his "personage and manners". This he proceeds to do.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, however, this native did not survive long enough to be extensively exhibited or to arouse the wide interest throughout Europe which the man, woman and child captured on the second voyage excited. Of their capture we have the two first-hand accounts of Best and Settle. The man lived about two months after they were brought to England, and the woman and child survived only a brief time after that. "Doctor Dodyngs Report", first printed from the MS. in the Hakluyt Society *Frobisher's Three Voyages* (Collinson), pp. 189-91, and in this edition, pp. 135-37, shows that the poor man died of pneumonia.<sup>2</sup>

The French edition of Settle's account of the second voyage inserts original material, which the editor says he thought worthy of inclusion and which he has been assured is true. (See p. 226 this edition.) The account follows:

Le sauvage, & la femme avec son enfant, qu'on avoit admenez de ce pays barbare, & nouvellement descouvert, fut presenté à la Royne,<sup>2</sup> & s'attendoit on bien, qu'à leur arrivée ils d'eussent monstrier quelques gestes & façons de faire estranges: mais ils se maintindrent tousiours selon leur coustume, & n'apperceut on rien de changé en eux, sinon qu'on voyoit bien à leur maintien & contenance, que comme sauvages, tels qu'ils estoient, ils s'esbaissoient fort de voir les personnes.

Ils firent entendre, tant par signes que de bouche, que l'homme avoit nom *Calichoe*, la femme *Egnoge*, & son petit enfant *Nutioc*.

Tout le plaisir & passe-temps qu'on peut jamais recevoir de ce sauvage fut, qu'estans à Bristowe, comme il eust veu monter à cheval le trompette du Capitaine Frobisher, il en voulut faire de mesme: mais il se mit tout à rebours, tournant le face devers la queue, & se resiouissoit fort de voir gambader ce cheval.

Tant qu'il vescu la Royne luy otroya de tirer sur la reviere à tous oiseaux, voyre mesme aux cignes, dont la Tamise est quasi toute couverte, se que sans la permission de sa-dicte Maieste seroit un cas pendable.

On nourrissoit ces poures barbares à leur facon accoustumee: a scavoir de chair crue. Ils tueroient une fois un dain, & mangerent toutes les entrailles avec la fiente.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Collinson: *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, London, 1867, p. 37; vol. 1, p. 166, this edition.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Doctor's report, he regrets not so much the death of the man as that the opportunity of seeing him has been taken away from the Queen.

Si ne les peut on garder gueres de temps en vie : car tost apres leur arrivée, le sauvage & la femme moururent, l'aissant à elle survivant son enfant aagé de quatorze à quinze moys.

This account is also in the German and the Latin translations of the French version.

A similar account is given in "Les Trois Navigations de Martin Frobisher", pp. 78-9, *Recueil d'arrests et autres pièces pour l'établissement de la Compagnie d'Occident*, published in Amsterdam in 1720. This follows :

L'homme, la femme & l'enfant que l'on avoit pris aux sauvages furent presentés a S.M. Ils ne changerent point de contenance & ne témoignèrent aucune surprise; sinon qu'ils baisserent la vuë devant ceux qui étoient la pour les voir.

Le sauvage voiant à Bristol le Trompette du Général Frobisher à cheval, & voulant en faire autant, s'y mit à rebours la face tournée du cote de la queue. Il prenoit beaucoup de plaisir à voir sauter & caracoller le cheval.

Tout le tems que ce sauvage vêquut la Reine lui donna la permission de tirer sur la Tamise, à toute sorte d'Oiseaux & même aux Cignes; quoique cela fut défendu à d'autres.

On nourrit ces pauvres gens à leur manière, c'est à dire avec de la viande crue. Aiant tué une poule, ils la vuiderent aussi-tôt & mangerent les entrailles avec l'ordure, sans autre façon. Mais ils ne vêquirent pas long-tems. Ils moururent tous deux avant que l'enfant eut atteint l'âge de 15. mois.

According to Mr James Ross, F.L.A., Librarian of the City of Bristol, "Seyer's *Annals of Bristol*, collected from various manuscripts, by S. S. MS. 1790" contains the following account :

1577. Capitaine Frobisher in a ship of our queenes of the burden of 200 tonnes came into Kingrode from Cattai, who brought certaine (1) oare from thence, which was esteemed to be very ritch and full of gowld: it was heavy and so hard that it would strike fire like flint. Some of it was tried in our castell, and the rest sent to London, where it was esteemed not worth the charges in refigning. They brought likewise a man called (2) Callichog and a woman called Ignorth. They were savage (3) people and fed only uppon raw flesh. The 9th. of October he rode in a little (4) bote made of skinne in the water at the backe, where he killed 2 duckes with a dart, and when he had done carried his bote through the marsh upon his back. The like he did at the weare and other places, where many beheld him. He would hit a ducke a good distance of and not misse. They died here within a month.

(1) supposed gold ore, which being tried in the castle proved not soe.

(2) Callichog, called Cully Cla.

(3) they were clothed in staggs skins haveing noe linen nor woolen at all.

(4) the which was about fourteen feet long.

Seyer's *Memoirs Hist. and Topograph. of Bristol and its Neighborhood*, Bristol, 1821-23, Vol. II, p. 247, gives the account as follows :

In the year 1578 a great ship of our Queen's called *the Aid*, al' *the Ann*, of 200 tons (with a small barque, R'R') came into Kingroad from Cattai, Martin Forbisher being

captain of her, after having attempted to find the Northwest passage to the East-Indies, China, and Cattay. She brought certain ore, which was esteemed to be very rich and full of gold; heavy and so hard that it would strike fire like a flint. Some of it was tried in our castle, and the rest sent to London, where it was esteemed not worth the charges in refining. They brought with them a man of that country called *Callichio* (al' *Cally Chough*) with his wife, called Ignorth, and a child. They were savage people, clothed in Stag's skins, having no linen nor woollen at all; and fed only upon raw flesh: she suckled her child, casting her breasts over her shoulders. October 9th, he rowed up and down the river, at the Back of Bristol, it being high tide of sea, in a boat, the which was about fourteen feet long, made of skins, in form like unto a large barge or trow, but sharp at both ends, having but one round place for him to sit in; and as he rowed up and down he killed a couple of ducks with his dart; and when he had done he carried away the boat through the marsh on his back. The like he did at the Weare, and at other places. Within one month they all three died. (These were Greenlanders or Eskimaux). Also on May 31st, the said captain Forbisher set out on another voyage to Cathay; but he returned without success.

## APPENDIX 9

### THE MYSTERY OF THE FROBISHER RELICS

After nearly three hundred years of doubt as to the precise location of the Frobisher lands and seas, a conclusion was reached in 1861-2 through the discoveries of the American Charles Francis Hall. He found in what we now call Frobisher Bay the earthworks of Europeans and such relics as proved that these were the memorials of what is usually looked upon as the first great British pioneering enterprise toward the discovery of a Northwest Passage.

In the disposition of the relics found, Hall was moved by sentiments of patriotism, justice and caution. Because he was an American, he wanted the collection for the United States; because Frobisher was English, Hall felt that Britain had a claim; because they were precious, he wanted the relics to be doubly safe through a double custody. He, therefore, selected in each of the two countries for trustee a responsible and appropriate institution. He divided the collection, sending part to the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, part to the Royal Geographical Society of London.

The division had been fair, the assignment of responsibilities discreet. The discretion availed nothing. Both collections are lost. Both institutions seem unable to find out how the loss occurred.

Fox Bourne sums up the Frobisher-Hall relation in his *English Seamen under the Tudors*, London, 1868, Vol. 1, pp. 168-70:

Tudor Englishmen never returned to Meta Incognita; but many traces of their visit were discovered by Captain C. F. Hall, the enterprising American explorer, in 1861 and 1862, nearly three centuries after the time to which they belong. In his journal of April 9, 1861, he says: "Among the traditions handed down from one generation to another there is this, that many, very many years ago some white men built a ship on one of the islands of Frobisher Bay and went away." While at Rescue Harbour he reports: "I had several conversations with an intelligent Esquimau, who spoke of a time long, long ago, when white men built a vessel on an island in the bay lower down (Frobisher Bay); spoke also of brick, timber, chips, &c., as having been left there" (*Life with the Esquimaux*, 1864, vol. i., pp. 271-272). Passing up the bay, one of his native friends pointed out to him an island where "white men a long time ago had masted a ship" (vol. i., p. 278). In May he met an old woman, who told him that "the white men of the ships landed in Niountelik, an island near Oopungnewing", which Captain Hall identifies with the Countess of Warwick's Island. "She then proceeded to say, that upon Niountelik she had seen bricks and coal, and pieces of timber of various sizes. She had also heard from Old Innuits that, many years before, ships had landed there with a great number of people. I asked her if she knew how many ships had come there? Her reply was, 'They came every year; first two, then three, then many—a great many ships.' The old lady further informed me that frequently, in her lifetime,

she had seen wood, chips, coal, and bricks, and large pieces of very heavy stone, on the island of Niountelik. I asked her what kind of stone it was, and to this she replied, 'It was black and very heavy. No Innuits had ever seen such kind of stones before.'" Captain Hall adds, that this old woman told him also, "that further down the white people took away two Innuit women, who never came back again; that five white men were captured by Innuit people at the time of the appearance of the ships a great many years ago; that these men wintered on shore; that they lived among the Innuits; that they afterwards built a large boat, and put a mast into her, and had sails; that early in the season, before much water appeared, they endeavoured to depart; that, in the effort, some froze their hands; but that finally they succeeded in getting into open water, and away they went, which was the last seen or heard of them" (vol. i., pp. 302-304). On another day Captain Hall says that, while conversing with two Esquimaux, one of them showed him a piece of bright-coloured brick. "I then asked whence they got it; and both Innuits pointed to the island Niountelik, which was less than half a mile from where we stood." Another Esquimau, to whom he showed it, said, "Many of my acquaintances up the inlet have pieces of the same kind that came from that island" (vol. i., pp. 315, 316). In August Captain Hall carefully explored this island in search of Frobisher remains. There he found large quantities of coal, covered with moss and grass, but no other relics (vol. ii., pp. 77-80). In September he explored a neighbouring island, called by the natives Kodlunarn, and supposed by him to be the Countess of Warwick's Island. There he found "an excavation eighty-eight feet long and six feet deep", which he supposed to be one of Frobisher's fancied gold mines; also "coal, flint-stone, fragments of tile, glass and pottery; a trench made by the shore on an inclined plane, such as is used in building a ship on the stocks; the ruins of three stone houses, one of which was twelve feet in diameter, with palpable evidence of its having been erected on a foundation of stone, cemented together with lime and stone; and some chips of wood found on digging at the base of the ship's trench". On the same island he discovered "iron time-eaten, with ragged teeth, weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds, on the top of a granite rock, just within reach of high tide at full change of moon". "This island", he says, "is generally called Kodlunarn, because *white men* lived on it, and built stone houses and also a ship. From what I saw that day I was fully convinced that many, very many years ago, men of civilization did live upon the island, and that they did build a vessel, probably a schooner, there" (vol. ii., pp. 150-153). On another island in the same bay he found more coal, as much, he thought, as about five tons, "also a little pile of flint-stones, similar to those discovered in the coal at Niountelik, and in the cement of the stone-house ruins at Kodlunarn"; and nearly fifteen inches below the surface of the ground, "a large chip, imbedded in the coal, which had the appearance of having been chopped out of a large piece of oak timber with an axe" (vol. iii., p. 157). On another visit to Kodlunarn, "a piece of iron, semi-spherical in shape, weighing twenty pounds, was discovered under the stone that had been excavated for the 'ship's way', and many other small pieces were found at the head of the trench: fragments of tile were found all over the island, and numerous other relics, indicating that civilized men had visited the place very many years ago" (vol. ii., p. 161). In June 1862, Captain Hall received two other relics from Kodlunarn, a piece of very old brick or tile, two inches long, one inch thick, and one and a half wide, and a musket ball. "The ball had several small indentations upon its surface, and the whole of it was covered with a white coat (oxide of lead), in consequence of long exposure. It is 11/20ths of an inch in diameter" (vol. ii.,

p. 283). In July he went again to Kodlunarn, and there saw "very clear evidences of the existence of a blacksmith forge or a furnace" (vol. ii., p. 293).

I have quoted, for the most part, in Captain Hall's own words, and in chronological order, his account of his discoveries of Frobisher relics, which are now lodged in the Greenwich Hospital Museum.

Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis in his *Narrative of the North Polar Expedition . . . Charles Francis Hall Commanding*, Washington, 1876, gives on p. 192 a telegram from Hall to Henry Grinnell and Cyrus W. Field:

I am bound for the States, to renew voyage, have not prosecuted my mission to the extent proposed on account of loss of craft; but thank God he has empowered me to do something; have solved the mysteries of near three centuries relative to Sir Martin Frobisher's expeditions under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth; have learned the fate of the five men captured from Frobisher by the Esquimaux; identified the exact places of his landings, especially the Countess of Warwick's Sound, where Frobisher attempted to plant a colony of one hundred men; recovered therefrom, and have them on board, a large number of relics of said expeditions; have explored over one thousand miles of coast, including the so-called Frobisher's Straits, which I have discovered to be a bay terminating in latitude  $63^{\circ} 48'$  north, longitude  $70^{\circ}$  west; have also discovered a great glacier and a mountain of fossils between Hudson's Strait and Frobisher's Bay.

Davis then goes on to say:

Of the relics referred to in this telegraphic dispatch, a part were transmitted to the British people through the Royal Geographical Society of London, and a portion were sent to Prof. Joseph Henry, to be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. A full list of those deposited with the Royal Geographical Society will be found in the *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, edited by Rear-Admiral Collinson, C.B., for the Hakluyt Society. A number of those belonging to the Smithsonian Institution, together with interesting remains of Parry's, Franklin's, Rae's, and McClintock's expeditions, form part of the Arctic collection exhibited by the United States Naval Observatory at the International Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia.

Professor J. E. Nourse in *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by C. F. Hall*, Washington, 1879, pp. 7-8, and in *American Explorations in the Ice Zones*, Boston, 1884, p. 203, confirms the above. He also quotes a letter to Hall from John Barrow (pp. 13-14 of the *Narrative*), who says he thinks the relics ought to go to Greenwich Hall or to the Royal United Service Institution with the Franklin relics. A footnote quotes a letter to Grinnell from Barrow (April, 1863) which contains a remark that at that time the relics were being exhibited at the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society. Nourse mentions the Smithsonian's loan of the Frobisher relics to the U.S. Naval Observatory collection at the International Exhibition.

Collinson (p. xiv) says (1867) that the relics "are now deposited at the Royal Geographical Society", and gives (in an appendix) Hall's "Descriptive Catalogue" of them.

While Fox Bourne states that in his time (1868) they were "lodged in the Greenwich Hospital Museum", most writers (probably depending upon Collinson) appear to be under the impression that they are in the museum of the Royal Geographical Society. As late as 1933, Sir William Foster (*England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, London, 1933, p. 55, note) writes that the Hall relics of Frobisher "are now to be seen in the museum of the Royal Geographical Society".

Enquiry reveals, however, that the Society knows nothing of their whereabouts, nor does the British Museum. The National Maritime Museum thinks they may have had them till 1914, when their fourteen rooms of exhibits were reduced to four, and that probably the contents of the remaining ten rooms were handed over to the Greenwich Hospital Department at the Admiralty. From that Department, however, comes the statement that they "can trace no information regarding the relics. . . nor is there any local record to indicate that they were ever on exhibition in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital or in the Royal Naval Museum". So we come to a dead end in Britain.

A search in the United States for traces of the relics has proved equally fruitful in clues and equally fruitless in results. Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, Boston and New York, 1884, Vol. III, Ch. 3, pp. 89-104, states that some of the Frobisher relics were sent to England and "others are deposited in the National Museum at Washington". For the latter point he cites as authority the *Semi-Annual Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1882, p. 131. Investigation of this reference shows the following:

Without enumerating the illustrations of natural history in the possession of the Smithsonian, or objects of curiosity, like the portion of the original steam engine of John Fitch, or the relics of the Frobisher expedition to Greenland, more than three hundred years ago, brought home by Captain Hall of the *Polaris*, or the relics of Sir John Franklin obtained from the Eskimos of the Mackane River region, we may refer merely to such objects as may illustrate human history and aid its intelligent student.

Enquiry brings (August 12, 1935) from the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution the statement that: ". . . a very careful search has been made of our records but we find no evidence that any relics of this gallant explorer were ever deposited here."

And again (August 28, 1935):

. . . a very thorough and careful search has been made of our records and of the specimens received by us from the *Polaris* Expedition but unfortunately without any success so far as Frobisher relics are concerned. On one list there is mention of a single specimen as follows: "Iron bloom, obtained from Countess of Warwick Sound where it was made by Frobisher in 1578, searching for gold." A careful examination of the specimens, however, fails to reveal any object answering to this description.

A letter from the U.S. Naval Observatory states that they have "no record of the present location of the Frobisher relics or of the Observatory having

received these relics from the Smithsonian Institution after they were exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1876", and suggests "the possibility that these relics might be among those exhibits that have been kept in Memorial Hall in Philadelphia since the Exhibition of 1876".

A letter to the Director of Memorial Hall brought a reply from the Pennsylvania Museum of Art that "the relics of the Frobisher expedition are not in our custody. I have tried, I am afraid unsuccessfully, to secure some clue as to their whereabouts, having talked with our Historical Society and other institutions in Philadelphia".

From the Library of Congress:

I am sorry to say that efforts I have made in several directions, in the attempt to locate the Frobisher relics, have been without result. As General Greely, in his article on Hall, printed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, mentions the relics, and is likely to have seen them here in Washington, it occurred to me that he might be of assistance in the matter. . . .<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, in connection with this matter, I have been going through the Report of the Board on behalf of United States Executive Departments at the International Exhibition, held at Philadelphia, Pa., 1876, the second volume of which contains a "Catalogue of the Articles and Objects Exhibited by the Navy Department at the Exhibition, Including Catalogue of Objects Presented to the United States by the Emperor of Siam". In this catalogue, Section II, Class J has the heading "Relics". No mention of Frobisher, or of the relics, is made under either heading; Hall's name appears several times under the first heading; the only relics mentioned in Class L are given under the sub-heading "Relics of Capt. Paul Jones, of the Continental Navy".

It is a remote possibility that the relics may be in the Library of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis.

On the said remote possibility an enquiry was made of Rear-Admiral D. F. Sellers, Superintendent of the United States Naval Academy, who replied in part:

According to our records, none of these Frobisher relics were ever at the Naval Academy nor are their whereabouts known. The only Hall relics we have are the flag used at his funeral in Greenland, and a photograph of the Hall Polar Exhibit at the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia, 1876. It is possible that certain of the Frobisher relics appear in this photograph, but we have no means of identifying them, nor is their disposition after the close of the Exhibition known.

Since Baffin Island is part of Canada, it seemed possible that the Canadian Archives might yield something, but an inquiry made of the Archivist brought the reply that "this Department does not seem to possess any additional information".

Confirmation of Hall's testimony about the Eskimo traditions of Frobisher's visit is found on p. 23 of *Southern Baffin Island, an Account of Exploration, Investigation and Settlement during the Past Fifty Years*, Department of the Interior, Canada;

<sup>1</sup> A later letter from the same authority states: "General Greely . . ., in response to my inquiry, much regrets that he has no information as to the present location of the relics."



North West Territories and Yukon Branch, Ottawa, 1930 (edited by A. E. Millward):

It was in 1894 that the Rev. (Dr) E. J. Peck arrived in Baffin island. Ever since 1876 Dr Peck had pursued his missionary labours among the natives of Little Whale river, and Great Whale river, Hudson bay; and at Fort Chimo and vicinity, Ungava bay, northwest of Labrador. He had become expert in the Indian and Eskimo languages. . . . At last the opportunity arose through the generosity of Mr Noble. . . (who) had just completed the purchase of the whaling station at Blacklead island in Cumberland sound. . . .

. . . One of the first things Dr Peck did on his arrival was to take a census of Blacklead island, and he found that the population numbered 171. Later on, as he became better acquainted with the Baffin Island Eskimos he discovered that they had oral accounts handed from generation to generation referring to the Frobisher expedition in Queen Elizabeth's time. . . .

In 1927 the Rawson-MacMillan Sub-Arctic Expedition of the Field Museum, Chicago, visited Frobisher Bay. Dr Duncan Strong, now Anthropologist of the Bureau of American Ethnology, went with this expedition as archaeologist. We are permitted to use here a valuable unpublished statement by him on the Frobisher site:

The remoteness of Sir Martin Frobisher's settlement on Baffin Island is strikingly indicated by the fact that since its abandonment eighty years after the time of Columbus the site has been visited and reported upon by only two expeditions. The first of these consisted of a single white man and his Eskimo companions. This daring explorer, Captain Charles Francis Hall, while searching for possible survivors of Sir John Franklin's ill-fated expedition, heard an Eskimo tradition that white men had once lived on a certain island in Frobisher Bay. It was an old, old story that the Eskimo had learned from their forefathers. To leave no stone unturned, however, Captain Hall went with them to Kodlunarn, "white man's island", and found indubitable proof that here was the spot where Sir Martin Frobisher had carried on his mining operations three centuries before. That was in 1861. (Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, Vols. I and II, 1864. See map, end of Vol. I.) In 1927, the Rawson-MacMillan Sub-Arctic Expedition of the Field Museum again visited this lonely little island. As archeologist of the expedition I checked Hall's description but so completely and accurately had he done his work that our visit, guided by his maps, could add little more than confirmation of all that he had reported. (*Science*, Vol. LXVI, no. 1709, pp. 295-296, 1927, and *American Anthropologist*, n.s., Vol. 30, no. 1, p. 173, 1928.)

Kodlunarn is a low lying, little island in the Countess of Warwick Sound. This body of water, named after one of Frobisher's patronesses, forms a southeastern extension of the great bay which bears his name. The island has a rocky surface of less than twenty five acres, is without fresh water, and supports no vegetation other than trailing ground willows, mosses and lichens. A more forbidding place for residence it is hard to imagine. Even during the brief arctic summer its barren, rock strewn surface offers little protection from the strong winds and in winter it must be desolation incarnate. It was undoubtedly selected because it contained iron pyrites deposits, the well known "fool's gold", and because it offered some measure of defense in summer. During the long winter, when



The foundations of Frobisher's house on Kodlunarn Is.



Uncovering foundations of Frobisher's house on Kodlunarn Is.



Frobisher's mining trenches, Kodlunarn Is.



One of Frobisher's mining trenches, Kodlunarn Is.

the bay and land surfaces are both frozen, even these advantages would have been lacking.

We landed on the north shore where a steep bank of about thirty feet rises from a small gravel beach that is exposed at low tide. Here we found a deep, artificial canal some 150 feet long and from 15 to 20 feet deep, opening to the sea. This channel runs from northwest to southeast and opens into the most protected part of the bay, i.e. toward the nearest mainland. Along the sides of this "ship's trench" the excavated rock had been piled up in two great dykes. Here Hall found a large piece of iron pinned between the great boulders but we found no artifacts of any sort. This trench, cut from solid rock, represents a vast amount of labor. We were on the island while the tide was ebbing hence the "canal" was dry. However, Hall states that the channel is entered by the sea during a full or changing tide. This may have been one of Frobisher's mining trenches but it seems more probable that it served as a dry dock for repairing his small vessels. Hence the Eskimo tradition of boat-building on the island.

The foundations of the plastered house built by Frobisher's masons are still visible on top of the small hill near the center of the island. This hill, the only one on the island, commands an excellent view. The top of the hill is flat and near the center of this small area is a definite foundation of rocks joined by plaster covering a space about 12 feet long and 8 feet wide. This is covered at present by many boulders and by moss and lichens. Digging around these foundations we found much plaster, some of it carefully smoothed as though for inside finishing, fragments of porcelain, brick, coal, and a few flint "strike-a-lights". One fragment of porcelain, now in my possession, has a dull black glaze with metallic slag adhering outside the rim as though the vessel had served as a crucible. Another porcelain fragment has an apple green glaze on the inner surface with a buff unglazed exterior. While these fragments of early white occupation are small and sparse they serve definitely to confirm the interpretation put on these ruins by Captain Hall. For nearly four hundred years the Eskimos have been visiting this place and picking up whatever took their fancy or met their needs, but sufficient evidence still remained in 1927 to link the ruins inseparably with the activities of Sir Martin Frobisher.

Below the hill near the eastern shore, is a great artificial trench or "reservoir" about 100 feet long, 20 feet wide, and perhaps 12 feet deep. This and one or two other smaller trenches would seem to be the surface-mines yielding the worthless iron pyrites with which Frobisher twice loaded his ships. Between the "reservoir" and the "ship's trench" to the north is another irregular boulder pile with evidences of old fires and clinkers that mark an early structure of some sort. Hall calls this Frobisher's "shop" or foundry, and such it may well have been. Elsewhere on the island are a few Eskimo tent or "tupik" circles of boulders, as well as some stone meat caches, but the majority of those native remains appear to be more recent than the Caucasian house foundations and trenches. The latter bear mute witness to the great activity that reigned in this quiet spot in 1577 and 1578, nearly half a century before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

Our visit and examination of this fascinating place was interrupted by observation of a herd of walrus in the bay, and, since food for the sledge dogs during the coming winter was essential, we hastily, albeit regretfully, left this little island with its silent monuments of human courage, industry and greed.

## APPENDIX 10

### THE FROBISHER MINERAL

The mineral of which a sample was brought back on the first Frobisher expedition, made Elizabethan history. Its composition is hard to determine from the contemporary accounts, which are filled with the wildest exaggerations and come out of a time when chemistry was still alchemy and anything that glittered might easily be thought gold. Precautions, moreover, were taken by those in charge of the expedition to keep the facts secret from possible rivals. George Best's pretty story of the "piece of blacke stone much like to a sea cole in colour, which by the waight seemed to be some kinde of metall or minerall", and which a gentlewoman, the wife of one of the adventurers, by chance "threw and burned in the fire", and quenched with vinegar, so that "it glistened with a bright marquesset of golde", is not confirmed by Michael Lok, to whom, after all, the whole matter was a very earnest business. He contradicts Best by implication when he states merely that Frobisher gave him the stone aboard his ship, in accordance with a promise made to deliver to him the first thing that he found in the new land.

The ore of the second expedition was evidently of more than one kind, for "Burcot's" or "Burchard's" report (Richard Collinson, ed., *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, London, 1867, pp. 193-4) speaks of "the blacke ooyre" and "one other redd ooyre". In Lok's charges against Frobisher made after the ore had proved worthless, he accuses him of bringing back on the second voyage "strainge ewr found by chaunce", and also "some stoanes of redde ewre and yello ewer" which he "promised to the comissioneres that ther was mountaynes therof"; and on the third voyage of bringing not the same red and yellow ore, but "other strainge ewr, wher he could fynd yt, w<sup>ch</sup> he said was better than the best that was brought the yeare befor".

In Nourse's *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition Made by Charles F. Hall* (Washington, 1879, Appendix III, pp. 553-83) is a discussion by Professor B. K. Emerson "On the Geology of Frobisher Bay and Field Bay". The list of specimens of rocks, minerals, and ores brought by Hall from Frobisher Bay is varied and extensive. One specimen—"several pieces of magnetite in quartz; one part of a large crystal with a piece of iron slag and two pieces of limpid quartz"—is labelled by Hall: "Much like to a sea-coal in color. From Little Bay, Ek-ke-lu-zhun, on cape or point where I found coal of Frobisher Expedition of 1578, Tues. Sept. 24, '61. Hall." Hall is quoted as saying of this find: "Embedded in the rocks I found some heavy black substances, larger and more numerous than any I had before seen. These I concluded might be the 'stone like to sea-coal'

described by Frobisher in the account of his voyages". Of the same sort of ore Hall says, "This ore attracts and repels the magnetic needle about like iron. It is very heavy".

Inquiry yields the following valuable statement from Mr Sharat K. Roy of the Field Museum, who was geologist of the Rawson-MacMillan Sub-Arctic Expedition:

The fifteen hundred tons of rocks which Frobisher carried to England in his last two voyages were supposed to be "much like sea cole in colour". They have been referred to in literature as pyrites (fool's gold) and marcasites, both of which have the same chemical composition ( $\text{FeS}_2$ ), but neither of them, even when badly tarnished, could possibly resemble "sea cole" in color.

At Kodlunarn or White Man's Island (Countess of Warwick Island) I found several loose pieces of "black rock", a sample of which I brought back. It is now here in the Museum. Since this is the only black rock in the vicinity of Frobisher's activities that might be compared to sea coal in color, I am inclined to think that this is the rock that Frobisher dug up. Further, the rock is foreign to the rocks composing the island. It must have been brought there by the crew from the mainland where it was mined. The Eskimos, I am afraid, would not care to bring back a pile of black rocks and dump them on the island just for the fun of it. The rock is not pyrite. It is composed mainly of the minerals, amphiboles and pyroxenes, although it might contain small grains of disseminated pyrite, for pyrite, as you know, occurs under practically all conditions and in all situations. However, I do not think that this was the only rock that Frobisher took home. The coasts of Frobisher Bay for the most part consist of Laurentian rocks, granites, gneisses, schists and great variety of highly metamorphic rocks. It is quite likely that Frobisher loaded his ships with different kind of rocks, particularly schists and gneisses containing mica, which resembles gold.

Vice-Chancellor R. E. Priestley of the University of Melbourne, Australia, geologist of the first Shackleton Expedition, writes of a mound of rock supposedly dumped by Frobisher into Dartford harbour when it was proved worthless: "A few years ago, in the course of drainage works, the curious-looking mound of rock, of obviously foreign origin—now lying some distance inland—was observed, and samples were sent to Cambridge for investigation." A fragment of this he identifies as "A specimen of amphibolite mainly hornblende with a little pyrites and brassy yellow mica".

The following extracts are used by permission from an interesting unpublished paper, "Frobisher's Quest", by T. A. Rickard, mining engineer, geologist and mineralogist (author of *Man and Metals*, etc.):

According to George Best, who was Frobisher's lieutenant, the crew of the *Gabriel* brought home various curiosities, among which were some pieces of "blacke stone much lyke to a seacole in colour, whiche by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or mynerall". By chance a piece came into the hands of the wife of one of the adventurers, or syndicate members, and she, by another strange chance, threw it into the fire; after it had been thoroughly heated, she took it forth and quenched it in a little vinegar,

whereupon it "glistened with a bright marquestet of gold". Here forthwith we face one of the many perplexing questions presented by the story of Frobisher's quest for a gold mine. If it was black, like coal, and seemed like an ore, what was it? Probably a manganiferous ironstone, that is to say, it was broken from an outcrop of rock containing a good deal of iron oxide blackened mixed with manganese dioxide. Ridges or hillocks of such mineral are to be seen in many places in different parts of the world. What mineral would show gold merely by being heated in a fire? The telluride of gold, such as is mined at Cripple Creek, in Colorado, and at Kalgoorlie, in Western Australia, as well as in the classic mining regions of Transylvania. The heat volatilizes the tellurium as an oxide and leaves the gold like a dew upon the roasted mineral. Was the stone a piece of telluride ore? It is highly improbable; it is much more likely that the story is a concoction. None of it rings true. Why should the lady put it into vinegar, and if she did, what would be the effect? Somebody must have been thinking of Hannibal and his roadmaking.

The word "marquestet" and variants of it appear several times in the records of Frobisher's fiasco. Forster, in his book of Arctic voyages, says that the mineral was a "gold marcasite (*Pyrites aureus*), as it contained a considerable quantity of gold". But it was black, like coal, and therefore could not have been marcasite, which is pale yellow. To the mineralogist today, marcasite is the so-called white iron pyrite, identical in composition, iron bisulphide, with pyrite, but differing in crystallization. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the word marcasite, variously spelled, meant a mineral containing some metal of negligible value. Thus Woodward in his *Natural History of the Earth*, published in 1695, says that "a common marcasite or pyrites shall have the colour of gold most exactly, and yet yield nothing of worth, but vitriol (sulphuric acid) and a little sulphur". Probably the lady, Frobisher's friend, meant that the stone was covered with a film or sheen of gold. Even today imitation (steel) diamonds on clasps and earrings are called "Marquestite". The idea is the same. The derivation of the word is unknown.

Apropos of the assaying of the ore, Rickard says:

. . . We must remember that at that time the art of assaying was but little understood and was grafted upon the hocus-pocus of so-called alchemy, which, as Walsingham suggested more than once, was rightly suspect. How many of the supposed experts really knew how to make an assay, we cannot tell. How could an assay be made in Winter's own house without building a furnace? No mention is made at any time by Lok or Winter of seeing any furnace, nor is there any hint of the method employed to ascertain the contents of the ore. On the other hand, what motive could Agnello have for making false statements concerning the richness of the ore? Had he fooled himself? Some others, according to Winter, had likewise found gold; did they really find any? . . .

George Best, who recorded this voyage [the second] also, proceeds to say: "But our men which sought the other ilandes thereabouts, found them all to have good store of the ore, whereupon our Generall with these good tidings returned aboarde . . . and was joyfully welcomed of the companie with a volie of shotte." Next day, on Hall's larger island, "aswel as in the other small ilands" they found "good store of ore". Evidently it was plentiful and lay in plain view.

Two days later, on another island, Frobisher, having landed "with his goldfinders to searche for ore", found that "all the sands and cliftes did so glisten and had so bright

a marquesite, that it seemed all to be golde, but upon tryal made, it proved no better than black leade and verified the proverb—All is not golde that shineth”.

This shining substance may be supposed to have been mica, but the finding of “black leade” is perplexing. Black lead, the mineral of which pencils are made, is graphite, a form of carbon. Such pencils were not in use at that time, so we must conclude that the metal lead is meant, in distinction to tin. In Latin, until the fifth century, tin was *plumbum album* and lead was *plumbum nigrum*. Probably the pseudo-experts, in reporting to Frobisher, used the Latin term for lead. But lead is not found as metal in nature, or so rarely as not to be worth mentioning in this context. The shiny mineral of lead is galena, the sulphide, which has no resemblance to gold. Again we must fall back on the assumption that Frobisher’s metallurgists did not know their business.

The next statement seems more convincing. Upon the island named after the Countess of Warwick, “was found good store of the ore, which in the washing helde gold plainly to be seen; whereupon it was thoughte beste rather to load here, where was store and indifferent good than to seek further for better”. Whereupon Frobisher put the miners to work, setting an example himself how to do so efficiently. But was it gold that was disclosed by the washing of this ore? Subsequent happenings suggest that it was not gold, but possibly either iron pyrite or copper pyrite, small particles of which, yellowish and shining, might be mistaken for the real thing by people that knew no better. Frobisher and his men, from our point of view, were lamentably ignorant. As to the “miners”, it was asserted later that the men brought from the “west countrie”, Devon and Cornwall, were “showmakers, taylores, and other artificers”, because the real miners were intimidated by the commissioners, and withdrew from the expedition.

Three weeks later the ore had been put aboard. “Having onely with five poore miners and the helpe of a few gentlemen and souldiers brought aboorde almost twoo hundreth tunne of gold ore in the space of twenty dayes. . . It was now good time to leave; for, as the men were wel wearied, so their shoes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tools broken, and the shippes reasonably well filled.” The panniers were worn out, and the points of their picks were broken. Did they have any drills? Probably not. The inability to repair tools is significant.

The above excerpts come from the account written by George Best. Another Chronicler, Dionese Settle, appears to have been sceptical as to the treasure hunt. He says: “Our captain returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed itself in the bowels of these barren mountains wherewith we were all satisfied.” And later he remarks: “The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glisten in the sun like gold; so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verify the old proverb, ‘all is not gold that glisteneth’.” To which I may add, that there is gold in sea-water and silver in the moonbeams.

One hundred and forty tons of ore was brought to England as the product of this second voyage. The ore was deposited for safekeeping in the castle at Bristol. A furnace was built at Sir William Winter’s house by a man named Jonas Shuts, a variant of Schutz, evidently a German, or, as they would call him in those days, a Dutch mineral-man. He smelted a hundredweight of the ore and showed it to contain gold worth £40. This German metallurgist had appeared on the scene just before Frobisher sailed on his second voyage; he had assisted Agnello. We are told that “by the meanes of the learninge of the sayd Baptista in alchimia and the knowledge of the said Jonas (the chroniclers of the time use Christian names like a Rotarian) in myneralls and mettalls handelinge,

the verye firste gold was founde and discoueryed by them too bee in the first peace of ewer which Mr. Frobisher brought home in his first voyage". Lok and his friends had been so much impressed by Jonas Shots (so his name is spelt this time) that it was agreed he "shoulde goe one the voyadge as chiefe master of the mynes, and too bee chiefe workemaster therein above all other as well abroade as att home, and att his retorne home too bee made denyson and to have a good pension for his enterteynement during his lyfe". He certainly had convinced them that he was the real thing. The word "denyson" is a variant of "denizen" (from the French *dans*, within) and means that as a foreigner he was to be admitted to residence in England.

When Jonas smelted another hundredweight of the ore at Sir William Winter's place, he obtained the same result. The yield was at the rate of "better than xl li. (eleven pounds) the tounne in pure golde". He was about to go to Bristol to erect "greate workes", a large smelter, but the Lords (of the Council) were not satisfied, presumably because most of the estimated yield of gold remained in the slag, of which Jonas said that he could treat it only in the "greate workes", which were to be built at Dartford. Meanwhile, further doubt was cast upon Mr Jonas's doings "becavse the goldesmithes and goldefynders of London and many other namyd counynge menn had made many prooffes of the ewer and could funde noe whitt of goold therein". Here again we have a suggestion of *chicanery* on the parts of Jonas and Baptista. Upon the 12th of February, Jonas "did melt counne CC of the ewer for his theird prooffe at the house of Sr Wm Winter with great danger of his lyffe thorough the smoke, and at the second tyme of the mealtinge thereof the 18th February yt succeded verye well in the presens of the Commissioners, found oz/ 6-1/3 of silver and goold mixed, but a half of this was sonke in the test", which word might indicate some process of cupellation. It was a sorry effort. We need not be surprised to learn that Mr Jonas became ill, and that his experiments ceased for a time.

The affair was not going well. Whatever the purported assays, the results of smelting did not tally, either because the gold was not in the mineral or because most of it passed into the slag. Winter writes, in December, that "thus is moche tyme passed awaye and money spent, and yet our expectation not satisfied". Jonas was perplexed. "He sayethe that this here new proved ore (that is, the ore recently tested) is poore in respect of (in comparison with) the pece of ure brought last yere, and of sum other brought this yere, and of that which he knowethe may be brought the next yere (how could he say this unless he had been a member of the second expedition?), and that it is of a strange nature, suche as he is not well acquaynted withall; but he douteth not in the great work (probably meaning the smelting plant), he will learne to know it perfectlye."

Jonas was not without a rival. Some of the ore was given for trial to a man named Dr Burcott, who, it was detected, added a strange flux which he called "ewer of antymonie", but which he said "held noe manner of mettell at all". However, a piece of it was obtained surreptitiously, and, when assayed, there was "found therein boethe siluer, 30 ounces in a tonn, and some copper, and verye muche leade". In plain English, the Doctor had salted the Frobisher ore by additament of mineral rich in silver.

Dr Rickard believes that "we are forced to conclude that the story of the Arctic gold mine is a compound of ignorance and knavery".



APPENDIX 11

The report of *Thomas Viars* passenger in the *Emanuel*, otherwise called the *Buffe* of *Bridgewater*, wherein *Iames Leech* was Master, one of the ships in the last Voyage of Master *Martin Frobisher* 1578. concerning the discoverye of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.<sup>1</sup>

The *Buffe* of *Bridgewater* was left in *Beares sound* at *Meta incognita*, the second day of September behinde the Fleete in some distresse, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two, The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northwest she fet sayle, and departed thence, and fell with *Frisland* on the 8. day of September at fixe of the clocke at night, and then they fet off from the Southwest point of *Frisland*, the wind being at East, and East Southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at West northwest faire weather, they steered Southeast, and by fouth, and continued that course vntil the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fve leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The Master accompted that the Southeast poynt of *Frisland* was from him at that instant when hee first descryed this new Islande, Northwest by North, 50. leagues. They account this Island to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or there about. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them Northwest by North. There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them feuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the same land, and also twentie or thrity leagures from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the West part of Ireland about *Galway*, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vol. III, 1600, p. 44.

APPENDIX 12

Notes framed by M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. *Frobisher* in his North west discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeet in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

That the first Seate be chosen on the seafide, so as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate safe from the enemie: and so as the enemie shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be disperfed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall be least subiect to annoy of the enemie, so may you by your Nauie within passe out to all parts of the world, and so may the Shippes of England haue accessse to you to supply all wants, so may your commodities be caryed away also. This feat is to be chosen in a temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoales or turfe, with fish, flesh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or so many of those as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of siluer, copper, quicksiluer, or of any such precious thing, the wants of those needfull things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lymes of, Slate stone to tyle withall, or such clay as maketh tyle, Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made, Timber for buylding easely to be con- ueyed to the place, Reede to couer houfes or such like, if tyle or slate be not.	}	are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil fort be kept together.
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The people there to plant and to continue are cyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandise. If they shall liue without sea traffique, at the first they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miserable by infinite wants that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of themselues to depart, or else easely they will be consumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and so the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purposes that may be taken in hand.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, vol. III, 1600, pp. 45-47.

And by trade of marchandife they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue moft speciall regard of that poynt, and fo to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and feate may draw to you acceffe of Nauigation for the fame, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the fame out, and fetch home the fupply of the wants of the feate.

Such Nauigation fo to be employed fhall, befides the fupply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of fuch things as are brought to you out of *England* by Sea, standeth a matter of great confequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curtefie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vfed: fo fhall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, fo fhall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and fo fhall you waxe rich and ftrong in force. Diuers and feuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of fome portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of fuch a one is moft requifite: And fo is it of effect for the difperſing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inland.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For fo may you beft difcouer all the natural cōmodities of their countrey, & alfo all their wants, al their ſtrengths, all their weakneſſe, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greateſt confequence.

And in your planting the confideration of the clymate and of the foyle be matters that are to be reſpected. For if it be fo that you may let in the falt ſea water, not mixed with the freſh into flats, where the funne is of the heate that it is at *Rochel*, in the Bay of *Portugal*, or in *Spaine*, then may you procure a man of ſkill, and fo you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fiſhing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the foyle and clymate be fuch as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at *Burdeaux*, as that in *Portugal*, or as that about *Siuil* in *Spaine*, or that in the Iſlands of the *Canaries*, then there reſteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dreſſe Refigns of the funne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a foyle of the temperature of the South part of *Spaine* or *Barbarie* in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be affured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, confidering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the Weſt Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our ſtate of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the Weſt Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beaſts fitte for ſole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize

right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the foyle shall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenge, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may arise some trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of some other, then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because traffique is a thing so materiall, I wish that great obseruation be taken what euery foyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie focusse, and what it may be made to yeelde by induer, and to send vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the Sauages to enjoy any whole country or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enjoy traffique, and be assured of the same, we might be much enriched, our Nauie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuill warres should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enjoy any large territorie of apt foyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon *Spain* for oyles, facks, resins, oranges, lemons, spanish skins, &c. Nor vpon *France* for woad, bay salt, and *Gascoyne* wines, nor on *Eastland* for flaxe, pitch, tarre, masts, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly enrich our doubtful friends, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now wee doe: and should by our owne industries and the benefites of the foyle there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, masts, boards, fish, golde, siluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flats to make salt on, if you haue plenty of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common uses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe Haven, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you find great plenty of tumber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such places.

And if such port & chosen place of settling were in possession and after fortified by arte, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enjoy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victual themselves of fish to serue very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the

enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England & also haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be vsed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the setling place, they should find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Islands also. And so this first feat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place first chofen should not so well please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the soyles adioyning to such conuenient Hauen and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the soyle rich for many vses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertile soyles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other petty king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These are to be covered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the rower.

Since euery soile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall deuise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in five drifats furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruit, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to encrease you within lesse then feuen yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of these thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

## APPENDIX 13

## FROBISHER'S WILL

*(By kind permission of the National Maritime Museum)*

In the name of **God Amen** The daye of \_\_\_\_\_ in the yeere of our Lord God on thowfande, fyue hundred, nynetye and fowre **I Martin Frobisher Knight** being in perfecte healte and of good remembrañce thancked be almighty god, w<sup>th</sup> good aduife & consideration do make and ordayne this my last will & testament in writing in maner and forme following. That is to faye **First** I commend my soule into the handes of almighty god my maker, hoping assuredlye through the onlye merrys of Jhesus Christ my fauour and redeemer to be made pertaker of life euerlasting **And** as concerninge my bodye I commend it to my mother the earthe from whence it came to be interred where it shal please god to call me at the discrecion and disposition of my Executor. But my will and mynde is, that the solemnization of my funeralls shalbe kept at the parish Church of Normanton and my howse called Frobisher Hall in Altoft in the countye of Yorke. **As** towching prouision to be had and made for Dame Dorothe my welbeloued wife by this my last will and testament, my will and mynd is, and by these presents I will geue and bequeathe vnto the saide Dame Dorothe my wife, in full recompence of all claymes challenges and demandes, whiche shee maye make vnto my goods, chattells or moueables whatsoeuer, either by common lawe, custome or otherwise after my decease, (and in consideration shee shall refuse to take, nor shall take any other benefitte or profite vse or commoditye of my said goods or chattells, other then I shall geue lymyt and appointe by this my last will and testament) all her Jewells Cheines Bracelette, perles, buttons of gold and perle, agletts & ringes w<sup>ch</sup> shee hath now in her possession. And I geue her ~~all her~~ all her wearing apparrell whatsoeuer. And asmuche of my plate whiche I now haue at my howse called Frobisher hall in Altofts in the county of Yorke, as shall amounte to the value of two hundred powndes, the on half thereof in siluer plate valued at fyue shillings the ounce and the other halfe to be of parcel gilte, at six shillinge the ounce in valewe. **Also** I will geue and bequeathe to the saide Dame Dorothe my wife the third part of all my lynnens, and naperye in the same howse being lying or in vse there to be equally deuided into three equall parts, of the worst a third part, of the better forte a third parte, and of the best fort a third part. And the same to be deliuered by my Executor yf he be then lyvinge, or by hym or them w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe appointed by this my last will to be a dealer heerin, my Executo<sup>r</sup> being deceased. **Item** I geue, will, and bequeathe vnto the saide Dame Dorothe my wife the bedstedds and bedds, with their furniture to them, which I left standinge lying and being in that chamber of my said howse, wherein my said wife doth vsually lie

*deleted in original deed.*

and lodge in. And the bedsteds beds and their furniture, w<sup>ch</sup> I left standing lying and being in the chamber in my said howse wherein her daughter and weiting women and chamber maides lye and lodge. And all fuche householdstufte as I shall leaue at in & about my howse in Walthamstow in the county of Essex and none other **Item** I geue will and bequeathe vnto her my said wife my two Coaches w<sup>th</sup> their furniture, and my two white Coachhorfes, and after y<sup>t</sup> the other horffes mares geldingē and colts mentioned, and perticularly named lymitted or appointed by me to others in this my will geuen, and they chofen out by my Executour to dispose them according to my said will, then my will and mynd is that my said wife shall make her choise out of all the rest & residue of my said horffes mares geldingē and colts of fixe w<sup>ch</sup> shēe shall best like of and them to take and haue to her owne proper vse for euer. **Item** I geue and bequeath vnto her my said wife ten of mylche kyne, and half the stocke of sheepe fatte and leane whiche I haue, to haue to her vse as her owne goodes. **the** residue of all my Jewells, plate moneye debtē obligations, goods, chattels reall and personall, householdstufte moueables, & Implements of household whatsoeuer I haue and w<sup>ch</sup> I haue not expreffely geuen and before bequeathed and deuised to the said Dame Dorothe my wife by this my will, I geue will and bequeathe toward the performance of my funeralls, payment of my debts and fuche Legacies, as heerafter shalbe by me in my testament expressed lymitted and appointed to be paied and performed to Peter Frobisher sonne to my eldest brother John Frobisher deceassed. Whiche said Peter Frobisher I ordeine appointe constitute and make my sole Executour of this my present last will and testament. And do make and appoint Frances Boynton of Barniston in the county of Yorke Esquire, and France Vaughan of                      in the same Countye Esquyre my Ouerseers of this my said last will and testament **And** I geue to euery of them one Colt sole of my turke to chuse them out amongste my Colte.

**Thys ys the last wpll and Testament** of me the sayd Marten Frobisher Knight towching and concerninge the disposition of all my lands tēntē hereditam<sup>t</sup>° tithes and fee farmes, aswell those whiche I nowe haue in possession as those whiche I haue to come in Reucon or Remainder whatsoeuer within the Realme of England. **First** I will geue and deuyse vnto Peter Frobisher being sonne to my eldest brother John Frobisher deceased, for terme of his life, all my Manno<sup>r</sup> of Whitwood, with all the demefnes and services co<sup>rt</sup>° rentē proffitte and all other commodities, libertics royalties commons, fishingē waters lands tēntē, meadowes, feadinge pastures, wooddes vnderwooddes, mores, heathes, merfhes, and all howfes edifices and byldinge whatsoeuer scituate sette, & being in and vpon the said Manno<sup>r</sup>, and all other thapptē<sup>r</sup>ānce, whatsoeuer, to the manno<sup>r</sup> belonging appertayninge or heertofores haue been with the same occupied letten reputed or taken to be as part parcell or member of the said manno<sup>r</sup> with all other hereditaments, Reuercon Reuerco<sup>n</sup>s, Remainder and Remainders. Whiche said

Manno<sup>r</sup> is scituate lying and being in the parishe fieldes or towne of Fetherstone in the County of Yorke. And whiche, I late purchafed or had of our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth to me and to my Heires, as by her Graces  $\text{L}^{\text{res}}$  patent<sup>e</sup> more at large appeareth. And all that my house called or knowne by the name of Frobisher hall, or called by any other name or names whatsoever scituate sette and beinge in Altofte in the parishe of Normanton in the County of Yorke with all my landes tē<sup>a</sup>tē<sup>e</sup> medowes pastures woods vnderwooddes afwell freehold as coppinghold which I haue in the Lordshippe or manno<sup>r</sup> of Altofte or ellswere w<sup>th</sup>in the manno<sup>r</sup> of warmfelde & heathe, and w<sup>th</sup>in any other towne field, parishe, hamlett or any other place in the said County of Yorke, or by what name or names foever they be called or knowne, or haue been knowen letten reputed or taken. w<sup>th</sup> all and singuler their ap<sup>r</sup>ten<sup>u</sup>ncē, and all that my Manno<sup>r</sup> or capitall messuage called or knowne by the name of Brockhelle, or by what other name or names foever it is or hath been called or knowen. And all those my landes tē<sup>a</sup>tē<sup>e</sup> rent<sup>e</sup> reuer<sup>o</sup>n<sup>s</sup> or reuer<sup>o</sup>n, remainder or remaynders, and all other hereditament<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all and singuler their ap<sup>r</sup>ten<sup>u</sup>ncē whatsoever I haue scituate sette lying or being, in the parishe towne fielde hamlet or circuyte of the parishe or towne of Canteleye or in any other towne or parishe there adioyninge or elfswere within the faide Countye of Yorke. And all that my Granngge called or knowne by the name of Fyngley Granngge, or by what name or names foever it be called or knowne, or hath been called or knowen. And all my landes howses tē<sup>a</sup>tē<sup>e</sup> medowes feedings pastures commons and all other hereditament<sup>e</sup> with their ap<sup>r</sup>ten<sup>u</sup>ncē whatsoever I haue scituate sette lying and being within the parisshes fyeldes townes hamlette or liberties of Fyngleye Blackstone and Auckleye or any of them being within the Counties of Yorke and Nothingham or any or both of them or ells where w<sup>th</sup>in the said Countyes **And** all other my landes tē<sup>a</sup>tē<sup>e</sup> Manno<sup>rs</sup> reuer<sup>o</sup>n and Reuer<sup>o</sup>n<sup>s</sup>, remainders and hereditaments tythes and seefarmes which I haue purchafed to me and to my heires whatsoever, and whiche ar not yet come to my possession wherefoever they be within this Relme of England, And whensoever they or any of them shall come fall happen and acruē. I freely geue w<sup>th</sup> all other my Landes in possession and hereditament<sup>e</sup> tythes and seefarmes whatsoever, I haue within the said Realme of England to the said Peter Frobisher being sonne to my eldest brother John Frobisher. To haue and to hold all and singuler my Manno<sup>rs</sup> lands tenement<sup>e</sup> hereditament<sup>e</sup> and all other the premiffes with their appertenancē before recited by this my last will and testament to be deuised willed and geuen, and mencioned o<sup>r</sup> ment to be willed deuised and geuen, and by this my said last will deuised willed and geuen vnto the faide Peter Frobisher for by and during the terme of his naturall life without impeachment of wast. **And** after his deceafe to remaine goe and be to the heyre male of his Body lawfully begotten or to be begotten for terme of life of the said heire male w<sup>th</sup>out ympeachment of waste.



And so from heyre male to heire male for terme of lyfe without Impeachment of waft, vntill the heires males of the yffues male comyng from the body of the said Peter be deceafed. And for default of fuche yffue and heire male as is before mentioned & ment, Then all the before deuifed premisses with their appertenance and all hereditament<sup>e</sup> ment and mentioned by this my last will and testament, to be deuifed willed and geuen, to goe remayne come and be to Darby Frobisher, sonne to Davyd Frobisher my deceafed Brother. To haue and to hold to the said Darbye for terme of his naturall lyfe without Impeachment of any manner of waft. **And** after his deceafe to remaine come and be to the first heyre male of his body begotten then lyvinge To haue and to holde to the said first heyre male of his bodye begotten for by and duringe the terme of his life. And so lyneally to euey heyre male of the bodies of the heyres males of the said Darbye begotten, vntill there be no heire male left of their bodyes, begotten. And for default of fuche heyre male, then all the before deuifed premisses with their appertenance I will shall remayne go and be vnto Franc<sup>e</sup> Brakenburye eldest sonne vnto my sifter Jane Brakenburye for terme of his naturall life without any impeachment of waft. And after his deceafe to the heyre male of his Bodye lawfully begotten. To haue and to hold to hym for terme of his naturall lyfe without Impeachment of waft. And so lyneally from heire male to heire male of their bodyes lawfully begotten w<sup>th</sup> like estate vntill therebe no heire male left of the bodyes of the said heyres male descended from the said Franc<sup>e</sup> Brakenburye. And for default of fuche heire, male, then all the before deuifed premisses whatfoeuer with their appertenances I geue and will shall remayne come and be for euer vnto Richard Jackfon sonne to my sifter Margaret Jackfon deceafed and to his heires for euer. **As** towching the deuife of all my Leafes which I haue in possession, and which ar to come to me in reuertion, which I do exempt and accompt to be no part of my goods, for that my meaninge and intent is that they shall haue their cōtinuā<sup>u</sup>nce and goe from heire to heire, vntill their feuerall termes be ended and not to be folde or delte in by my Executour as part of my goods, for that there wilbe sufficyent otherwise dischardge both my funeralls debts and legacyes. My will and mynd is, that my nephew Peter Frobisher my executour shall during their feuerall termes receaue perceaue and take the yeerly proffitte and commodities of all my said leafes, and them improue for greater rents, as he shall thincke fitte. But neither to sell them, nor to take great fynes and so to dymynnish their rent~but shall so order them, as they shall and may contynue vnto his heire that shall succede hym, according to the intent and true meaninge of this my said last will. Except fuche leafes as I shall by this my last will and testament dispose and appointe of in manner and forme heare vnder written. **therefore** my will and mynd is, that yf the saide Dame Dorothe my wife will and do refuse, and not take any benefitte~commoditye either by Common lawe or custome, to clayme challenge or haue her Dower or thyrd part in all my lands and tenements, Nor make clayme or demaunde to any of my goods or chat-

*deleted in  
original deed.*

tells other then to fuche as I haue and fhall geue bequeath and affigne to her by this my laft will. Then in full recompence of her thyrds or Dowre of all my landes, and tenements, My will and mynde is that fhee fhall haue all fuch legacies giftē, and bequeftē, whiche I haue before in this my will mentioned to geue and bequeath vnto her. And in like manner that yf fhee the faid Dorothe my wyfe will inhabite and dwell in my manfion and dwelling howfe in Altofte aforefaid, for by and during the terme of fourty yeeres (yf fhee happen to lyue fo longe) then my will intent and meaning is, that fhee fhall haue the occupation vfe and manurance to her proper vfe and benefitte of my faide dwellinghowfe, and all my landes and tenements in Altofte aforefaid, which I haue there afwell freeholde, as copyhold lying and being in the parifhe of Normanton. And that my heire by this my will fhall according to the cuftome of the faid Manno<sup>r</sup> of Altofte, make her a Leafe of the Cppyhold landes, And alfo fhall haue mannrance and occupation to the vfe aforefaide of the Manno<sup>r</sup> of Altofte, and all the landes, tenements and hereditaments, and perceauē and take the profitts thereof according to the lymitation of fourty yeeres above mentioned (yf fhee be lyue fo longe, vpon the thes condicōns heerafter following. That is to faye **that** fhee the faid Dame Dorothe my wife fhall at all tymes heereafter, and from tyme to tyme during her dwelling and habitation therin at two feasts in the yeare, That is to faye, at the feaft of the Annunciation of our blessed Ladye St Marye the Vyrbyn, and St. Mychell the Archangell, by euen portions, or in the tenth daye next enfuinge euery of the faid Feasts, at or in the Church porch of the parifhe Church of Normanton aforefaid, between the howres of one and fowre of the clocke in the afternoone of y<sup>e</sup> faid feuerall daies for the preferuation of my Leafe of the Manno<sup>r</sup> of Altofte from being forfeited paye or caufe to be payed vnto the my faid Executour of this my laft will, and to hym to whome the faid Leafe fhall come and accrue according to the true intent of this my laft will and testament. All fuche rents and farmes as ar referued at the faid feasts by the faide Leafe, or to be payed within certayne dayes next after the faid Feasts yeerly or halfe yeerlye as they fhall growe due and payable. And alfo do performe fulfill and keepe all, and all manner of couenannts graunts articles and agreements which I my executo<sup>rs</sup> and assignes ar tyed by the faid Leafe to perfourme, And vpon and vnder this condicion, that fhee the faid Dame Dorothe my wife fhall not do any maner of ftrippe nor wafte, or willinglye suffer to be done in or vpon any the lands tenements or hereditaments in her vfe or occupation **And** yf the faid Dame Dorothe my wife will not Inhabite in any faid howfe And alfo by this my will do giue will and deuife unto her at Altofts and accept of this my bequest (in recompence of all thyrds and Dowrye before to her willed, And will departe and leaue all to my executour, Then I will that fhee fhall haue all fuche moueable goods, Jewells plate and houfholdftuffe as I before in the firft parte of my will of my moueable goodes haue geuen and bequeathed vnto her for by and enduring her naturall lyfe One annuytye or yeerely . . . . . Two hundred Marks by yeer of law-

*missing.*

full moneye of Englande, to be yffuing, going out receyued and taken of all my lands tenements, leases and hereditaments lying and being w<sup>th</sup>in the parifhe of Normanton in the fame County of Yorke, To haue and to hold the faid Annuytye or yeerly rente of two hundred marks to the faid Dame Dorithe my wife and her assignes from the tyme of her refusall difclayming and renouncing to take the benefitte of her dowrye and third parte of my landes, And likewise to difclayme to take any other benefitte by this my will, then this Annvytye or yeerly rent, and the goods to her in the former part of this my will bequeathed willed and geuen, for by and during her naturall life: the faid Annvytye to be payed at two termes or feaft in the yeer, that is to faye. At the feaft of Thannunciation of our Lady S<sup>nt</sup> Marye the Vyrbyn, and S<sup>nt</sup> Mychell the Archangell by euen portions. The first payment to begynne be had and made at at fuche of the faid two feasts as shall happen next after her refusall difclayminge and renouncinge as before is lymitted appointed or ment. **And** my farther will is, and I do appoint, that yf the faid Annuytye or any part thereof, after my wyfe hath made her election of the fame, shalbe behind and vnpayed at any of the feasts and dayes, at whiche the fame is before heerin lymytted to be payed, and by the fpace of eight and thyrtye daye next after the faid feasts or any of them, the fame being lawfully demauned by the faid Dame Dorothe my wife or her Assignes in or at my faid mansion howse at Altofts, and an acquyttance offered or tendred to be made sealed, and to be deliuered vpon the payment thereof for dischardge of the fame, That then and at all tymes after fuche defaulte of payment, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the faid Dame Dorothe my wife to enter into all my landes tenements leases howses & hereditaments w<sup>ch</sup> I haue in the parifhe of Normanton aforefaid, And the same to haue occupye and take the profitt thereof to her and their vse, vntill my faid Executour or he or they to whome the faid landes or tenements shall come, and be according to this my last will or their or his assignes do paye or cause to be payed vnto the faid Dame Dorothe my wife or her Assignes all the faid rent or part of that Annvytye w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe behinde, and then due to be payed, And the somme of tenne powndes of lawfull moneye of Englande in the name of a payne ouer and aboute the faid Annuytye, for that the faid annvytye or rent was not payed according to the lymyttation of this my last will **And** yf the faid Dame Dorothe my wyfe shall refuse and do not accept of neither of these my bequests, observing and performinge the orders and manner of refusall, and difclaymes before in this my will lymitted and appointed, or ment by the fame to be done, but will haue the benefitte of her thyrds of all my landes, and challenge what the lawe will geue her, Then my will & meaninge is that shee shall take no benefitt or advantage of this my will, other then the Jewells, apparrell and the two hundred powndes worthe of plate, and the third part of lynnens, and the two Coaches, and two horffes with their furnitures, and the beddes and their furnitures w<sup>ch</sup> I haue in the former part of my will geuen vnto her and no other of my goods Jewells plate or moveables to haue **And**

yf fhee make challenge and fuyte to recouer or haue from my Executour the thyrd part of my goods and chattells, or to haue and recouer them by any lawe or custome, and will nor do content her selfe with this portion of my goods to her before bequeathed in Lieu of her thyrds thereof, Then I will and my mynd is that fhee shall take no benefitte of this my last will, but fhee to haue what part thereof the lawe will allowe her **notwithstandinge** I haue geuen by this my will to my Executour all my Leafes afwell in possession, as thofe to come in Reuertion: neuertheless my will and mynd is, and I will geue and bequeathe to Rychard Jackson my nephewe and to his Assignes my Lease and terme of yeeres, which I haue to come in Reuertion of the mannour of Haughton in the countye of Yorke. And all the Lands howfes tenements hereditaments and appertenannce with the same letten or deuised in as full and ample manner as I was to haue had it yf it had been in my possession, To haue and to hold the same Lease now in Reuertion, and when it shall fortune to come in possession, to hym his Executours and assignes for so longe tyme and terme, as it is to me granted deuised or letten and vnder the same conditions and covenannts, And my Executour not to meddle or deale therewith. **providēd** alwaies, and it is my will, that the sayd Rychard my Nephewe/his executours and assignes when and as sone as the said Lease shall come in possession, that he they or some one of them from the comē<sup>h</sup>cem<sup>t</sup> and beginninge of the said Lease shall yeerly duringe the whole tyme and terme of the said lease, at two feasts or termes in the yeer viz at the feast of Thannuntiation of our blessed Ladye St Marye the Vyrgyn and St Mychaell Tharchangell, or at or in the eight & twentieth day next ensuing euery of the said Feasts by euen and equall portions paye or cause to be payed in the Church Porche of the parishe Church of Cast[le]forth in the County of Yorke vnto William Jackson brother to the said Rychard to his executours administratours or assignes the sōme of tenne powndes of lawfull moneye of England viz at the dayes before lymytted, at euery payment fyue powndes, And yf it shall happen the said payments yeerlye during the terme or any of of them to be behynd and not payed according to the lymyttations and appointment of this my will: Then I will that it shalbe lawfull to and for the said William Jackson my nephewe and Brother to the said Richard his executours administratours or assignes to enter into the said Mannor and all the landes with the same demised and letten, and then to occupye manure and take the proffitts thereof to his and their owne vse vntill the said Richard or his assignes do paye or cause to be payed vnto the said William, his Executours or assignes all suche sōmes of money as shall then be due to be paid of the said payments before lymited and not paid as before as by me willed **Item** I will and my mynd is and I geue vnto William Haykes my olde seruant, in recompence of his good and faythfull seruyce heertofores to me done. One Annuytye or yeerly[e] rent of six[e] powndes thirten shillings and fowre pence to be going out had and taken of and in my mannor of whitewoodde and all my landes and tenements with their app<sup>r</sup>tenannce to the same belonging or appertaining lying set and

membrane 2.

[now  
Castleford].

being in the County of Yorke to be payed by my said Executour, and by those to whome the said Manno<sup>r</sup> shall heerafter come at two feuerall feasts or daies of payment in the yeer viz. The Annuntiation of our Lady S<sup>t</sup> Mary the Vyrbyn and the feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michell tharchangell by euen portions. The first payment to begyn at the first feast of the said two feasts whiche shall first happen and come by and after my death. To haue and to hold the said annuytye or yeerly rent to the said William Haikes and his assignes for by and duringe the naturall lyfe of hym the said William. And yf the said yeerly rent or Annuytye or any part thereof at any of the dayes & tymes before lymited in which it ought to be payed be behind and vnpayed being by the said William or his assignes lawfully demanded at the said Manno<sup>r</sup> howse of Whitewoodde, that then and from thencforthe it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said William and his assignes into the said Manno<sup>r</sup> to enter and distreyne, and the distresse there so had to take leade and beare awaye and in his powre to reteyne vntill he be of the said yeerlyc Annuytye or so muche thereof as shalbe behinde be vnto the said William or his assignes well and truly satisfyed and payed.

**Item** I will and my mynd is, and I geue and bequeth vnto Mary Masterfon the yeerly rent or farme which I now receiue of eight powndes and odde moneye by yeer of my farmo<sup>r</sup> of my Manno<sup>r</sup> called Brockholts in the County of Yorke during the time and terme of yeeres of his Lease that hath yet the lease in possession of the same, And will that my Executour and all other to whome the same Manno<sup>r</sup> or Capitall Messuage called Brockholts before mentioned in this my last wyll of the devise of my landes shall quyetly permyt and suffer her the said Mary Masterfon and her assignes as my assigne to receaue the same rent or farme w<sup>ch</sup> the tenant thereof doth yeerly paye to her owne vse for by and duringe the said terme which is yet to come, yf she the said Mary Masterfon to happen to lyue so longe. And after the same Lease in poss<sup>ion</sup> is expiered, then my Executoures or whosoever he be that by vertue of this my will is to haue the same, my will and mynd is that he or they which shall so haue the same. shee the said Mary Masterfon being then lyvinge shall yeerly paye or cause to be payed vnto the said Mary Masterfon or her Assignes for by and during her naturall lyfe at two vsuall feasts or termes in the yeer the some of twenty powndes of lawfull moneye of Englande by euen and equall portions, that is to saye at the feast of thannuntiation of our Lady S<sup>t</sup> Mary the Vyrbyn ten powndes and S<sup>t</sup> Mychell tharchangell other ten powndes, And yf my Executour or he or they to whome the said Manno<sup>r</sup> or Capitall Messuage called Brockholts shall heerafter come shall make default of payment vnto her or her Assignes according to the true intent and meaninge of this my will, shee or her Assignes lawfully demanding the same at the said Manno<sup>r</sup> or capitall messuage called Brockholts. That then it shall and may be lawfull for her by this my will and her Assignes to enter into the said Manno<sup>r</sup> or Capitall Messuage, and all the landes tenements and hereditaments belonging to the same and the same to occupye manure and take the proffitts of the same vntill the said some or somes of moneye

which should haue been paid vnto her or her assignes be unto her or her assignes fully answered satisfied and payed and tharrage of the same yf any happen to be vnpayed. **further** my will and mynd is and by this my will I geue and bequeathe vnto Jane Brakenburye my sifter for by and during her naturall lyfe one Annuity or yeerlye rent of ten powndes of lawfull money of England to be yffuing & receiued had & taken out of all my landes and tenements in the countye of Yorke to be paid to her or her Assignes by my executour or by hym or them to whome the same landes after my decease shall come at two vsuall feasts or termes of payment in the yeer by euen and equall portions that is to saye at the feasts of thannunciation of our Ladye and St Mychell the Archangell. And yf it shall happen the said yeerlye Annuitye or rent to be behind and vnpaid at any of the said feasts and dayes of payment before lymitted in whiche it ought to be payed, and not payed in or at the Church porch of the parishe Church of Kirthop, <sup>[now</sup> *Kirthope]* shee or her Assignes ther demannding the same. That then my will and mynd is, and I will it to be lawfull for her or her Assignes, into any part or parcell of the said landes or tenements charged with the same Annuitye or rent to enter and the same to occupye to her owne vse and take the profits thereof vntill shee the said Jane or her Assignes be of the said annuity or rent and tharrage thereof, whiche shall be then vnpaid fully satisfied and payed **further** I will that my Executour shall paye vnto Katheryne my sifter Jane her daughter and my neece the some of Tenne powndes of lawfull money of England within one yeer next after my decease, and that shee and her husband yf shee shall then be marryed to make a discharge vpon the payment thereof, yf not, then shee sole to make a discharge. **Item** I will and geue vnto Margaret being the daughter of the last before named my sifter Jane her daughter other tenne powndes to be payed vnto her in the like manner, and shee to make like discharge vpon the receyte thereof **Item** I will and geue vnto Katheryne Borowes grandchild to my sifter Jane Brakenburye forty powndes to be payed by my executour, or hym or them which shall haue my landes by vertue of this my will within two yeeres next after my decease, that is to saye twentye powndes the first yeere, and thother twenty powndes the next yeere for which legacye and some of moneye yf it be not paid accordinglye. I geue her or her assignes, shee having ouerlyued the said two yeeres) full powre and authoritye to distreyne for the same in any my landes in the Countye of Yorke **Item** I geue and bequeathe vnto Anne my brother Davye Frobisher his daughter tenne powndes of lawfull moneye of Englande to be paid to her w<sup>th</sup>in one yeer after my decease by my executour, or by hym or them which shall heerafter haue the dealing and disposition of this my landes and goodes **Item** I will and geue vnto Edyth Frobisher my brother Davies daughter being vnmarryed forty powndes to be paid by my executour or by hym or them w<sup>ch</sup> shall haue the performance of this my will w<sup>th</sup>in two yeeres next ensuing after my decease, that is to saye, twenty powndes w<sup>th</sup>in the first yeer next after my decease, and the other twenty powndes the second yeer next

after my decease, and shee to make a discharge vpon the receipte thereof **Item** I will geue and devise vnto Mary Frobisher widdowe my wifes daughter, two hundred powndes of lawfull money of England to be paid to her by my executour or by hym or them which shall haue the performance and disposing of this my will within one yeer next after my decease, And shee to make vpon the payment thereof a discharge for receipts of the same, And for defaulte of payment thereof within one moneth after her demannde made by her or her assignes, and the year expired after my decease, and shee then lyving, I will that then and from thence forthe it shall and may be lawfull for her and her assignes to enter into my Manno<sup>r</sup> called Whitewoodde, and the landes and tenements thereto belonging before mentioned in this my will, and to occupie manure and take the proffits thereof vntill shee be thereof or so much of the said some of two hundred powndes as shalbe then vnpaid well and truly paid. And vpon paiement thereof to avoide, and he or they vpon whose possession shee or her assignes did enter to haue the same Manno<sup>r</sup> and landes againe **Item** I will geue & bequeathe to Dorithee Frobisher my Wyues grandchilde, two hundred powndes to be paid to her by my executour, when shee shall accomplishe her adge of fifteen yeeres. And yf he be not then lyuing, then by suche as shall haue the performance of this my last will. And yf default of payment be made of the same two hundred powndes, then I will that at the ende of the said fyften yeeres and within on moneth next after demannde made by her or her assignes of the same of my said Executour, or of hym that then shalbe reputed my heire by vertue of this my will, and the same not paid, then I will that shee the said Dorothe or her assignes shall enter into that my Manno<sup>r</sup> of Whitewoodde and all the landes and tenements to the same belonging and appertayninge before in this my will mentioned. And the same to vse, occupye and to take the profits thereof vntill shee the said Dorothe be well and truly satisfied and paid the foresaid some of two hundred powndes or so muche thereof as shall then be behinde and vnpaid **And** farther my will and mynd is that after the said Dorothe hath accomplished her adge of ten yeeres, then my executour or he or they, w<sup>ch</sup> by this my will shall haue and take the benefit of my landes and tenements in the same willed and bequeathed as my reputed heir shall paye or cause to be paid vnto her the said Dorothe vntill shee accomplishe her sayd adge of fifteen yeeres viz for fyue yeers, ten pownds every yeer at two feuerall payments by euen portions, at the feaste of the Annunciacon<sup>n</sup> of our Lady St Marye the Vyrbyn, and St Mychell tharchangell. The first paiement to begyn at the feaste of the foresaid Feasts that shall happen, next after her adge of ten yeeres is accomplished, And yf default of paiement be made of the said annuall pension, the same being by her or her Assignes as gardians lawfully demanded of my said Executour, she the said Dorothe or her gardians shall haue full powre and authoritye to enter into any part of my foresaid Manno<sup>r</sup> of Whitewoodde, and take the vse occupation & Manurance of so much of the said landes and tenement<sup>e</sup>, as in all iudgment shalbe worth twenty powndes by yeer to be

letten. and the proffit thereof comynge to take to her vse vntill the said annuall pension be vnto her or her assignes as is before expressed be fully satisfiied and paid **Provided** alwaies, and my will mynd & intent is, That yf any of the legatees in this my will to whome I haue geuen any gyfte of moneye or other legacies do fortune to dye and deceafe before their daies or times of paiments come and be expiered, w<sup>ch</sup> ar before lymitted and fet downe in this my will, and the same Legacies or gifts not expressely fet downe, bequeathed assigned or appointed. to whome they shall go, be and remaine. That then the same gift or bequest, or parcell of any gift or bequest, w<sup>ch</sup> is not all to be payed at one time (as fuche there be in my said will) be it money or other things, or paiments to be made whatfoeuer, shalbe and remaine to the onely benefitt and vse of my executour, or those who shall succede hym in estate, according to the lymittation of this my last will. And that they to whome such gift or bequest was made, shall haue no powre to will, geue, bequeathe or dispose of the same for that is my true intent and meaninge. And that all distresses entries or any other forfeitures or device fet downe in this my will, for the better obtayning of any legacye gyft or bequest to hym or them so dead or deceased before their time of paiment shall come, shall vtterly cease as yf no such meanes had bene lymitted appointed or deuised. And finally notwithstanding any gift limitation or aucthority of entrye into any Mannor<sup>e</sup> landes tenem<sup>t</sup> and occupacon<sup>i</sup> vse or manurañce thereof for non payment of Legacies or other bequeste in this my will mencōed, expressed or willed, that my Executour his heires, nor the heires of any that shall claime by vertue of this my will by from or vnder me for non performnce of the paiments and portions lymitted to be paid in the same vnto my wife or any others in this my Will mentioned in the same strict maner sort and Condition as before in this my last will and testament is lymitted and expressed: Yet neuerthelesse my will mynd and intent is, that neither the said Peter Frobisher my Executour nor any other succeeding in estate after hym by vertue of this my will, to whome I haue lymitted any estate of inheritañce or freehold, shall forfeite their estate or estates by them or any of them geuen lymitted and appointed by this my will either in landes or leases (but that they to whome any benefitt of entrye occupation vse manurañce or taking the proffits of landes tenements or leases for the better and speedier obteyninge of [the] legacies gifts annuyties rents pensions devises, or bequests for non paiment of them shall haue the said lands tenements or leases as a pledge vntill they be paid and satisfiied of their said Legacies or gifte whatfoeuer, and then theire to enter againe. **my will** is that my Executour shall geue to my loving friend Mr Thomas Colwell a gelding of ten powndes price or twenty angells or ten powndes in moneye for his paynes he hath taken at the deliuerie of this my will, or otherway he to deteyne this my will till he be satisfiied for the gelding or the moneye. Martyn Frobif[h]er **In witnes. whereof** this to be the true will of me the said Sr Marten Frobisher I gave to euery leafe of the same will fet and subscribed my name being sixten leaues in number and put to





my feale being labelled vpon the top the fowrth daye of August in the six and thirteth yeer of our foueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth **In the** presence of those whose names ar vnderwritten as witnessed to the same. M<sup>t</sup>y<sup>n</sup> Frobifer

**Witnesses to this present will** Wee: Thomas Colwell writer of the said will. Anthonye Lewes, Tymothy Perrot. Richard Farrer. his m<sup>k</sup>e

**Item** my Will and mynd is. That my Executour or he who shall by vertue of this my will after my decease haue and take the benefitte of the same by vertue of any bequest Limitation of appointment either as my heires or otherwise shalbe directe aduise and counfaile in all points towching this my will by my loving friend Master Thomas Colwell: And that he the said Thomas shall vmpire any thing towching any controuersie or any Legacie that may arife, growe or be [in] question betweene hym or them And by this make hym an ouerseer and dealer in this my said will. For which his paines I will my Executour or he or they that shall take the benefitte of this my will as my Heyre shall geue hym Twenty powndes w<sup>th</sup>in one yeer or three monethes if my will be p<sup>f</sup>ected after my death when he shall call for the same. I leave the Cope of this here inclosed vnder my hand the vij of August 1594 Martyn Frobifer

*deleted in  
original deed.*

*membrane 3.*

Tenore presentium nos Johannes prouidentia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Anglie Primas et Metropolitanus notum facimus uniuersis Quod vicesimo quinto die mensis Julij anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo nongesimo quinto apud Londinium coram dilecto nostro Thoma Creake legum doctore surrogato venerabilis viri magistri Willelmi Lewyn legum etiam doctoris Curie nostre Prerogatiue Cantuariensis magistri Custodis siue Commissarij legitime constituti probatum approbatum et insinuatum fuit testamentum egregij viri domini Martini Frobisher militis dum vixit de Atoftes in Comitatu diocesi et provincia Eboracensi defuncti presentibus annexum habentis dum vixit et mortis sue tempore bona iura siue in diuersis diocesibus siue iurisdictionibus infra provinciam nostram Cantuariensem Cuius obtentu ipsius testamenti approbacio et insinuacio administracionisque omnium et singulorum bonorum iurium et creditorum huiusmodi Commissio necnon Computi Calculi siue ratiocinii administracionis huiusmodi auditio finalisque Liberacio siue dimissio ab eadem ad nos solum et insolidum et non ad alium nobis inferiorem iudicem notorie dinoscuntur pertinere Et Commissa fuit administracio omnium et singulorum bonorum iurium et creditorum huiusmodi dictum defunctum et prefatum suum testamentum qualitercunque concernentium Petro Frobisher exequutori in huiusmodi testamento nominato de bene et fideliter administrando eadem ac de pleno et fidei Inventario omnium et singulorum bonorum iurium et creditorum huiusmodi conficiendo et illud in Curiam Prerogatiue nostre Cantuariensis secundo die post festum Sancti Blasij Episcopi

proxima futuro exhibendo necnon de plano et vero Computo Calculo siue ratiocinio inde reddendo ad sancta dei evangelia in persona magistri Thome Brown notarij publici procuratoris sui in hac parte legitime constituti iurati de et cum consensu et assensu domine Dorothee Frobisher relicte dicti defuncti Datum die mensis anno domini et loco predictis et nostre translationis anno duodecimo.

Willelmus Woodhall

Registrarius

### Indorsement

S<sup>r</sup> Martin Frobisher his laft Will  
Dat: 7<sup>o</sup> Aug: 36<sup>o</sup> Eliz. 1594

Altofts N<sup>o</sup> 1

Seal mutilated. [Pointed oval: the Saviour seated on a carved throne of late style, disputing with two Doctors in the Temple. In base, an ornamental shield of arms: per pale *dex.*, See of Canterbury; *sin.*, on a cross fleury four bezants, WHITGIFT. Reverse. A small counterseal, the letters I G.]

### TRANSLATION

According to the manner of those empowered we, John, by divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of the whole of England, make it known to all, that on the twenty-fifth day of the month of July in the year of the Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, in London, in the presence of our beloved Thomas Creake, doctor of laws, representative of the honourable gentleman master William Lewyn, also doctor of laws, of our house of prerogative at Canterbury duly constituted our Warden or Commissioner, there was proved, approved and published the will of the noble gentleman lord Martin Frobisher, a soldier while he lived, of Atofts in the county, diocese and province of York, deceased in the presence of witnesses, having while he lived and at the time of his death goods and rights in various either dioceses or jurisdictions within our province of Canterbury. By the disclosure of whose will, itself having been approved and published, a charge of the administration of all and each of the goods, rights and loans, also a composition of account or reckoning of this same administration, a hearing and a final release or discharge from the same, are determined to be referred to us alone and contrary to custom and not to another judge of information inferior to us. And there was charged the administration of all and each of these goods, rights and loans, and that the said deceased also prefaced the will in matters relating to Peter Frobisher, the executor named in this same will, about well and faithfully administering the same, and about finishing a full and faithful inventory of all and each of these same goods, rights and loans, and about exhibiting it in our house of prerogative at Canterbury on the second day after the feast of

St Blasius the bishop next to come, also about rendering of them a true composition, account or reckoning according to the sacred gospels of God, in the person of our Thomas Browne, public notary legally appointed in this power by his officers, he swears by and with the consent and assent of the lady Dorothy Frobisher, relict of the said deceased.

Given, on the day, in the month and year of the Lord and at the place aforesaid, and in the twelfth year of our translation

William Woodhall,  
Registrar

## APPENDIX 14

### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE AUTHORS OF THE FROBISHER NARRATIVES

There appears to be little biographical matter extant for the authors of the literary Frobisher narratives except what is contained in the accounts themselves.

**GEORGE BEST.** One George Best, "servant to Sir Christopher Hatton", was killed in a duel about March 1583-4, by Oliver St John, afterwards Viscount Grandison. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1921-22, vol. II, pp. 415-16.) This would seem to be our author, who characterizes himself as "servant" of Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom he dedicated and delivered his manuscript.

**THOMAS ELLIS**, "sailer and one of the companie" of Frobisher in 1578, may have been the Thomas Ellis of Job Hortrop's "Travailes" in Hakluyt (Glasgow ed. 1904, vol. IX, p. 464), who was condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in 1570 to serve eight years in the galleys, "where we were chained foure and foure together: every mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canvas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shaven every month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our several times expired". The expiration of Thomas Ellis's time would be just about right to allow him to accompany Frobisher on the third voyage.

We find in connection with Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia Colony in 1587 (Hakluyt, vol. VIII, p. 402), a Thomas Ellis on the list of those "which arrived safely in Virginia, and remained to inhabit there". This was the lost "Virginia Dare" colony.

**DIONYSE SETTLE.** Of that gentleman voyager who accompanied Frobisher, apparently out of sheer curiosity and interest in travel, and who has left us one of the most interesting literary products of the voyages, there appears to be no other notice in history.

**THE OTHER AUTHORS.** Of the less literary accounts, that of Christopher Hall is little more than a log, which he wrote as Master of the *Gabriel*. Edward Sellman was the notary sent by Michael Lok to report the proceedings of the expedition of 1578 to him. He had apparently accompanied William Towrson to the coast of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands in 1577 (Hakluyt, vol. VI, pp. 232, 237). Michael Lok, the author of one of the accounts, not at first hand, it is true, but on the basis mainly of what Frobisher told him, was the man behind the voyages, and an account of his connection with them is given in the Introduction to this work.



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