THE

Beginnings of Colonial Maine

1602-1658

BY

HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

STATE HISTORIAN

To re-create any period of the past for our own minds, to understand it as it was, unlike what went before it, unlike what came after it—this is the chief aim of history; and for this purpose one must study not only the masses of men, but also individual men, their ideas and beliefs, their enjoyments and aspirations.

James Bryce, *University and Historical Addresses*, page 362.

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CHAPTER I.

Early English Voyages to the American Coast.

BETWEEN the close of the fifteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth, events are recorded that were more or less clearly connected with the beginnings of colonial Maine. The influences that were operative in these beginnings were largely of English origin. Primarily, the basis of England's claim to territory on the American coast is to be found in John Cabot's discovery of the North American continent in 1497. But other navigators and explorers, sailing from English ports, followed Cabot in the sixteenth century, and all are worthy of mention as aiding in opening the way to English colonization on the Atlantic coast of that continent.

The sources of information concerning Cabot's voyage are scanty. From these we learn that Cabot, a native of Genoa[1] but for some time a resident in Venice, made his home in Bristol, England, about the year 1490. Then, as now, Bristol was an important English seaport, and among its merchants and fishermen Cabot found eager listeners to his urgent pleas for English participation in further discoveries upon the American coast; and because of these pleas, and those of other interested parties, Henry VII, March 5, 1496, granted letters patent to his "well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus, sons of the said John . . . . . upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover and find whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of the heathens or infidels, in whatever part of the world they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians".[2]

[1] The date of Cabot's birth cannot be placed later than 1451.

[2] Although the sons of John Cabot are here mentioned, there is no evi-

Busy preparations for the expedition followed, and in May, 1497, probably early in the month, in a small vessel[1] with eighteen seamen,[2] Cabot sailed from Bristol animated with high hopes and undaunted courage. Skirting the southern coast of Ireland, he turned the prow of his little bark first northward, then westward; and after sailing seven hundred leagues he reached the American coast. No words have come down to us, either from Cabot or any of the eighteen seamen, narrating the circumstances under which the voyagers approached the land. We have no mention of any thrilling spectacle as they landed and planted the royal standard on the North American continent in token of English possession. It is not likely that there was much delay upon the coast following the discovery. The purpose of the expedition had been accomplished, and Cabot naturally would desire to make the story of his achievement known in England at as early a date as was possible.

The first report we have with reference to Cabot's return is found in a letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers, Alvise

dence of any value that even one of them accompanied the first expedition. The career of Sebastian Cabot belongs to a later period. Harrisse says: "Cabot had a son named Sebastian, born in Venice, who lived in England not less than sixteen years, and then removed to Spain, where in 1518 Charles V appointed him Pilot-Major. This office he held for thirty years. In 1526, Sebastian was authorized to take command of a Spanish expedition intended for 'Tharsis and Ophir', but which instead went to La Plata and proved disastrous. After his return to Seville he was invited in 1547 by the counsellors of Edward VI to England, and again settled in that country. Seven years afterward he prepared the expedition of Willoughby and Chancelor and of Stephen Burroughs in search of a northeast passage to Cathay. He finally died in London (after 1557) at a very advanced age, in complete obscurity." *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian his Son. A chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors, 1496–1557. By Henry Harrisse*, 1896.

[1] By writers not contemporaneous, the vessel is mentioned as the "Matthew".

[2] "Nearly all Englishmen and belonging to Bristo." *Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino, Dec. 18, 1497, to the Duke of Milan.*

and Francesco, dated London, August 23, 1497. In it he says: "The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol to search for new islands, is returned and says that seven hundred leagues from here he discovered main land (*terra firma*), the territory of the Grand Khan. He coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought here to the King certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, by which he judged there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm. He was three months on the voyage."[1] That Pasqualigo's information was early, the date of his letter shows; and his narrative is confirmed as to its main points by two despatches sent by the Milanese ambassador[2] in London to the Duke of Milan, one dated August 24, 1497, and the other December 18, 1497.[3]

In one of these despatches—that of December 18th—mention is made of the newly discovered country and its products. "And they say that the land is fertile and [the climate] temperate, and think that the red wood (*el brasilio*) grows there and the silks."[4] Of course this is the language of glowing enthusiasm, abundant illustrations of which are to be found in the reports of other discoverers of that time. An allusion to the importance of the fisheries on the American coast in the same report, however, indicates slight emotional restraint. "They affirm that there the sea is full of fish that can be taken not only with nets, but with fishing baskets, a stone being placed in the basket to sink it in the water." They say "that they can bring so many fish that this

[1] Weare, *Cabot's Discovery of North America*, 139.

[2] "There resided in London at that time a most intelligent Italian, Raimondo di Soncino, envoy of the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, one of those despots of the Renaissance who almost atoned for their treachery and cruelty by their thirst for knowledge and love of arts. Him Soncino kept informed of all matters going on at London, and specially concerning matters of cosmography to which the Duke was much devoted." Dr. S. E. Dawson, *The Discovery of America by John Cabot in 1497*, 59, 60.

[3] Ib., 142–150.

[4] Ib., 149.

kingdom will have no more business with Islanda [Iceland], and that from that country there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish (stoch-fissi)",[1] the codfish of our language.

In these and other early reports concerning Cabot's voyage we have no positive information with reference to the landfall. It is, therefore, only a matter of conjecture. General agreement, accordingly, even on the part of those who have given to the problem the most careful attention, is not to be expected. A cautious statement is that of a recent writer, who affirms that it was "somewhere on the eastern seacoast of British North America between Halifax and Southern Labrador."[2] It should be said, however, that Harrisse, whose monumental work on John Cabot is the chief authority concerning the voyage of 1497, while admitting that in the absence of documentary evidence we must resort to presumption, finds himself warranted in saying that "with great probability" the landfall "was on some point of the northeast coast of Labrador".[3] From his discussion, however, it is evident that Harrisse was wholly unacquainted with the conditions that Cabot would have met on reaching the American coast at that point. On the approach of the four hundredth anniversary of Cabot's voyage the most careful attention was called to these conditions by a commission of the Royal Society of Canada;[4] and at present, after all that has been said, the probabilities plainly

[1] Ib., 149.

[2] George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Career of the Cabots*, 1900, v. XIII.

[3] Harrisse, 69.

[4] The Commission was appointed in 1895. Although the Commissioners in their report did not in any way commit the Royal Society of Canada, as a whole, to the definite acceptance of the conclusion reached, the members of the Commission were in agreement in holding that the preponderating weight of evidence was as mentioned above (Weare, 280–283). Dr. S. E. Dawson, a distinguished member of the Commission, in expressing his conclusions, wrote: "I have had all the advantages of Mr. Harrisse's learning and labor; but the adventitious circumstance of having been born among the localities under discussion, and therefore familiar with them from boyhood,

lead to the conclusion that the landfall was at some part of the island of Cape Breton.

Cabot's discovery awakened very wide interest in England, especially, however, in Bristol, to which port the discoverer returned, and also in London, whither it is believed Cabot soon proceeded in order to make his report in person to the King. Forthwith, doubtless in various quarters, a second expedition was proposed. The King gave to the enterprise enthusiastic support. So, too, did the merchant adventurers of Bristol, Plymouth and other seaport towns. Information concerning its preparation and departure,[1] however, is scanty. The Spanish envoy in London, writing to his sovereign July 25, 1498, communicates what he had heard concerning the expedition. It consisted, he said, of five ships, "victualled for a year", but was expected to return in September. It left Bristol in the early Spring probably, and doubtless followed the same course across the Atlantic as that taken by Cabot in the preceding year. One of the vessels of the fleet, the envoy wrote, "has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage".[2] Beyond this, we have no contemporaneous information concerning the second expedition. It is naturally conjectured, however, that on reaching the coast, Cabot extended his discoveries southward before returning to England. Indeed, basing his conclusion chiefly on the celebrated planisphere of Juan de la Cosa, 1500, Harrisse is of the opinion that Cabot, in this second voyage, sailed south of the Carolinas. If, from his first landfall, he made his way thus far down the coast, we may think of him as the earliest English voyager who sailed along the coast of Maine.[3]

compels me to see that Mr. Harrisse's judgment upon his materials is misled by the absence of a personal knowledge of the north-east coast of America." Weare, 287.

[1] It must have sailed after April 1, 1498, "as on that day Henry VII loaned £30 to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill 'going to the New Ile' ". Harrisse, 133. Weare, 154.

[2] Weare, 162.

[3] By some early writers Cabot's second voyage is confounded with the

Cabot's discoveries upon his second voyage must have made a far deeper impression in England than was made by the reports that were scattered abroad upon the return of the first expedition. In proceeding down the American coast, the adventurers must have been attracted both by the climate and the more favorable appearance of the country as they advanced. They could not have failed to notice here and there commodious harbors, and wide rivers extending up into the main, awakening visions of a land of untold riches and plenty. These stories, extensively circulated in various ways, added to Cabot's fame, and his great services as a discoverer have found increasing recognition in the centuries that have followed.[1]

first. The statement that the navigator died on this second voyage is without support. The date of his death is unknown, but it must have been at a later period.

[1] A tower on Brandon Hill, Bristol, commemorates Cabot's discovery of North America. It is a square buttressed structure of the late Tudor Gothic style, 75 feet high to the upper balcony floor and 105 feet to the apex of the truncated spire, on which is placed a gilded figure representing commerce, mounted on a globe, symbol of the world. It is built of red sandstone, with dressings of Bath freestone, and cost £3,300. In panels on the four sides of the tower are carved the arms of Henry VII, Cabot, the City of Bristol and the Society of Merchant Venturers. Three bronze tablets contain the following inscriptions:

The foundation stone of this tower
was laid by
the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava
on the 24th June 1897
and the completed tower was opened
by the same nobleman
on the 6th September 1898.

This tablet is placed here by the Bristol Branch of the Peace Society in the earnest hope that peace and friendship may ever continue between the kindred peoples of this country and America.

"Glory to God in the highest, and on
earth peace, goodwill toward men." Luke 2. 14

This tower
was erected by public subscription in the 61st
year of the reign of Queen Victoria

But if English fishermen and enterprising merchants were attracted to the American coast by Cabot's discoveries, as some it is said were, it was not for long, inasmuch as in a letter written by John Rut to Henry VIII, dated St. John's, Newfoundland, August 3, 1527, the writer says he found in that harbor "eleven sails of Normans and one Brittaine, and two Portugall barkes"; but he makes no mention of others, and declares his purpose to extend his voyage along the coast in the hope of meeting the only English vessel known by him to be in American waters.[1]

In fact, Robert Hore's expedition of 1536 had no reference to fishing interests on the American coast, or even to colonization. Hore was a London merchant "given to the study of Cosmography", and his chief purpose in organizing his expedition, it would seem, was prompted solely by a desire to discover a northwest passage to the East Indies, and so to open a shorter route to those far-away regions than that by the Cape of Good Hope. With his two ships and a company of one hundred and twenty, Hore, in his voyage to the American coast, evidently followed Cabot's course. From the brief account of the expedition in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, it is not possible to learn how far Hore proceeded in his search after reaching Cape Breton. We only know that the story is one of ill success throughout, and could have had only a depressing effect upon English enterprise with reference to new-world interests.[2]

to commemorate the fourth centenary of
the discovery of the continent of
North America
on the 24th of June 1497 by
John Cabot
who sailed from this port in the
Bristol ship "Matthew" with a Bristol crew
under letters patent granted by King Henry VII
to that navigator and his sons
Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus.

[1] Lorenzo Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 1853, 36.

[2] For an account of the voyage of Robert Hore see *Early English and*

France, however, for many years had sent fishing vessels to the banks of Newfoundland. Jaques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, the principal port of Brittany, had been not only active in these fishing enterprises on the American coast, but already had conducted thither two exploring expeditions. The hardy fishermen of Bristol and Plymouth could not have been unmindful of these evidences of French commercial alertness, and, as a result, an increasing number of English fishing vessels made their way to the Newfoundland banks.[1]

It was not long, also, before in political circles in England there was a growing appreciation of the value of sea fisheries to the nation. In 1548, the English government took into consideration certain abuses reported from Newfoundland, for which charges were brought against certain admiralty officers; and in remedying these abuses Parliament enacted its first legislation with reference to America, relieving the fishermen of the burdens wrongfully imposed upon them, and making fishing at Newfoundland entirely free to all English inhabitants.[2]

It should be added that at this time Parliament, in order to give encouragement to the fisheries, imposed severe penalties upon persons eating flesh on fish days.[3]

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558. Her reign was characterized by rapidly growing commercial prosperity, in connection with which England entered upon that period of world-wide trade relations that has continued to the present time. The fisheries of the Channel and the German Ocean were now supplemented by those on the coast of North America; and before

French Voyages chiefly from Hakluyt, v. III, of Original Narratives of Early American History, H. S. Burrage, 1906, 103–110.

[1] "From the time of Henry VIII, the number of English vessels on the cod-banks of Newfoundland steadily increased." Green, *Short History of England*, 395.

[2] Sabine, 36, 37.

[3] Sabine, 37. The narrow extent of the fishing trade of England at this time is indicated by the fact that it was limited to the Flemish towns and to the fishing grounds.

the close of Elizabeth's reign "the seamen of Biscay found English rivals in the whale fishery of the Polar seas".[1] In 1563, Parliament, responding to this awakened spirit of enlargement among English fishermen of the seaport towns, enacted "that as well for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and marines, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing of the fresh victuals of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any one to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, unless under the forfeiture of £3 for each offence, excepting in cases of sickness and those of special licenses to be obtained". The occasion for the enactment, as expressly indicated by Parliament, was not a religious one, as the act had its origin in the prevalent desire to develop the fishing interests of the nation in all possible ways.[2]

At the same time there was an enlargement of foreign commerce as well as of the fisheries. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, the first of his countrymen to sail a ship into southern seas, made what he recorded as a fitting venture by engaging in the African slave-trade, finding a market for his cargoes in the Spanish settlements of the West Indies.[3] John Hawkins, his son, inheriting the adventurous spirit of his father, was in the West Indies in 1565, and on his return voyage, sailing up the American coast as far as Newfoundland—catching glimpses of that vast unknown territory in whose opening and exploration England was to have so great part—he turned the prows of his vessels homeward, bringing with him "great profit to the venturers of the voyage", including "gold, silver, pearls and other jewels, a great store".[4]

Hawkins reached England in September, 1565. Glowing reports of his venture furnished the theme of animated conversation throughout the kingdom, and he had no difficulty in fitting out a new and larger expedition, which sailed from Plymouth,

[1] Green, 395.

[2] Sabine, 37.

[3] Not the slightest disgrace at that time seems to have attached either to slave-stealing or slave-selling.

[4] The narrative of the closing part of this voyage of 1565, taken from Hakluyt, will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 113–132.

October 2, 1567. One of Hawkins' vessels was commanded by Francis Drake, afterward Sir Francis Drake. High hopes concerning the expedition were entertained both at court and in all parts of the realm; but it ended in dire disaster through Spanish treachery in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua, a small island on the Mexican coast opposite Vera Cruz. Of the survivors, some returned to England in the Minion, one of the vessels of the fleet. Some landed and marched westward into Mexico, the larger number suffering punishment and imprisonment in the galleys.[1] Three made their long, weary way northward to the Great Lakes; and then turning eastward, as one may infer from the narrative printed by Hakluyt, they crossed a part of what is now the State of Maine, and finding a French vessel on the coast they were taken on board and so made their way back to England.[2]

At this time, singularly enough because of the reports of Cabot and Hawkins, Englishmen were giving little if any thought to enterprises having reference to the upbuilding of a new England upon these western shores. But of enterprising navigators there was no lack in the island kingdom. As early as 1560 or 1561, Martin Frobisher, a native of Yorkshire, pondering problems having reference to the new world, was still considering the possibility and even the probability of a shorter passage to the Indies along the northern American coast. Added years passed, however, before he could enlist much interest in his proposed undertaking; and it was not until 1575, that, with the help of the Earl

[1] Drake was so embittered against the Spaniards on account of the treatment he and his countrymen received at San Juan de Ulua that for several years following his return to England he ravaged the Spanish main. On one of these voyages Drake crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and had his first view of the Pacific Ocean. For the narrative of a part of Drake's world-encompassing voyage, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 153–173.

[2] A narrative of this "troublesome voyage", written by John Hawkins, will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 137–148. Hawkins was a member of Parliament for Plymouth from 1571 to 1583. He was said to be the man to whom is due all the credit of preparing the royal fleet to meet the Armada" in 1588, and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth July 25th of that year.

of Warwick, he was able to enter upon this quest, having secured for the expedition two tiny barks of twenty or twenty-five tons. Sailing northward and westward, Frobisher sighted on July 28, of that year, the coast of Labrador; but finding impossible barriers as he advanced, he at length sailed homeward, reaching London October 9. In the following year, however, he was able to return to the American coast with an expedition promising larger success, but which was also doomed to failure—search for gold, which he was now commissioned to undertake, not being better rewarded than search for a northwest passage. The enthusiastic navigator's dreams, however, were still forceful, and May 15, 1578, with fifteen vessels, he again crossed the Atlantic, this time by way of Greenland, but only to find himself compelled to face added disappointments and the final non-realization of hopes long fondly cherished.[1]

As little, also, was Francis Drake at this time giving attention to English colonization upon the American coast. In 1567, he was in command of the Judith in Hawkins' "troublesome voyage". Ten years later, having meanwhile devoted himself to the destruction of Spanish interests, he sailed from Plymouth in his celebrated world-encompassing voyage, receiving on his return the congratulations of Elizabeth, and the added honor of knighthood.[2]

[1] Frobisher commanded the "Triumph" at the time of the destruction of the Armada, and was knighted at sea by the Lord High Admiral.

[2] Drake won lasting fame in connection with the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Even when the Armada was in preparation, Drake, who was ever ready to "singe the beard of the Spanish King", entered the harbor of Cadiz with a fleet he had hastily assembled and destroyed nearly a hundred store-ships and other vessels. In the following year, when the Armada at length sailed from Lisbon, Drake, a vice admiral in command of the English privateers, hurried out of the harbor of Plymouth, and in company with the Queen's ships fell upon the Spanish galleons with terrific fury, and "the feathers of the Spaniard were plucked one by one". But a mightier foe than Drake struck the final blow, as fierce storms broke upon the scattered remnants of the Armada and swept them from the wind-disturbed seas. Drake died December 27, 1595, while waging war upon Spanish interests in the West Indies, and was buried at sea.

In his thoughts concerning a northwest passage to the Indies, Frobisher had received much encouragement from Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in 1566, wrote his *Discourse of Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia*, and presented it to Queen Elizabeth. Frobisher's ill-success, however, so far lessened Gilbert's confidence in his own reasonings that he now turned his new-world thoughts into other channels. But they still had reference to the American continent. He knew no reason why England's interest in that vast territory should be inferior to that of other nations. France already had secured a strong foothold on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and had even sought to establish colonists in Florida. Between Florida in the south, and settlements in the north that opened a way to the Great Lakes, there was a vast territory as yet unpossessed. To it Gilbert called the attention of the Queen, and asked for authority and assistance in conducting an expedition thitherward. She responded June 11, 1578, by bestowing upon him letters-patent to discover and possess lands in America, but there was to be no robbery "by sea or land". With a fleet of seven vessels Gilbert set sail in November, an untimely season of the year. Disaster followed disaster, and the expedition failed.

But Gilbert's letters-patent—the first granted by the Queen for English colonization upon American soil—were still in force, and with undiminished ardor the hardy navigator commenced preparations for an added venture. Delays in the organization of the expedition were encountered, and it was not until 1583 that it was fully equipped and ready to sail. The expedition left Plymouth June 11, with five vessels and two hundred and sixty men. Where the colony should be planted had not been determined. In shaping the course of the voyage, however, Gilbert selected the "trade way unto Newfoundland", and the fleet assembled in the harbor of St. John's early in August. Having landed and called together "the merchants and masters, both English and strangers", Sir Humphrey exhibited his royal commission, and having had delivered unto him "a rod and a turf of the same soil" after the English custom, he took formal possession of the

island in the name of Queen Elizabeth. Disappointments, and then discouragements, rapidly followed. Sickness and death at length diminished the number of the colonists. Discontent was manifested among those who survived. One of the vessels returned to England, and one—"the chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time and difficulty"—suffered wreck, probably on some part of the island of Cape Breton, the loss of life—about one hundred souls—striking a death blow to the expedition itself. The homeward voyage that followed was also marked by disaster, Gilbert himself perishing in the founding of his little vessel in a terrific storm. But the expedition was not wholly a failure. It had called the attention of the English people to the vast territory beyond the sea, not only awaiting exploration and colonization, but offering large possibilities for enterprise and daring to those who were bold enough to avail themselves of them.[1]

Among those most deeply interested in English colonization in America was Sir Walter Ralegh, a half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He had commanded the Falcon in the unsuccessful expedition of 1578, and had assisted Gilbert in his preparation for the larger service to which Sir Humphrey had devoted himself with so much heroic endeavor and self-sacrifice. Ralegh now took up the unfinished task, and obtained from Queen Elizabeth,

[1] The mother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a Champernoun, and through her he was related to the Gorges family. His noble spirit found fitting expression in his disastrous homeward voyage, just before his little bark was engulfed. So severe was the storm that he was urged to seek safety on a larger vessel, but he resolutely declined to leave the men with whom he had embarked, and calling through the storm he encouraged his distressed companions with the words, "Cheer up, lads! We are as near heaven at sea as on land!" Longfellow has recalled the incident in the words:

He sat upon the deck,
The Book was in his hand;
"Do not fear! Heaven is as near,"
He said, "by water as by land!"

For the narrative of Gilbert's voyage, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 179–222.

March 25, 1584, letters-patent to "discover, search, find out and view such remote, heathen and treacherous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people", the colonists "to have all the privilege of denizens, and persons native of England . . . . . in such like ample manner and form, as if they were born and personally resident within our said realm of England, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding".

Two vessels, designed for preliminary exploration, were soon in readiness, and left England April 27, 1584. Avoiding the northern route taken by Gilbert, those in command, Philip Amadas and Walter Barlowe, crossed the Atlantic by way of the Canaries. After reaching the islands of the West Indies, they sailed up the Atlantic coast, and at length entered the inlets that break the long, sandy barriers of North Carolina. Exploration followed. The Indians of the mainland were interviewed. Having taken possession of the country in the name of the Queen, Amadas and Barlowe returned to England and made a favorable report concerning the newly acquired territory. A second expedition, organized by Ralegh and placed under the command of Ralegh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, sailed from Plymouth April 9, 1585. In 1586, a vessel, with supplies for the relief of the fifteen men left by Grenville at Roanoke Island in the preceding year, was fitted out by Ralegh and despatched to the American coast. Sir Richard Grenville shortly after, with three ships, followed. Though Ralegh's efforts at colonization in connection with these expeditions failed, he was ready to make added endeavors, and, in 1587, he fitted out a fourth expedition, including one hundred and fifty colonists under the command of John White, whom he appointed Governor, and to whom he gave a charter with important privileges, incorporating the colonists under the name of the "Governors and Assistants of the City of Ralegh in Virginia." The colonists were landed at Roanoke Island. By their request, Governor White returned to England in the autumn for added supplies; but in the following spring, when he hoped to recross the

Atlantic, all England was making heroic efforts to meet the Spanish Armada. Ralegh, however, succeeded in fitting out a small fleet with needed supplies for the Roanoke Island colonists. But the vessels he had secured, and made ready for the Atlantic voyage, were impressed by the government. Ralegh, however, did not lose heart, and by the most strenuous efforts on his part two small vessels, under the command of Governor White, were at length allowed to start for the American coast. Yet so severely were they handled by Spanish cruisers soon after leaving port, that they were compelled to abandon the voyage. In the following year, Ralegh made an added attempt to send relief to the colonists and again failed. In 1590, though a "general stay" of all ships throughout England was ordered by the government, Governor White obtained for himself an opportunity to return to America. On reaching Roanoke Island, however, the traces he found of the colonists he had left there two years before told only a story of disaster, and he was obliged to return to England without any knowledge of their fate. Ralegh, however, still continued to send thither yet other vessels in the endeavor to obtain added information; but it was not until after the settlement of Jamestown that it became known, through the Indians, that most of the Roanoke colonists were massacred by order of Powhatan.[1]

If English colonial enterprises on the American coast had ended in disappointment and disaster, maritime interests meanwhile had prospered. The destruction of the Spanish Armada made the seaport towns of England more and more a nursery of seamen. Bold navigators sought out new lines of trade. But especially the fish-

[1] It was at Ralegh's request that Hakluyt wrote his Particular Discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are like to grow to this Realm of England by the Western discoveries lately attempted. Several manuscript copies of the "Discourse" were made by Hakluyt, but it was not printed until 1877, when a manuscript copy, found in England by the late Dr. Leonard Woods, was published by the Maine Historical Society as volume II of its Documentary Series. It has since been published in Goldsmid's Hakluyt, II, 169–358. For the narratives of Ralegh's expeditions to the North Carolina coast, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 227–323.

eries flourished. Fishing voyages were made to the coast of Newfoundland, and Sir Walter Ralegh, who had sacrificed so much in the endeavor to plant an English colony on American soil, having watched the growth of the fishing interests of Bristol, Plymouth and other ports, voiced in Parliament, in 1593, a fact of recognized national importance, when he said that the fisheries of England on the American coast were the "stay and support" of the west counties of the kingdom. Indeed, when the century closed, it is estimated that there were about two hundred English fishing vessels around Newfoundland and in neighboring waters, giving employment to ten thousand men and boys.[1] But English fishermen did not limit themselves to these waters. Possessing the spirit of daring adventure that now characterized maritime interests throughout the nation, they were ever seeking new scenes of busy endeavor and larger rewards of enterprise.

But the reports which English fishermen in American waters brought with them on their return voyages had reference not only to the employments in which they were engaged, but they also called attention in glowing words to the glimpses they caught of the new world to whose shores their voyages were made. Hakluyt, in his *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589, had made the scholars and statesmen of England familiar with the work of adventurers and explorers.[2] The returning fishermen, on the other hand, told their tales in seaport towns to the merchants and men in their employ, who were easily inspired by the fair visions of wealth and empire which these reports awakened. People in all parts of the country were reached in this way, and when the century closed, England, as never before, was beginning to be stirred with high hopes of extending her growing power into the new and larger fields to which her discoverers and navigators had opened the way.

[1] Sabine's *Report*, 40.

[2] Hakluyt's monumental work was reprinted in London in 1809; also in Edinburgh, in 1890, in sixteen volumes "with notes, indices and numerous additions", edited by Edmund Goldsmid; also in 1903–1905 by the Macmillan Company of New York and London, in a handsome edition in twelve volumes, with many illustrations.

CHAPTER II.

Gosnold and Pring.

THUS, when the seventeenth century opened, England had made a beginning in the endeavor to secure a foothold upon the Atlantic coast of North America. Further endeavor in this direction, however, was preceded by an added effort to discover a more direct route to India than that hitherto followed by way of Cape Good Hope. A northwest passage thitherward, as already indicated, had been the dream of English navigators in the preceding century. Such a route, if discoverable, would secure to England most desirable commercial advantages; and though the attempts already made by enterprising explorers had been attended by great hardships and ill success,—the icy barriers of the north closing as with adamant the water way,—the possibilities of achievement, strangely enough, were still alluring.

Among others, George Waymouth, of Cockington, a small village now a part of Torquay, on the southwest coast of England, not far from Plymouth, had caught the spirit of the new era, and was busy with considerations having reference to such an enterprise. In a communication, dated July 24, 1601, addressed to the "Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," now familiarly known as the East India Company, he presented his views with reference to an added search for such a route to the distant East. His suggestions met with approval, and Waymouth was placed in command of an expedition for such added exploration. The interest of Queen Elizabeth was enlisted in the undertaking. Bearing a commendatory letter[1]

[1] This letter, written upon vellum, with an illuminated border upon a red ground and signed by the Queen, was found in London in the early part of

addressed by her to the "Right High, Mighty and Invincible Emperor of Cathaye", Waymouth, with two vessels, sailed from the Thames, May 2, 1602. In this quest, however, he was no more successful than his predecessors. Barriers of ice, in regions of intolerable cold, still closed the way; and though on his return to England the Fellowship cleared him of all blame in connection with the expedition, and it was decided that he should be placed in command of a second venture, the proposed voyage was not made, and the Fellowship abandoned all further efforts in that direction.

But endeavors with reference to English colonization in the new world were not abandoned. Indeed, already, both in London and in seaport towns like Bristol and Plymouth, there were those who were thoughtfully pondering problems connected with American commercial and colonial enterprises. Spanish and French interests had long been permanently represented there. English fishermen, though not in large numbers, had verified the reports that reached them concerning the abundance of fish on the American coast; and English merchant adventurers were beginning to bestir themselves because of the prospect of the larger fish supplies their vessels could easily obtain in American waters. Also, there were those who still were animated with the high hope that England would avail itself of rights secured by Cabot's discovery, and seize, before it was too late, the vast empire to which the American coast opened the way.

This awakening of new interest in American concerns was in evidence even before Waymouth set sail on his ill-fated expedition. Prominent among those who were busying themselves with

the last century, in tearing away an old closet in a house in which repairs were in progress. January 28, 1841, Sir Henry Ellis laid the letter before the Society of Antiquaries in London, and the letter, with a fac-simile of the Queen's signature and also of the seal attached, was printed in the proceedings of the Society's meeting. The original letter unfortunately has disappeared, but a reprint from the published copy will be found in Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*, printed by the Gorges Society, 17–20.

such concerns was Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.[1] At that time, he was in prison for supposed connection with the conspiracy of Essex.[2] He seems, however, to have been thinking not so much of affairs in England, as of a new England across the sea. As a result of his efforts largely, an expedition was made ready having reference to the beginnings of a colonial enterprise on the American coast. Its command was given to Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who is said to have seen service already with Sir Walter Ralegh in one or more expeditions to America. With him was associated Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Details with reference to the preparation and plans of the voyage are lacking. Evidently they were not elaborate. A beginning, however, was to be made, and for this purpose a small vessel, named the Concord, was secured for the purpose, and in it Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, March 25, 1602. Thirty-two persons, eight of them mariners, constituted the whole company. Of this number twelve purposed to return to England with the vessel at the close of the intended exploration, and the rest were to remain in the country for "population".

The English voyagers of the preceding century made their way to the American coast either by the islands of Newfoundland and

[1] Born October 6, 1573, he took his degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge in 1589, he planned George Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605; in April, 1610, he aided in sending Henry Hudson to the Northwest; in 1614, he subscribed £100 toward sending Harley to the New England coast; Nov. 3, 1620, he became a member of the New England Council. He died Nov. 10, 1624.

[2] The reference is to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. For many years he was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, and held high appointments, political and military; but his undertakings were not always successful. As Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599, he was severely criticised, and on his return he was deprived of his dignities. His attempt to incite an insurrection in London, in the hope that as a result the Queen would be compelled to take his part in his conflict with his enemies, led to his arrest, imprisonment and trial for high treason. He was condemned, but Elizabeth delayed to sign the death warrant in the hope that he would ask for pardon. He did not and was beheaded Feb. 25, 1601.

Cape Breton, or by those of the West Indies. Gosnold, avoiding Cabot's course and also that of the Ralegh expeditions to "Virginia", aimed by a more direct route to reach "the north part of Virginia". In the early days of the voyage, the wind was unfavorable for his purpose, but he succeeded in reaching the American coast on May 14. Brereton, who was one of the company and wrote a narrative of the expedition,[1] has little to say concerning the landfall, but states the important fact that it was "in the latitude of forty-three degrees", accordingly at some point on the southern coast of Maine. Archer, who also accompanied the expedition, and published a relation concerning it,[2] describes briefly the scene that met the eyes of Gosnold and his associates as they approached the coast. "The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay North, &c.; the northerly part we called the North Land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelve leagues West, that we called Savage Rock (because the savages first showed themselves there)". By some, the "North Land" and "Savage Rock" of Archer's narrative have been identified with Cape Porpoise and Cape Neddock, and this identification, as exceedingly probable, has received very general support. But identification from such meagre details is exceedingly difficult. It is enough, perhaps, to know that the fair prospect which burst upon Gosnold and his fellow voyagers as they caught their first glimpses of the American coast, and were thrilled with excited interest, was some part of Maine territory between Portland and Kittery.

Proceeding southward along the coast, Gosnold passed Cape Cod, taking there "great store of cod-fish",[3] says Archer, "for

[1] Brereton's narrative is the earliest printed work relating to New England. Two editions of it were published in 1602, the first containing twenty-four pages and the second forty-eight. The first of these editions will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 329–340. The other is in the third series of the *Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.*, VIII, 83–103, and in Winship's Sailors *Narratives of New England Voyages*.

[2] Archer's relation is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.*, VIII, 72–81.

[3] Brereton, in his narrative, says concerning the abundance of fish upon the American coast: "We had pestered our ships so with cod fish that we

which we altered the name and called it Cape Cod." At length the voyagers came to an island which Gosnold named Martha's Vineyard. Here, turning in toward the main land, he brought the voyage to an end at an island which, in honor of the Queen, he designated Elizabeth's Isle. This is the present Cuttyhunk, the earlier name having become the designation of the group of islands to which Cuttyhunk belongs. Here preparations for a permanent colony were made by the erection of a storehouse and a fort. For the homeward voyage of the Concord such commodities were secured as sassafras,[1] cedar, and fur obtained by traffic with the Indians. But when these new-world products had been secured and were on board, and the vessel was ready to sail, those of the little company who had agreed to remain in the country as colonists refused to stay; and the settlement which had been so happily founded, and represented on the part of Gosnold and some of his associates so much of heartfelt desire and hope, was reluctantly abandoned. This was the one great disappointment of the voyage.

Gosnold reached Exmouth, England, July 23. His failure to plant a colony at Elizabeth's Isle he keenly felt; but the reports he brought concerning the country and the great value of its coast fisheries furnished the needed proofs that the new world only awaited colonization in order to add to England's commercial

threw numbers of them over-board again; and surely, I am persuaded that in the months of March, April and May, there is upon this coast, better fishing, and in as great plenty, as in Newfoundland; for the sculles of mackerel, herring, cod and other fish that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore, were wonderful; and besides, the places where we took these cods (and might in a few days have laden our ship) were in seven fathom water, and within less than a league of the shore, where, in Newfoundland they fish in forty or fifty fathom water, and far off."

[1] At that time sassafras was highly valued for its medicinal qualities. "The powder of sassafras in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit." Archer's *Relation of Gosnold's Voyage*, *Mass. Hist. Society Coll.*, 3rd Series, VII, 77, 78. This new world "commodity" now placed upon the market in such large quantity, greatly lowered the price. Hitherto it had sold in London as high as twenty shillings per pound.

activity and wealth. The relations of Brereton and Archer, recording events connected with the expedition, were published soon after Gosnold's return. These narratives, with their interesting details, were eagerly caught up and widely read. Hakluyt,[1] Prebendary of St. Augustine's Cathedral church in Bristol, was so strongly impressed in reading these glowing descriptions of new-world experiences, that he called the attention of the principal merchants of Bristol to the "many profitable and reasonable inducements" which America offered to English trade and colonization; and so by his own noble spirit led the way to new and larger endeavors in which Bristol was to have a most honorable part.

This was not the first time in which Hakluyt had conferred with Bristol merchants concerning American interests. In 1582, Walsingham, Elizabeth's efficient Secretary of State, wrote to Thomas Aldworth,[2] then mayor of Bristol, informing him of Sir

[1] Hakluyt was born in 1552 or 1553, and was educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of A. B. in 1574. His interest in maritime enterprises was manifested early in his career. He published his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. In the following year he was made Chaplain of the English ambassador in Paris. His *Discourse on Western Planting* was written in 1584 at the request of Sir Walter Ralegh, but was first printed in 1877 as the second volume of the Maine Historical Society's *Documentary History of Maine*. His great work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc., was published in 1589, and an enlarged edition in three volumes in 1598–1600. He became Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral in 1585 and Prebendary of Westminster in 1605. He died at Eaton, in Herefordshire, November 23, 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, November 26, 1616.

[2] Thomas Aldworth was mayor of Bristol in 1582, and again in 1592. He was one of the leading merchants of Bristol, and took an active part in whatever concerned the prosperity of the community and of the nation. He died February 25, 1598, and was buried in St. Mark's, or the Lord Mayor's Chapel, originally the Chapel of Gaunt's Hospital, founded about 1325. The chapel contains a carved freestone Gothic arched tomb and monument to the memory of Thomas Aldworth and his son John, the two being represented in effigy, kneeling, the son behind the father, their hands uplifted in the attitude of devotion. Both are in the costume of the period, Thomas Aldworth in an alderman's gown. John Aldworth died December 18, 1615, aged fifty-

Humphrey Gilbert's proposed expedition to the American coast, and suggesting Bristol's co-operation in an enterprise that promised so much with reference to national expansion and national glory. He also suggested that Aldworth should consult with Hakluyt, already well-known on account of his deep, enthusiastic interest in western planting, and who was familiar with Gilbert's plans. Aldworth at once acted upon Walsingham's suggestion. Hakluyt's assistance was secured, and with his aid Aldworth obtained the approval of the merchants of Bristol in the proposed undertaking. In his reply to Walsingham, Aldworth wrote: "There was eftsoons set down by men's own hands, then present, one thousand marks and upward, which seem if it should not suffice we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this western discovery a ship of three score and a bark of forty ton to be left in the country."

Gilbert's failure at Newfoundland, and later the failure of Sir Walter Ralegh at Roanoke Island, lessened greatly, if they did not for the time entirely destroy, the interest of the merchant venturers of Bristol in American enterprises. But the return of the Concord with its cargo of merchantable commodities and the enthusiastic reports made by Gosnold and his companions concerning fishery interests in American waters, evidently awakened in these business men of Bristol new hopes concerning the advantages for commercial enterprise which the new world offered; and Hakluyt easily succeeded in his effort to induce his Bristol friends to become "the chief furtherers" in a new expedition in which, because of lessons learned from the failures of the past, it might reasonably be expected that better results would follow.

For some reason unknown, the command of the expedition was not given to Gosnold. It is certain, however, that it was not because of any dissatisfaction with him on the part of the chief

one. That part of the chapel was in process of restoration in 1912, but was visited by the writer. Thomas Aldworth was the father of Robert Aldworth, who, with Giles Elbridge, was an early owner of Monhegan and secured large territorial interests on the main land.

promoters of the venture. Gosnold's subsequent career furnishes the strongest possible evidence with reference to his fitness for important commands. But a competent navigator for the expedition was found in Captain Martin Pring, who was born in 1580, probably near Awliscombe, Devon, and who at the time, accordingly, was only twenty-three years of age. Concerning Pring's earlier career we have no information; but the fact that at this early age he was regarded by the merchants of Bristol as "a man very sufficient for the place" is ample proof that already he had exhibited qualities as a seaman that attested his fitness for such service. Robert Salterne, who, as pilot, accompanied Gosnold in the successful voyage of 1602, was made Pring's assistant.

From Salterne's brief narration of the voyage[1] we learn that Hakluyt's "inducements and persuasions" in connection with the new undertaking were influential with John Whitson, mayor of Bristol, who, with the assistance of the aldermen and "most of the merchants of the city," raised the one thousand pounds required for the equipment of the expedition. Two vessels were made ready for Pring's use, the Speedwell[2] of about fifty tons and the Discoverer of twenty-six tons. Forty-three men and boys made up the ship's company. The vessels were loaded with "light merchandises thought fit to trade with the people of the country", and on April 10, 1603, Pring set sail from Milford Haven.[3] His course across the Atlantic was probably suggested by Gosnold, and Pring's landfall in latitude 43, according to the narrative which Hakluyt secured from Pring, could not have been far from that of his immediate predecessor on the American

[1] This narrative Captain John Smith inserted in his *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, reprinted in 1819 from the London edition of 1629, I, 108, 109.

[2] It is thought that the Speedwell may have been included in Drake's fleet in 1587, 1588, inasmuch as a vessel of the same name, and having the same tonnage, had a part in the fight in the harbor of Cadiz in 1587, and also in the conflict with the Spanish Armada in 1588. Many merchant vessels were in the national service at that time.

[3] A haven on the southwestern part of the coast of Wales.

coast. In that narrative mention is made of islands in connection with the landfall, and the relation adds: "One of them we named Fox Island, because we found those kind of beasts thereon." As the islands east of the southern part of Penobscot Bay have long been known as the Fox Islands, it has been inferred that Pring's landfall is to be found at this part of the Maine coast. The latitude of the landfall, however, is not favorable to this inference; but inasmuch as Pring, after proceeding in toward the mainland, ranged to the northward as far as latitude 43½, it is probable that Pring passed up the coast as far as the Fox Islands. Certainly he must have sailed along a large part of the coast of Maine. Not finding sassafras in his northward progress, Pring turned about and shaped his course for Savage Rock "discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold", and later, bearing into the great "Gulf" which "Gosnold over-shot the year before", he landed in a certain bay which he named Whitson's Bay[1] in honor of the mayor of Bristol. The Simancas map of 1610,[2] which indicates a large part of the North American Atlantic coast line, attaches the designation "Whitson's Bay" to what is now known as Massachusetts Bay, and gives to the northernmost part of Cape Cod the designation "Whitson's Head".[3] Not far from his land-

[1] *Early English and French Voyages*, 345.

[2] This map, which has a place in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States* (I, facing 456), is said to have been prepared by a surveyor whom James I sent to Virginia for this purpose in 1610. It evidently embodies the English maps of White, Gosnold, Pring, Waymouth and others. Brown thinks it was compiled and drawn either by Robert Tyndall or by Captain Powell. It was discovered in the library at Simancas, Spain, by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, while he was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Spain, 1885–1888. The map had disappeared in England, and, as Mr. Brown says, "It is curious that it should be first published in the strange country which it attempted to delineate". The historical value of this map is very great.

[3] John Whitson was worthy of this recognition by Pring and his associates. He was not only one of the most prominent of the merchants of Bristol, but exerted a strong influence in civic relations. He became mayor of Bristol in 1603, and held the office also in 1615. He was the member of Parliament from Bristol in 1605–11, 1616 and 1625. He died in Bristol and was buried

ing in Whitson's Bay, Pring and his companions in their exploration came to "a pleasant hill thereunto adjoining; we called it Mount Aldworth for master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage as well with his purse as with his travail". This is an early mention of one who, at a later period, became closely connected with the beginnings of colonial Maine.

At his landing in Whitson's Bay, Pring, by the end of July, had secured as much sassafras as would "give some speedy contentment" to the Bristol adventurers; and the Discoverer, laden largely with this commodity, sailed homeward, leaving Pring to follow with the Speedwell when the other objects of the expedition, such as conditions with reference to trade and colonization, had received that careful consideration which the promotors of the expedition desired. These final preparations for the return voyage of the Speedwell were completed about August 8, or 9, and Pring arrived in England October 2.[1]

The arrival of the Discoverer had already furnished general information concerning the success of Pring's expedition. The

March 9, 1628, in the crypt of St. Nicholas Church. On his monument in this church is the following inscription: "In memory of that great benefactor, to this city, John Whitson, merchant, twice Mayor and Alderman, and four times member of Parliament for this city; who died in the seventy-second year of his age, A. D. 1629. A worthy pattern to all that come after him." Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, following Belknap, identifies Whitson's Bay with the harbor of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, having regard to the latitude mentioned in the narrative of the voyage. The narrative implies, however, that the bay is to be found in the southern part of the "great Gulf which Captain Gosnold over-shot the year before". Dr. B. F. DeCosta (*Magazine of American History*, VIII, 807–819) accordingly identified Whitson's Bay with the harbor of Plymouth, into which the Mayflower brought the Pilgrims in 1620. This identification seems best to meet the requirements of the narrative.

[1] A tercentenary commemoration of Pring's voyage to the New England coast in 1603 was held by the Maine Historical Society in Portland, November 19, 1903, and the proceedings were published by the Society in its Collections, 3rd Series, 2, 1–50. Hon. James P. Baxter read a paper entitled *The Avant Couriers of Colonization* and Prof. A. L. P. Dennis read a paper entitled *Captain Martin Pring, Last of the Elizabethan Seamen*, to which he added a valuable Pring bibliography.

story now was made complete. Concerning the fertility of the country, this was said:[1] "Passing up the river we saw certain cottages [wigwams] together, abandoned by the savages, and not far off we beheld their gardens and one among the rest of an acre of ground, and in the same was some tobacco, pumpkins, cucumbers and such like; and some of the people had maize or Indian wheat among them. In the fields we found wild peas, strawberries very fair and big, gooseberries, raspberries, hurts and other wild fruits. We pared and digged up the earth with shovels, and sowed wheat, barley, oats, peas and sundry sorts of garden seed, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven weeks, although they were late sown, came up very well, giving certain testimony of the goodness of the climate and of the soil. And it seemeth that oats, hemp, flax, rape-seed and such like, which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in divers places here we found grass above knee deep." Mention also was made of the trees of the country, with many of which Pring and his companions were familiar in their English homes; but there were "divers other sorts of trees" that to them were unknown. References also were made to fur-bearing animals, such as beavers, otters, wolves, bears, foxes, etc., whose skins could be secured by exchange with the Indians, yielding "no small gain" to the trader because of the great profit which the exchange afforded. But this was not all, and the new-world voyagers, having in mind a large Bristol industry, did not fail to call attention to the immense value of the fisheries on the American coast; and they closed their encouraging report with reference to the qualities of the soil and its products with these words: "And as the land is full of God's good blessings, so is the sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, or cod sufficient to laden many ships, which we found upon the coast in the month of June. Seals to make oil withal, mullets, turbots, mackerel, herring, crabs, lobsters, oysters and muscles with ragged pearls in them."[2]

[1] *Early English and French Voyages*, 349.

[2] *Early English and French Voyages*, 350. This narrative first appeared

The report was certainly a most welcome one. It not only confirmed the reports made by Gosnold and his associates the year before, but it presented interesting details with reference to the products of the country, and emphasized most strongly the opportunity that the new world afforded for profitable trade relations with the Indians. Such a report could hardly have failed to make a favorable impression upon the enterprising merchant venturers of Bristol, as well as upon all others interested in the results of Pring's voyage and exploration. No expedition, however, designed to secure immediate further advancement of English interests in this vicinity sailed from Bristol, or any other port in England in 1604; and Pring, who doubtless could have been secured for added service in yet other explorations here, was employed that season as master of the Phoenix in Captain Charles Leigh's ill-fated expedition to Guiana.

in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, which was published in 1625. Purchas regarded Pring as the authority of the relation, but in part at least the story of the voyage seems to have been written by another hand. For example, in the last paragraph the writer mentions "our Captain". It is known that Hakluyt—of course after the publication of his great work *Principall Navigations*, etc.—secured the narrative from Pring. Doubtless one would not go far astray who should make Hakluyt largely Pring's amanuensis in its preparation.

CHAPTER III.

The de Monts Colony.

BUT any delay in maintaining England's claim to territory on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent was not without peril to English interests. Already France had seized large possessions on the St. Lawrence, also in regions far within the interior of the continent, south of the Great Lakes; and having purposes whose meaning was obvious, that nation could not be expected to leave out of view the unoccupied territory on the Atlantic seaboard. In fact, with information concerning the voyages of Gosnold and Pring, France was not losing any time in asserting such purposes; and the King, as early as November 8, 1603, gave to Sieur de Monts,[1] an officer of the royal household, a charter that conveyed to him trading and seigniorial rights in American territory between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude, that is, from about St. John's, Newfoundland, to Philadelphia.[2]

De Monts was not without experience in the affairs of France on this side of the sea, having accompanied Chauvin to the St. Lawrence settlements not long before. What he then learned concerning the climate in that region, as compared with that of his

[1] Champlain (*Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society, 1878, II, 4, 5) says de Monts "desired to attempt what had been given up in despair, and requested a commission for this purpose of his Majesty, being satisfied that the previous [French] enterprises had failed because the undertakers of them had not received assistance, who had not succeeded, in one nor even two years' time, in making the acquaintance of the regions and people there, nor in finding harbors adapted for a settlement".

[2] This charter, or a contemporary copy, is in the *Bureau des Marines et Colonies* in Paris, and extracts in an English translation are printed in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 1–6. The charter conferred upon de Monts a monopoly of the fur trade.

native land, doubtless now impressed him with the importance of seeking a location for his colony farther southward.

No distinctive religious purpose in the movement was indicated in the persons brought together who comprised de Monts' party. Happily, at that time in France, Catholics and Protestants were at peace,[1] and both were represented in the expedition. De Monts was a Protestant, while Samuel de Champlain,[2] the geographer of

[1] The struggle in France for religious liberty had continued for many years with varying fortunes, but at length had been brought to a happy issue. In 1598, only six years before de Monts conducted his colony to the American coast, Henry IV, King of France, recognizing the "frightful troubles, confusion and disorders" to which on his accession to the throne he found his Kingdom a prey, promulgated the famous Edict of Nantes, which gave liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants of the land, granting to them the right to dwell anywhere in the royal dominions and to meet for religious purposes without being subjected to inquiry, vexed, molested or constrained to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience. What this meant to many of the King's subjects, long harrassed, distressed, it is difficult now even to conceive. To thousands this edict was a call to a new and better life. Somewhat tardily, Parliament in the following year, 1599, formally entered this important document upon its registers, and so confirmed to warring, factional France, Catholic and Protestant alike, the boon of religious liberty. It was not for long, however. For twelve years, or until the close of the reign of Henry IV, the Edict of Nantes was in full operation. Then followed unceasing assaults upon the rights which it guaranteed; and at length, in 1685, came its revocation—the culmination of a series of events that are written large upon the pages of the history of France.

[2] Champlain was a native of Brouage, a small village in the province of Saintonge, France, and was born about the year 1567. From his early years he gave attention to practical seamanship, had an army experience of several years after 1592, and in 1599 was in command of a French ship of 500 tons in the West Indies. On his return he prepared a report of his discoveries and observations with illustrations, which remained in manuscript until printed in an English translation by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. In the preceding year Champlain accompanied Pont Gravè in his expedition to the St. Lawrence, and it was his report concerning the inhabitants and products of the country that directed the attention of the King to the opportunities that the new world afforded for French colonization and led to the de Monts expedition and Champlain's connection with it. Thenceforward Champlain's life was devoted to French interests in America. It was an eventful life. Fittingly it closed at Quebec, where Champlain died in the autumn of 1635.

the company, and the most distinguished of de Monts' associates, was a Catholic. Of religious discussions among some of the colonists, however, there was no lack, as the records of the expedition show; but the purposes that led to the enterprise had no religious ends in view. The ends were pre-eminently national, and those most deeply interested in the colony evidently saw no reason why Catholic and Protestant might not work together harmoniously in the endeavor to establish a French settlement at some point on the Atlantic coast below Cape Breton.

Among the colonists there were skilled artisans, selected doubtless with reference to the requirements of such an undertaking. But their number was not large compared with others who are described as vagabonds and ex-convicts,—men upon whom little dependence could be placed in an enterprise calling for steadfastness and heroic endurance amid trying circumstances. Two vessels, one of one hundred and twenty tons and one of one hundred and fifty tons, were secured for the transportation of the colony, and April 7, 1604, de Monts sailed out of the harbor of Havre de Grace, westward bound, followed by the prayers and good wishes of his countrymen.[1]

The usual route of French vessels in crossing the Atlantic was followed until the American coast was reached early in May. Then, turning southward, and proceeding down the coast, de Monts entered the Bay of Fundy and commenced the work of exploration with reference to a location for a settlement. Skirting the shores of the bay, including those of adjoining waters now known as Annapolis Basin, he failed to discover such a spot

"He was buried in the memorial Chapel which he had erected. This Chapel was subsequently destroyed and the place which it occupied forgotten; so that to-day we know not the spot where he was buried. It is perhaps enough to know that his dust is commingled with that of the land he loved, though the name by which he knew it [New France] is no longer on the tongues of living men." Hon. James P. Baxter, in an address at the 300th anniversary of de Monts settlement on St. Croix Island. See *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 144.

[1] Champlain's Voyages, II, 7.

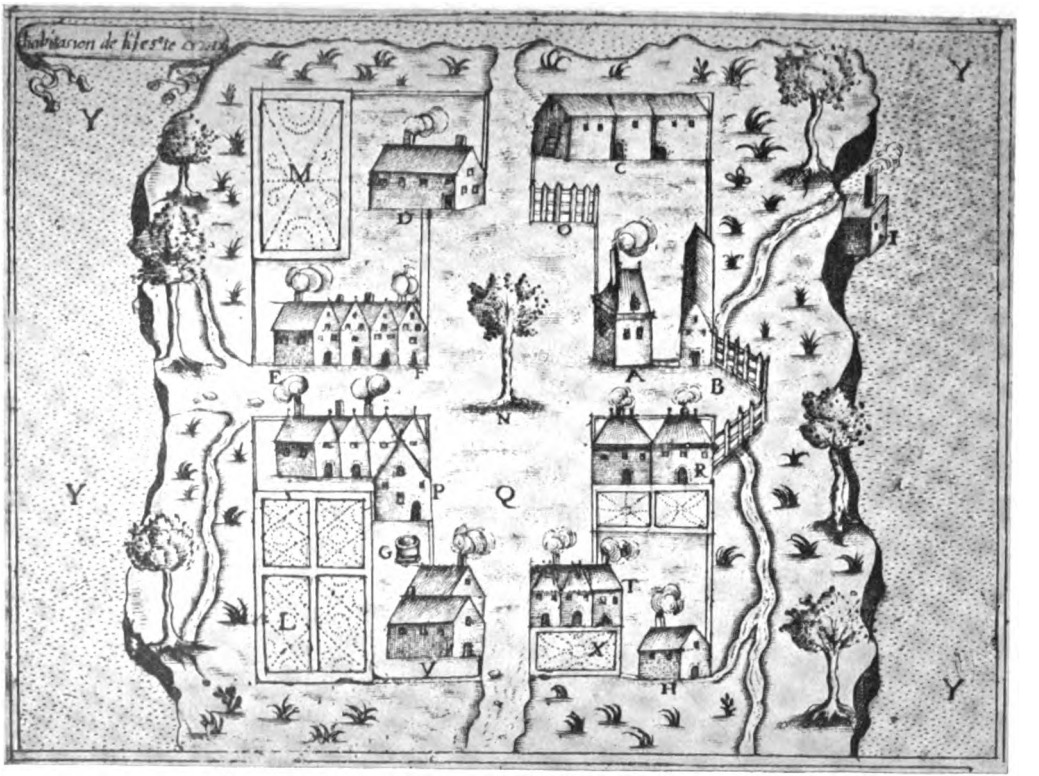
as he deemed desirable.[1] Sailing still farther southward, he came near the end of June into a bay, the present Passamaquoddy Bay. At its northern part a broad river opened, and ascending its inviting waters, de Monts and his companions, not far from the mouth of the river, came to an island that offered easy protection for defence against hostile assault. It seemed an attractive spot for the proposed settlement; and such it was under sunny skies and surrounded with scenes of summer beauty on every hand. Here, accordingly, on June 26, or 27, choice of a location was made. De Monts gave to the island the designation St. Croix, the name also now borne by the river in which the island of the settlement is located.[2]

Plans for the erection of dwellings, storehouses, and other buildings were prepared, and the colonists entered upon the work of their construction. Leaving this scene of busy activity September 2, Champlain availed himself of an opportunity for added exploration and map-making still farther down the coast. His journal gives us interesting glimpses of the land as he proceeded. He was the first of the early voyagers to make mention of Mount Desert, that most attractive spot on the Maine coast. In fact, it was Champlain who gave to the island its name.[3] Proceeding on his way, Champlain at length entered Penobscot Bay and river and extended his exploration of the river (which he mentions

[1] Champlain, in his *Voyages* (Prince Society, II, 22), referring to this Basin, says, "which I have named Port Royal", a name which was soon applied to the settlement made on the north shore of the Basin. A map of the Basin, with Champlain's description of it, faces p. 24 of the *Voyages*.

[2] The name St. Croix, as applied to the river, was suggested by the fact that two streams enter the river a few miles above St. Croix Island, one from the east and one from the west, furnishing in this way the representation of a cross.

[3] "From this island [Mt. Desert] to the main land on the north, the distance is less than a hundred paces. It is very high, and notched in places, so that there is the appearance to one at sea, as of seven or eight mountains extending along near each other. The summit of the most of them is destitute of trees, as there are only rocks on them. The woods consist of pines, fir, and birches only. I named it Isle des Monts Deserts." *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 39.



CHAMPLAIN'S SKETCH OF THE ISLAND OF ST. CROIX AND BUILDINGS, 1604.

under the name "Pentegouet" and also "Norumbegue") as far as the site of Bangor. While in the river, Champlain had an interview with the "Bessabez," or chief of the Indians of that region, to whom, in the name of de Monts, he made overtures of friendship. Thence, Champlain made his way to the Kennebec ("Quinibequy"), and attempted the exploration of the river. Unfavorable weather, however, prevented the accomplishment of his purpose in following its reach northward; and descending to the sea, he turned back up the coast September 23, and reached St. Croix island October 2.[1]

The winter that followed opened early and was one of great severity. The evidence was now borne in upon the colonists that the location had not been wisely chosen. During the winter months they suffered greatly not only from the cold winds that swept fiercely across the surrounding ice fields, but also from lack of wood and water. Amid these discouraging outward circumstances, scurvy assailed the colonists, and thirty-five of the seventy-nine who comprised the company died of the dread disease before the season closed.[2] Indeed so discouraging was the condition of the colonists before the winter ended that the abandonment of the undertaking seemed inevitable.

In the early summer of 1605, however, new hopes were awakened by the change of seasons and especially by the opportune arrival of supplies from France. Exploration farther down the coast it was thought might secure more desirable conditions, and de Monts and Champlain, with some of their associates, accordingly left St. Croix island June 18, for such added exploration. Passing the entire length of what is now the coast of Maine,[3] also

[1] *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 38–48.

[2] Champlain says snow began to fall October 6, and was from "three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April." For his account of the sufferings of the colonists during that long winter see *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 50–53.

[3] On reaching the Kennebec the party made an extended exploration of the river, ascending to its head waters, where the Indians "go by this river across the country to Quebec". Proceeding farther along the coast from the

southward to Cape Cod, and as far along the Massachusetts coast as the entrance to Vineyard Sound, they failed to find the favorable location they sought; and on July 25, they turned their boat northward and set out on their return.

Reaching the mouth of the Kennebec on July 29, they tarried awhile, possibly making further exploration. But neither there, nor at other places in the vicinity, were they successful in finding such a site for a colonial settlement as seemed to offer conditions deemed by them important. While they were at the river and in communication with Kennebec Indians, Anasou, an Indian chief, told them of a vessel ten leagues to the eastward,[1] and that those on board had killed five Indians "of this river", meaning the Kennebec. From the story in its details, de Monts and his associates rightly inferred that an English vessel was in the neighborhood. No further mention of the vessel occurs in Champlain's narrative; but the presence of an English ship on the coast, and the incident mentioned by Anasou in connection with his report concerning it, must have left upon the minds of de Monts and his little company evidence that England's claim to territory on the coast was receiving added attention. Certainly there was no further delay at the Kennebec, and the party made its way back to St. Croix island, which was reached August 8.

In all probability the colonists, who had wearily watched for de Monts' return, experienced no disappointment on receiving the report the exploring party brought. The horrors of the preceding winter still hung heavily upon them, and something must be

mouth of the Kennebec (making mention of Seguin under the name "Tortoise Island"), Champlain and his companions reached "a bay where there were a great many islands" (Casco bay), and from which large mountains were "seen to the west" (White Mountains). Richmond's island Champlain named Isle de Bacchus, because of its "beautiful grapes". *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 55.

[1] *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 91. Champlain says, "we named the island where they were La Nef [the ship] for, at a distance, it had the appearance of a ship". The reference was to Monhegan, it is inferred; but if Anasou was rightly understood, he was in error, as he was with reference to the five Indians, who were captured not at Monhegan, but at St. George's harbor.

done. De Monts' purposes had no suggestion of anything more than a withdrawal to Port Royal.[1] The settlement at St. Croix island was abandoned, and the proposed change of base was made.

Ill fortune, however, still followed the colonists. Soon after their arrival at Port Royal, de Monts, having established there his depleted company, set sail for France, still having the interests of the colony in view. The loss of one so prominent in its affairs must have had a depressing effect upon those left behind. The long, cold, dreary and inactive winter months only deepened the gloom of the situation. Indeed to such an extent did the colonists become disheartened amid their lonely surroundings, that home-longings were strengthened day by day; and, when the opportunity at length offered, the remaining colonists, unwilling to endure the experience of another winter under such hard circumstances, followed de Monts back to France, arriving at St. Malo, October 1, 1607.[2]

The attempt to plant a French colony on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent had failed. If it had succeeded, France would have secured a favorable outpost for a still farther advance in the effort to have and to hold the vast domain designated by the King in the charter that de Monts received. It is difficult to account for de Monts' failure on any other ground than that of weakness in most of the colonists. Aside from Champlain, and a few others it may be, the colonists at Port Royal were not of such stuff as is required in the founders of states, or in the beginnings of any large enterprise. St. Croix island, it is true, was an unfortunate location for the colony; but Pilgrims and Puritans, not many years later, made permanent settlements in territory not much farther south, and within the limits of de Monts' exploration. The colonists were too easily discouraged.

[1] *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 94. Sieur de Poutrincourt, who accompanied the expedition "only for his pleasure", asked de Monts for Port Royal soon after their arrival upon the coast; and he gave it to him in accordance with authority received from the King. (*Voyages*, II, 37.)

[2] *Champlain's Voyages*, I, 77.

They were lacking in high aims and the cheerful endurance of great hardships. Their presence on the coast, however, proved a spur to English endeavor. The prize at stake was large, and if England would seize it there was need of haste as well as strength of purpose and heroic determination.[1]

[1] The tercentenary of de Monts' settlement at St. Croix island was commemorated on that island by the Maine Historical Society, June 25, 1904; and the proceedings were published by the Society in an attractive illustrated pamphlet of seventy-eight pages. See also *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 74–151.

DE MONTS' COLONY MEMORIAL ON ST. CROIX ISLAND.
Unveiled June 25, 1904.

CHAPTER IV.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE OF 1605.

ENGLISH interests upon the American coast, however, had not ceased to receive attention in England. The Earl of Southampton, who was one of the principal promoters of Gosnold's expedition of 1602, was now at liberty, James I, at the beginning of his reign, having opened the Earl's prison doors and restored to him the titles and estates of which he had been deprived. Shortly after this restoration—the Earl's new patent was issued July 1, 1603—occurred the return of Pring from his successful voyage hither. The report he brought awakened in the released prisoner an enthusiastic desire for participation in efforts that would enhance the glory of England on this side of the sea. In 1604, he was busily engaged in making plans for another expedition to the American coast. With him, in the undertaking, were associated his son-in-law, Thomas Arundell,[1] afterward Baron of Wardour, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges,[2] whose name was to become

[1] Thomas Arundell had service under the Emperor Rudolph II. He took in action with his own hand a standard of the Turks, and December 14, 1595, was created a count of the Holy Roman Empire for this achievement, but was forbidden by Queen Elizabeth to use the title, saying, "She liked not for her sheep to wear a stranger's mark, nor to dance after a foreigner's whistle." He was elevated to the English peerage May 4, 1605, and died in 1639 or 1640.

[2] A son of Edward Gorges and his wife Cicely Lygon, he was born about 1566. He was knighted by Essex before Rouen in October, 1591. While in the Netherlands in 1596, he received orders to take charge of work on the fortifications at Plymouth, England. About July, 1603, he was deprived of his command at Plymouth, but it was restored to him in a few months, and he retained the command there many years. His interest in American colonization, beginning at this time, was a lifelong interest. For an extended account of his life, also for his writings and letters, see Hon. James P. Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, Prince Society, 1900, 3 volumes.

so prominently identified with the history of early colonization on the Maine coast. Probably, also, Sir John Popham,[1] then Chief Justice of England, had a part in the new undertaking.

The command of the expedition was given to Captain George Waymouth, already mentioned in connection with his search for a northwest passage to India in 1602. Since his return, as may be inferred from what is known concerning his attainments, he had been engaged in studies extending beyond the science of navigation, including shipbuilding and the science of fortification.[2]

Aside from these facts, there is no information with reference to the preparations for the voyage. Even the name of the vessel provided for the expedition—the Archangel—[3] would not have

[1] Sir John Popham was born at Wellington, Somersetshire, about 1531. He was educated at Baliol College, Oxford, became Recorder of Bristol; member of Parliament for Bristol in 1571; Solicitor-General, 1579; Attorney General, 1581; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1581-83; and Chief Justice of the realm, 1592, when he was knighted and made a privy Councilor. He presided at the trial of Sir Walter Ralegh in 1603, and at the trial of Guy Fawkes and his companions in 1606. He died June 10, 1607. Rev. H. O. Thayer, in his *Sagadahoc Colony*, Gorges Society, 1892, 26, discriminately says of him: "Justice Popham was a man of mixed character, not all good, not wholly bad. Integrity without numerous flaws cannot be affirmed. He administered the laws with vigor, often with severity, nor can it be denied that his administration in respect to the criminal classes was on the whole salutary." An elaborate tomb in the church at Wellington still marks his burial place.

[2] In 1885, Hon. James P. Baxter, of Portland, Me., discovered in the King's library in the British Museum, London, a manuscript volume on navigation, shipbuilding and fortification, written by Waymouth and dedicated to the King. It bears no date, but as it makes mention of Waymouth's voyage of 1602, and is silent with reference to the voyage of 1605, it may be assigned to the year 1603 or 1604. The volume is illustrated by about two hundred pages of colored drawings, and was evidently designed to make upon the King a favorable impression of the author. Mr. Baxter possesses a copy of this valuable manuscript, including both text and illustrations, and with fac-simile binding. Without doubt it is the only copy ever made.

[3] Rosier does not mention the name of the vessel, nor is it found in the accounts of the voyage, recorded by Gorges, Strachey or Purchas. Prince (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 6, 294) says Waymouth's ship is "supposed to have been called the 'Archangel' ". So far as the writer is aware

come down to us had it not been mentioned in the annals of a later chronicler. Of the twenty-eight men associated with Waymouth in the expedition, the names of only Thomas Cam, the mate of the Archangel, James Rosier, [1] who wrote the *Relation* of the voyage, and John Stoneman, who will be mentioned again later, have come down to us. Most of the adventurers, as Rosier tells us, were "near inhabitants on the Thames". They were doubtless such men as any expedition of like character would attract at that time,—hardy seamen who were ready for an enterprise that promised novelty and some excitement.

The vessel was made ready for the voyage at Ratcliffe on the Thames, a hamlet east of London, the highway connecting the village with the metropolis, being known as the Regent Street of London sailors. It is not difficult to picture to ourselves the scene at the departure of the expedition. It was at the opening of the season, Tuesday, March 5, 1605. In all probability among those assembled at the dock were the Earl of Southampton, his son-in-law, Thomas Arundell, and possibly Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. There were many best wishes for the whole company, and many last words. Then, when the lines were cast off, strong English cheers went up from the assembled crowd, and the Archangel dropped down the river.

A fair wind in four hours brought the vessel to Gravesend, thirty miles below London. But head-winds kept the voyagers on the English coast until the close of March. With reference to the experiences of Waymouth and his companions in the channel har-

the name of the vessel first appears in Dr. John Harris' *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. The first edition appeared in 1702–5; revised edition, London, 1764, II, 223. Dr. Harris (1667–1719) was one of the early members of the Royal Society, and for awhile acted as its Vice President.

[1] Rosier was one of Gosnold's company in the expedition of 1602. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes* (IV, 1646–1653) includes three documents relating to Gosnold's voyage. 1. A letter from Captain Gosnold to his father; 2. Gabriel Archer's account of the voyage; 3. A chapter entitled, "Notes taken out of a tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Ralegh". This last is in error. The tractate presented to Ralegh was written by John Brereton, not by Rosier.

bors, Rosier is silent. April 1, the Archangel was six leagues southeast of the Lizards, the most southern promontory of England. On April 14, Corvo and afterward Flores islands of the Azores group were sighted. As the voyage continued, southerly winds prevailed, and Waymouth, unable to hold the course he had proposed to take, was compelled to head his vessel farther to the northward.

On May 13, there were indications of the near approach of land, and on the following day, a sailor at the masthead descried a whitish, sandy cliff, west northwest, about six leagues distant, supposed from Rosier's statement to be Sankaty Head,[1] the eastern extremity of Nantucket island. Nantucket is surrounded by shoals,[2] and Waymouth, sailing in toward the sandy cliff, soon found his vessel in peril. The prow of the Archangel was hurriedly turned back, and standing off all that night and the next day, Waymouth endeavored to make his way to the southward, in accordance with the course of the voyage as planned;[3] but the wind was contrary and the vessel was driven northward. On May 16 the Archangel was still seeking land. It was not until the close of the following day, however, that land was again descried. At the time, the wind was still blowing a gale, the sea

[1] In 1797, Captain John F. Williams, of the U. S. Revenue Service, at the request of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the historian, made a study of Rosier's *Relation*. Concerning Waymouth's approach to the American coast, he said: "The first land Capt. Waymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff W. N. W. six leagues, must have been Sankaty Head." *American Biography*, Hubbard's Ed., 2, 249. The above statement is confirmed by all later writers concerning Waymouth's voyage.

[2] The eastward shoals make it one of the most dreaded parts of the coast. "These shifting sandy shores, which extend in a southeasterly direction from the southeastern end of the island, have various depths upon them ranging from six feet to four fathoms, and change their positions more or less after every heavy gale." *Coast Survey Pilot from Boston to New York*, 82.

[3] See Rosier's *Relation to Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*. This reprint of the *Relation* (85–162 with notes) is from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. Excellent reprints are included in George Parker Winship's *Sailors Narratives*, and *Early English and French Voyages*.

was running high, and it was not deemed safe to approach the shore. When the morning broke, it was discovered that the land was that of an island "some six miles in compass", according to Rosier's estimate. By noon the Archangel was anchored on the north side of the island and about a league from it. Two hours later, with twelve of his men, Waymouth rowed to the shore of the island for wood and water of which they were in need, and having obtained a supply they returned to the ship. This island, named by Waymouth St. George's island, was Monhegan,[1] as is conceded by all who have given any careful attention to Rosier's *Relation*.

"While we were at shore," says Rosier, who evidently was one of the landing party, "our men aboard [the Archangel] with a few hooks got about thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast". Continuing his narrative he adds: "From hence we might discern the mainland from the west southwest to the east northeast, and a great way (as it then seemed, and as we after found it) up into the main we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land;[2] which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discovery of some good; although we were driven by winds far from that place whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage."

[1] Captain John Smith, who was at Monhegan in the summer of 1614, briefly described the island in these words "Monahigan is a round high isle; and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride". *Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 46, 47. On the Simancas map of 1610, the island bears the name given to it by Waymouth. When Capt. John Smith wrote his *Description of New England*, however, he recorded the Indian name, and happily the island has continued to bear the Indian designation to the present time.

[2] As Rosier has just referred to the return of the boat to the ship's anchorage, and to the occupation of the sailors while Waymouth and his party were ashore, the writer of the above must have had in mind the view of the coast as seen from the deck of the Archangel, anchored a league north of the island.

To the weary, storm-tossed voyagers the scene must have been one of peculiar interest. There were other islands toward the land, and not far away, eastward and westward, but further in, the long, wooded coast line was seen; while higher "up into the main" there were mountains darkly, beautifully blue, conspicuous features of the coast landscape. Waymouth and his companions were looking upon a fringe of the new world.

The Archangel remained at her anchorage that night, and on the following day, because the vessel "rode too much open to the sea and winds", Waymouth weighed anchor, and brought his vessel "to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the rode directly with the mountains". It has been maintained that the mountains Waymouth saw, and in the direction of which he made his way to "the other islands" where he found a convenient harbor, were the White Mountains. Only at rare intervals, however, when the sky is exceptionally clear, can even the towering peak of Mount Washington be seen from the high ground at Monhegan, and then merely as a faint speck on the horizon. Only at rarest intervals can Mount Washington be seen from the shore on the north side of Monhegan; while from either location, "a great way up into the main", appear the Camden and Union mountains clearly outlined against the sky, objects which no mariner approaching the coast at this point could possibly fail to notice.[1]

[1] John McKeen (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 313, 314) identified these mountains as the White and Blue mountains. R. K. Sewall (*Ancient Dominions*, 59) held that the mountains Waymouth saw were the White Mountains. Dr. Edward Ballard (*Popham Memorial Volume*, 303) adopted the same view. On the contrary William Willis (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 8, 346) insisted that the White Mountains lie far to the west, and can only be seen under favorable circumstances; and that the mountains seen by Waymouth were "the Camden and other heights bordering the Penobscot Bay". Prince (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 6, 294) says "the Camden and Union mountains" are the only conspicuous heights along the coast visible from Monhegan. That the mountains here referred to in the *Relation* were the Camden and Union mountains is the view now generally held. For a full presentation of the facts, see Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage*, Gorges Society, 1887, 96–100.

The harbor in which Waymouth anchored the Archangel, and which he called Pentecost harbor[1], was an island harbor, and Rosier's narrative furnishes abundant means for its identification with the present St. George's harbor. From Waymouth's anchorage a league north of Monhegan, it is reached by proceeding "along to the other islands more adjoining to the main", and is "in the rode directly" with the mountains which Waymouth had before him. Moreover, it is a harbor formed by islands, having four entrances, as the harbor mentioned by Rosier. Indeed, the endeavor to identify the Pentecost harbor of Rosier's *Relation* with Boothbay harbor, or with any other harbor on the neighboring coast, fails to meet these and other requirements of Rosier's narrative.[2]

But the paramount purposes of the voyage were not to be fulfilled by merely an approach to the coast. A few days were spent by Waymouth and his companions in obtaining rest from the weariness of the voyage. Then, after setting up a cross upon the shore of one of the islands,[3] a token of England's claim to the territory, the work of exploration began. In his shallop, which had been put in order since the Archangel's arrival in Pentecost harbor, and with nearly half of his company, Waymouth proceeded in toward the mainland in order to discover its resources and possibilities for English colonization, and soon found himself in a

[1] The Archangel sailed on Easter day from its last harbor in England. It entered its first harbor on the American coast on Pentecost day, and accordingly received its name, Pentecost harbor.

[2] The approach to Pentecost harbor from the anchorage of the Archangel north of Monhegan is that which one has to-day in entering St. George's harbor from the sea. The latter is reached (as was Pentecost harbor by Waymouth) by sailing in "to the other islands more adjoining to the main's. The islands that make the four entrances to St. George's harbor are Allen's, Burnt, Benner's and Davis.

[3] Probably Allen's island. On this island, in connection with the celebration of the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage, and not far it is believed from the spot on which Waymouth and his associates erected a cross in 1605, a granite cross, cut at the Booth Bros. & Hurricane Island Granite Co., and presented by the Company, was set up in 1905 by Albert J. Rawley, W. E. Sherer, Ernest Rawley, John Matthews, Edward Fuller and Charles Watts.

"great river". Up this river he passed some distance, moving probably with the tide, and falling back to the mouth of the river with the tide. In the middle of the next forenoon he returned to Pentecost harbor, where he aroused the enthusiasm of his associates with the announcement of the discovery he had made.

A week and more were spent among the islands and along the coast in added explorations. During this time friendly relations were established with the Indians, who, not long after the arrival of the Archangel in Pentecost harbor, came hither from the mainland in their birch-bark canoes, attracted by the presence of the strange vessel with its strange visitors. On their first approach the Indians were cautious; "but when", says Rosier, "we showed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks, and other trifles as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship as desirous to entertain our friendship". Upon added acquaintance, trade relations followed; and Rosier records interesting incidents connected with the same, as well as much information concerning the manners and customs of the natives. But suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians were at length awakened, and these suspicions, as Rosier records, were made the occasion of kidnapping five of the number.[1] Of course such an act brought to an end previous friendly relations. Doubtless Waymouth and his companions had little ground for suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians. Indeed, this may be inferred from the *Relation*, inasmuch as Rosier says the seizure was "a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage". In other words, it was a part of the voyagers' plan, based on the thought that from these natives, after they had learned the English language, they could secure desired information concerning their people, rulers, mode of government, etc.

[1] The Archangel was the vessel the Indian Anasou reported to de Monts as already mentioned; but his statement that five Indians had been killed was erroneous. Rosier gives the names of the captured Indians as follows: "Tahanedo, a Sagamo or Commander, Amoret, Skicowaros and Maneddo, Gentlemen and Saffacomoit, a servant".

Then, on June 11, with a favoring breeze and tide, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the river he had discovered in his shallop. In glowing words, Rosier gives expression to the thoughts and feelings of the whole company as in their progress up the river they viewed from the high deck of the Archangel the land on either side. They noted its pleasant fertility; looking into its many "gallant coves"[1] on the right and on the left, they beheld the numerous excellent places for docking and repairing ships; and again and again the possibilities which the scene everywhere suggested deeply stirred and thrilled them. Many of the company had been travelers in various countries and on the most famous rivers; yet, says Rosier, "they affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld". Some who had been with Sir Walter Ralegh in his voyage to Guiana in 1595, and had sailed up the "Orenoque", were raised to loftier enthusiasm here. Others, who were familiar with the Seine and Loire, "great and goodly rivers", found in this river of the new world features that were unequalled in these renowned, historic rivers of Europe. "I will not prefer it before our river of Thames", wrote Rosier, "because it is England's richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our country's good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found, then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large and secure harboring river that the world affordeth."

This is the language of contagious enthusiasm and easy exaggeration, yet one passing up the St. George's river at high water on a beautiful day in May or June must be unresponsive to nature in her loveliest moods if not in sympathy with Waymouth and his associates,—their hearts thrilled with an ecstasy of delight as they

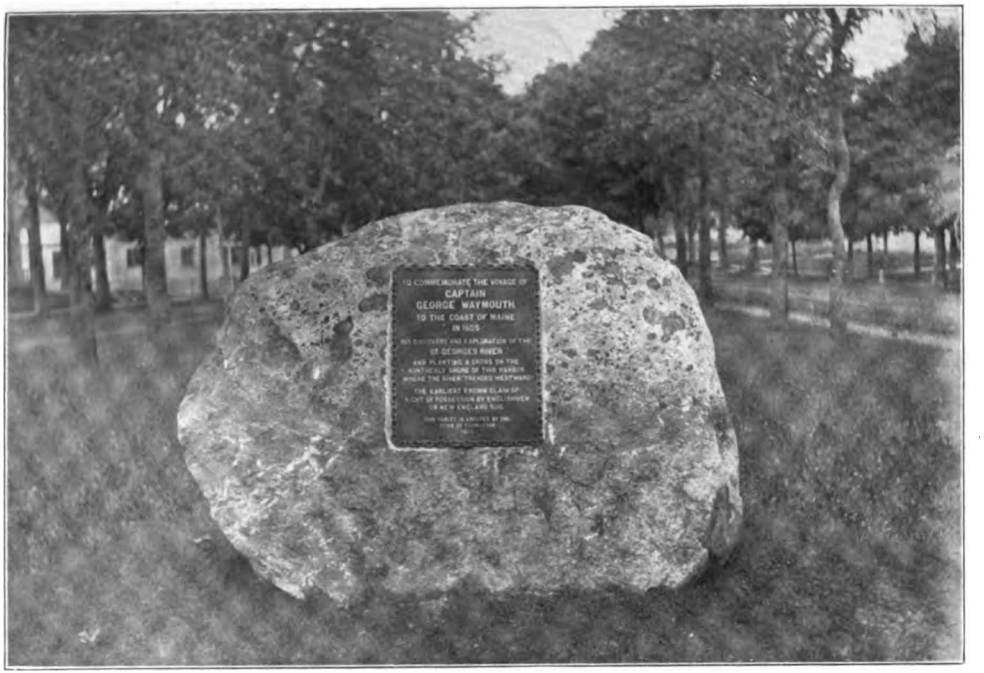
[1] These coves are characteristic features of the St. George's river. The U. S. *Coast Survey Chart* mentions Deep cove, Gay cove, Turkey cove, Maple Juice cove, Otis cove, Watt's cove, Cuttler's cove, Broad cove and Hyler's cove.

St. George." This is the name given to Monhegan by Waymouth and his associates. "The first island we fell with", says Rosier, "was named by us St. George's island", a name which later was transferred to the group of islands nearer to the mainland.

From this further exploration of the river, and this erection of a cross in the interest of the country from which they came, Waymouth and his men returned to the Archangel. The object of the expedition, in a degree beyond their strongest hopes, had now been accomplished. They had discovered a bold coast, an "excellent and secure harbor for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to sea", a river which the "all-creating God" had made a highway over which the great riches of the land might easily and safely be borne, a land whose invaluable riches the Indians could "neither discern, use, nor rightly esteem"; and it was fitting that without further delay the return to England should be made in order speedily to report to "the honorable setters forth" the success of the expedition which had for its ultimate end "a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's Holy Church by planting Christianity". The Archangel, accordingly, now dropped down the river to its mouth, and then to Pentecost harbor, where water was taken on board; and on the sixteenth of June, the wind being fair, and all preparations having been completed, Waymouth and his companions set sail.[1]

Over summer seas and full of the joy which worthy achievement always awakens, establishing on their way confidential relations with their Indian captives, the voyagers returned homeward, anchoring the Archangel in Dartmouth Haven on July 18. Rosier's *Relation* of the voyage ends here. We are not told with what welcome Waymouth and his fellow explorers were received, or upon whose ears the story of their adventures first

[1] The Maine Historical Society celebrated the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage by services at Thomaston and St. George's harbor July, 1905. For a report of the proceedings see *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 152–204.



MEMORIAL OF WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE, 1605.
Thomaston.

fell. But it requires no stretch of the imagination to bring before us the scene as on that Thursday afternoon, about four o'clock, the Archangel came to her anchorage, and the members of the expedition were surrounded by eager questioners. Heroes they all were, but of what special, wondering interest were the five Indians whom Waymouth had brought with him as specimens of the inhabitants of the new world! It was a thrilling narrative that was told, first on the deck of the Archangel, and later in the lounging places of the town where the sailors mingled with a crowd ready to catch any word that might fall from their lips.

How long the Archangel remained in Dartmouth Haven was not recorded; and it seems probable that Rosier, the historian of the expedition, leaving the vessel at Dartmouth Haven, hurried to London to place before the promoters of the voyage the tidings which they so eagerly awaited. According to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges was in command of the fort. This was after the arrival at Dartmouth Haven, for Rosier tells us that Dartmouth Haven was the first "harbor in England" entered by Waymouth and his fellow voyagers on their return.

While the Archangel was in Plymouth harbor, Waymouth delivered into the care of Sir Ferdinando Gorges three of the Indians seized in Pentecost harbor.[1] Gorges regarded the seizure of these Indians as a matter of prime importance in connection with new-world colonization schemes. In his *Briefe Narration*, referring to the Indians who came into his possession at this time, he says, "This accident must be acknowledged the means under God

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There is no record of Waymouth's return to London and of his interview with the promoters of the expedition. Arundell had been elevated to the peerage, and only a month after the return of the Archangel he was appointed colonel of an English regiment raised for service in Holland. It is probable, therefore, that he was henceforth engaged in other enterprises than those on this side of the sea. The Earl of Southampton, however, continued his interest in American colonization, but in connection with the London Company of Virginia. In that company's second charter his name stands next to those of the high officers of state; and he remained at the head of its governing board until the second charter was taken away. So far as English colonization on the Maine coast was concerned, however, the loss of influence of men of such prominence was more than made good by the increased active interest of Sir John Popham. His vigorous personality, and commanding position as chief justice of England, made him forceful in any undertaking. Information concerning Waymouth's voyage probably came to him from Waymouth himself; also from Rosier's *Relation*, which was published in London soon after the return of the Archangel. Moreover two of Waymouth's Indians came into his possession, and from them he must have received information that could hardly have failed to increase and deepen his interest in the country from which these Indians

came. Doubtless Gorges, also, intensified this awakening interest manifested by the chief justice; and the mind of Sir John Popham was soon busy with plans for taking possession of the territory thus open to English occupation and trade relations. This, however, he would have undertaken and carried forward under royal authority. His plans as they ripened involved the formation of colonies by chartered companies under license from the crown. Plainly in matters pertaining to new-world enterprises the chief justice saw more clearly the demands of the future than did his contemporaries.

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A week and more were spent among the islands and along the coast in added explorations. During this time friendly relations were established with the Indians, who, not long after the arrival of the Archangel in Pentecost harbor, came hither from the mainland in their birch-bark canoes, attracted by the presence of the strange vessel with its strange visitors. On their first approach the Indians were cautious; "but when", says Rosier, "we showed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks, and other trifles as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship as desirous to entertain our friendship". Upon added acquaintance, trade relations followed; and Rosier records interesting incidents connected with the same, as well as much information concerning the manners and customs of the natives. But suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians were at length awakened, and these suspicions, as Rosier records, were made the occasion of kidnapping five of the number.[1] Of course such an act brought to an end previous friendly relations. Doubtless Waymouth and his companions had little ground for suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians. Indeed, this may be inferred from the *Relation*, inasmuch as Rosier says the seizure was "a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage". In other words, it was a part of the voyagers' plan, based on the thought that from these natives, after they had learned the English language, they could secure desired information concerning their people, rulers, mode of government, etc.

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Then, on June 11, with a favoring breeze and tide, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the river he had discovered in his shallop. In glowing words, Rosier gives expression to the thoughts and feelings of the whole company as in their progress up the river they viewed from the high deck of the Archangel the land on either side. They noted its pleasant fertility; looking into its many "gallant coves"[1] on the right and on the left, they beheld the numerous excellent places for docking and repairing ships; and again and again the possibilities which the scene everywhere suggested deeply stirred and thrilled them. Many of the company had been travelers in various countries and on the most famous rivers; yet, says Rosier, "they affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld". Some who had been with Sir Walter Ralegh in his voyage to Guiana in 1595, and had sailed up the "Orenoque", were raised to loftier enthusiasm here. Others, who were familiar with the Seine and Loire, "great and goodly rivers", found in this river of the new world features that were unequalled in these renowned, historic rivers of Europe. "I will not prefer it before our river of Thames", wrote Rosier, "because it is England's richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our country's good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found, then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large and secure harboring river that the world affordeth."

This is the language of contagious enthusiasm and easy exaggeration, yet one passing up the St. George's river at high water on a beautiful day in May or June must be unresponsive to nature in her loveliest moods if not in sympathy with Waymouth and his associates,—their hearts thrilled with an ecstasy of delight as they

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The harbor in which Waymouth anchored the Archangel, and which he called Pentecost harbor[1], was an island harbor, and Rosier's narrative furnishes abundant means for its identification with the present St. George's harbor. From Waymouth's anchorage a league north of Monhegan, it is reached by proceeding "along to the other islands more adjoining to the main", and is "in the rode directly" with the mountains which Waymouth had before him. Moreover, it is a harbor formed by islands, having four entrances, as the harbor mentioned by Rosier. Indeed, the endeavor to identify the Pentecost harbor of Rosier's *Relation* with Boothbay harbor, or with any other harbor on the neighboring coast, fails to meet these and other requirements of Rosier's narrative.[2]

But the paramount purposes of the voyage were not to be fulfilled by merely an approach to the coast. A few days were spent by Waymouth and his companions in obtaining rest from the weariness of the voyage. Then, after setting up a cross upon the shore of one of the islands,[3] a token of England's claim to the territory, the work of exploration began. In his shallop, which had been put in order since the Archangel's arrival in Pentecost harbor, and with nearly half of his company, Waymouth proceeded in toward the mainland in order to discover its resources and possibilities for English colonization, and soon found himself in a

[1] The Archangel sailed on Easter day from its last harbor in England. It entered its first harbor on the American coast on Pentecost day, and accordingly received its name, Pentecost harbor.

[2] The approach to Pentecost harbor from the anchorage of the Archangel north of Monhegan is that which one has to-day in entering St. George's harbor from the sea. The latter is reached (as was Pentecost harbor by Waymouth) by sailing in "to the other islands more adjoining to the main's. The islands that make the four entrances to St. George's harbor are Allen's, Burnt, Benner's and Davis.

[3] Probably Allen's island. On this island, in connection with the celebration of the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage, and not far it is believed from the spot on which Waymouth and his associates erected a cross in 1605, a granite cross, cut at the Booth Bros. & Hurricane Island Granite Co., and presented by the Company, was set up in 1905 by Albert J. Rawley, W. E. Sherer, Ernest Rawley, John Matthews, Edward Fuller and Charles Watts.

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looked out upon the many objects of pleasing interest which their eyes everywhere beheld.

By some, the river which Waymouth discovered and ascended has been identified with the Penobscot, by others with the Kennebec, and by still others with the St. Georges river. But both the Penobscot and the Kennebec fail to meet requirements for identification which Rosier's *Relation* very plainly presents. The breadth and depth of the river, the character of the bottom, and especially the "very many gallant coves" on either side, correspond only to marked features of the St. George's river. Moreover, the direction of the river "as it runneth up into the main", is, as Rosier says, "toward the great mountains". All the way up the St. George's river the Union and Camden mountains are in full view. What mountains will one have in front of him as he sails up the Kennebec or the Penobscot?[1]

Waymouth seems to have anchored the Archangel near the present ruins of Fort St. George, on the eastern bank of the river. The next day, in his "light-horseman", with seventeen of his men, he proceeded up the river to the "Codde", or bay, at the point where the river trends westward, by the site of Thomaston. Here the explorers landed and ten of the party marched up into the country toward the mountains back in the main, which they

[1] Captain J. F. Williams, of the U. S. Revenue Service, in his examinations of the coast of Maine in 1797, with reference to Waymouth's discoveries in 1605, identified Pentecost harbor with St. George's island harbor; but the great river of Rosier's *Relation*, he identified with the Penobscot river. Williamson, in his *History of the State of Maine*, and others adopted the same view. So did Bancroft in the first edition of his *History of the United States*. In preparing his edition of 1883, after re-studying the subject, he abandoned this view, and adopted the view of George Prince, of Bath, that the river Waymouth discovered and ascended was the St. George's river. The Kennebec theory was advocated by John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick, in 1857, in a paper read before the Maine Historical Society, and was followed by R. K. Sewall, Esq., in his *Ancient Dominions*. For many years, however, there has been no advocacy of the Penobscot or Kennebec theories that requires notice. A very full review of the literature of Waymouth's discovery will be found in Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*, 39–77. Gorges Society, 1887.

first descried on approaching the land. These mountains, as Rosier says, seemed at the outset only a league away; but after they had gone some distance, finding the weather "parching hot" and all being "weary of so tedious and laborsome a travel", Waymouth gave the order to face about, and the party returned to the boat and then to the ship.

On the following day the work of exploration was continued by an examination of that part of the river not previously visited, a distance estimated by Rosier as twenty miles. The "beauty and goodness" of the land Rosier mentions with much enthusiasm; also the fact that on the return, at that part of the river which trends westward (as is the case of the St. George's river at Thomaston), a cross was erected,[1] an indication of a claim to English discovery and possession like the cross set up at St. George's harbor. On the Simancas map are indicated such marked features of the landfall of our Maine coast as the Union and Camden mountains. A single mountain, west of the Kennebec, may be intended to represent Mount Washington as seen from the waters near Small Point. But of special interest in connection with Waymouth's voyage and discovery is the fact that on this map of 1610 the St. George's river, under its Indian name Tahanock, is delineated with its characteristic features; while at the very point where Waymouth erected a cross, according to Rosier, is the mark of a cross. What is this mark but the indication of the cross which Waymouth set up at this place, and which he entered upon his "perfect geographical map"—the map made at this time and mentioned by Rosier in his *Relation?* Strong testimony in confirmation of this identification is furnished in the fact that on this map of 1610, Monhegan is designated, "I

[1] Referring to the erection of the cross at this point Rosier says: "For this (by the way) we diligently observed, that in no place, either about the islands, or up in the main, or alongst the river, we could discern any token or sign, that ever any Christian had been before; of which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up crosses (a thing never omitted by any Christian travelers) we should have perceived some mention left." *True Relation*, Gorges Society, 145.

St. George." This is the name given to Monhegan by Waymouth and his associates. "The first island we fell with", says Rosier, "was named by us St. George's island", a name which later was transferred to the group of islands nearer to the mainland.

From this further exploration of the river, and this erection of a cross in the interest of the country from which they came, Waymouth and his men returned to the Archangel. The object of the expedition, in a degree beyond their strongest hopes, had now been accomplished. They had discovered a bold coast, an "excellent and secure harbor for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to sea", a river which the "all-creating God" had made a highway over which the great riches of the land might easily and safely be borne, a land whose invaluable riches the Indians could "neither discern, use, nor rightly esteem"; and it was fitting that without further delay the return to England should be made in order speedily to report to "the honorable setters forth" the success of the expedition which had for its ultimate end "a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's Holy Church by planting Christianity". The Archangel, accordingly, now dropped down the river to its mouth, and then to Pentecost harbor, where water was taken on board; and on the sixteenth of June, the wind being fair, and all preparations having been completed, Waymouth and his companions set sail.[1]

Over summer seas and full of the joy which worthy achievement always awakens, establishing on their way confidential relations with their Indian captives, the voyagers returned homeward, anchoring the Archangel in Dartmouth Haven on July 18. Rosier's *Relation* of the voyage ends here. We are not told with what welcome Waymouth and his fellow explorers were received, or upon whose ears the story of their adventures first

[1] The Maine Historical Society celebrated the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage by services at Thomaston and St. George's harbor July, 1905. For a report of the proceedings see *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 152–204.

fell. But it requires no stretch of the imagination to bring before us the scene as on that Thursday afternoon, about four o'clock, the Archangel came to her anchorage, and the members of the expedition were surrounded by eager questioners. Heroes they all were, but of what special, wondering interest were the five Indians whom Waymouth had brought with him as specimens of the inhabitants of the new world! It was a thrilling narrative that was told, first on the deck of the Archangel, and later in the lounging places of the town where the sailors mingled with a crowd ready to catch any word that might fall from their lips.

How long the Archangel remained in Dartmouth Haven was not recorded; and it seems probable that Rosier, the historian of the expedition, leaving the vessel at Dartmouth Haven, hurried to London to place before the promoters of the voyage the tidings which they so eagerly awaited. According to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges was in command of the fort. This was after the arrival at Dartmouth Haven, for Rosier tells us that Dartmouth Haven was the first "harbor in England" entered by Waymouth and his fellow voyagers on their return.

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CHAPTER V.

Added Endeavors and Explorations.

IN the added attention given to English colonization as the result of Waymouth's successful expedition, there was a stirring of private interests as well as of those of a public nature. Before Popham and the men in agreement with him had received the royal charter for which they asked, and which gave them authority to take possession of the country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, thus shutting out private enterprise, certain merchants of Plymouth, William Parker, Thomas Love, ——— Came and William Morgan, had entered into an agreement with Captain George Waymouth "to carry them with their shipping, and provisions" to Virginia, "there to fish, traffic, and to do what else shall be fitting for a merchant voyage". These Plymouth merchants lost no time in their effort thus to seize the opportunity for securing profitable returns in a business venture. For some reason, however, this agreement was almost immediately annulled, evidently because of another and more liberal arrangement on the part of Waymouth; for October 30, 1605, he entered into a formal agreement with Sir John Zouche, of Codnor, in Derbyshire, "for and concerning a voyage intended to be made unto the land commonly called by the name of Virginia upon the continent of America."[1]

On the part of Sir John, it was agreed that at his own cost he should set forth two ships fitted and furnished with "all necessaries of victual, provision, munition, and two hundred able and sufficient men; that is to say, of such trades and arts as are fitting for a plantation and colony, before the last day of April next." Sir John also agreed to pay to Captain Waymouth within twenty-

[1] This agreement will be found in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 33-35.

one days a hundred pounds "lawful English money . . . . . in consideration of his 'travell' and pains to be taken in and about the said voyage and for his own charge defraying". Sir John furthermore agreed to allow the merchants of Plymouth, whose contract with Captain Waymouth had just been annulled, liberty "to make their trade for what commodities soever without any hindrance or disturbance of his part, or any of his followers under his command, for the space of one whole year now next coming, and not after". It was also agreed that Sir John Zouche, "being Chief Commander", should give to Waymouth "the next place of command under himself as well at sea as at land".

Manifestly the purpose that lay at the foundation of this agreement was the English occupation and possession of that part of the American coast which Waymouth had visited and explored. How this territory was to be appropriated is indicated in the closing paragraph of the agreement on the part of Sir John, which was as follows: "Item, if it so please God to prosper and bless the said intended voyage and the actions of the same, that thereby the land aforesaid shall be inhabited with our English nation, and according to 'Polliticque' estate of Government proportion of land be alloted to such as shall be transported thither to inhabit; that then, after the said Sir John Zouche shall have made his choice and assumed into his possession in manner of inheritance such quantity of land as he, the said Sir John, shall think good; then he, the said Captain George Waymouth and his assigns, shall and may make his or their next choice of land for his or their possession and plantation; to hold the same in tenure of him, the said Sir John, as 'Lord Paramount'; which said land so by the said Captain Waymouth to be chosen shall descend to his heirs or assigns, or shall be upon reasonable considerations to his or their uses employed or disposed."

On Waymouth's part the agreement was that with his "best endeavor, council and advice", he should aid Sir John in the fitting out of the expedition; that he should be ready to go with him in the voyage "at such time as is limited or before, unless

hindered by sickness or other such visitation"; that on the arrival of the expedition he should assist in the planting of the colony, work of fortification, and whatever else should be thought fitting by Sir John; and finally that he should not aid, "by person or direction to any other in or for the said pretended land or voyage without the consent or allowance of the said Sir John". One of the witnesses to this agreement was James Rosier, who wrote the *Relation* of Waymouth's voyage.

Two days after the signing of this agreement, the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot, which was to have been consummated on the assembling of Parliament, November 5, was made known to King James. The arrest, trial and execution of those connected with the plot followed, and for the time attracted public attention to such an extent that the plans and purposes of Sir John Zouche and Captain Waymouth could have received little attention.[1]

But that which of itself was sufficient to bring to naught the agreement between the two was the royal charter[2] granted on April 10, 1606, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hanham,[3] Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham and others, incorporating two companies for the purpose of promoting English colonization "in that part of America commonly called 'Virginia'". This charter, prepared in its first draft by Sir John Popham as is supposed, was granted on petition; but the petition has not come down to us, and its date and signers are unknown. As some time would be required for the work of drawing up the charter, as well as for its consideration by the various officers of the crown to whom it was submitted for examination, the petition was probably presented to the King

[1] Sir John Zouche, notwithstanding his present failure, did not lose his interest in English enterprises in the new world. In 1631, he received an appointment on "the commission for the better plantation of Virginia", and in 1634 he went to Virginia to visit his son and daughter, who were living there".

[2] *Genesis of the United States*, II, 46-63.

[3] The h in the name was adopted from the time of Sir John Hanham, oldest son of Thomas and Penelope (Popham) Hanam, and brother of Captain Thomas Hanham.

as early as the last quarter of 1605. The petition was for the territory "situate, lying and being all along the seacoast" between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, "and in the mainland between, together with the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coast thereof". The petitioners asked to be divided into two colonies or companies, the one, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of London and vicinity, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-fourth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, was generally known as the London Company; the other, consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and other places, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, was generally known as the Plymouth Company. In the charter, the first colony was granted the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees, also fifty miles south of this location, while to the second colony was granted the territory between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees, also fifty miles farther north. This overlapping of limits in grants of territory in the new world was not a matter of unfrequent occurrence, as an examination of later grants shows. In the charter, however, this wholesome provision was added, "That the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies, as shall last plant themselves as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their plantation as aforesaid." Furthermore, no others of the King's subjects were permitted to "plant or inhabit behind or on the backside of them, without the express license or consent of the council of the colony, thereunto in writing first had and obtained".

Although Sir John Popham's name does not occur in the charter, it is well known that he was one of the most active of those engaged in the movement for obtaining it. Evidently he saw very clearly the importance of government control in opening to

English colonization the vast territory of the new world, only glimpses of which had been obtained by the expeditions of Ralegh in the south, and those of Gosnold, Pring and Waymouth in the north. Private plantations had not been successful, and Sir John Popham, and those who agreed with him, had good reasons for their belief that public plantations had the best prospect of success. The Popham idea prevailed, and brought to an end private enterprises on the part of English adventurers like Sir John Zouche, who were ready to seize and to hold as much of American territory as they could secure.

An expedition fitted out under this charter for the establishment of the "first colony in Virginia", sailed from London in three vessels December 20, 1606, with Captain Christopher Newport as commander of the voyage, and Captain Bartholomew Gosnold as vice-admiral. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Popham and those who were interested in the establishment of a colony in the territory discovered by Waymouth evidently deemed it a wiser course to engage in added exploration before colonization. Gorges seems to have been the inspiring spirit in this movement. A vessel, the Richard of Plymouth, was secured for the voyage, and under the command of Henry Challons as captain, with Nicholas Hine as master and John Stoneman as pilot, the Richard sailed from Plymouth harbor, August 12, 1606.[1] The vessel was a small one, registering only fifty-five tons or thereabouts. In it were twenty-nine Englishmen and two of the five Indians cap-

[1] An account of Challons' voyage, first printed in Purchas's *Pilgrimes* IV, 1832–1837, was reprinted in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 127–139. Another account entitled *The Relation of Daniel Tucker Merchant being employed by divers adventurers of Plymouth to go as factor of a ship bound for Florida written by himself the 4th day of February A 1606*, has a place among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House. It was enclosed in a letter, sent at the time to Cecil by Gorges, and is included in the documents printed in the third volume of Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, published by the Prince Society, 1890, III, 129–132. In the above, the writer has followed Stoneman's more extended, and apparently more carefully prepared, narrative, which in a few particulars differs from that by Tucker.

tured by Waymouth, namely "Maneddo and Assacomoit", or, as recorded by Rosier in his *Relation*, "Maneddo and Saffacomoit".

Why Waymouth was not placed in command of the Richard does not appear in the accounts of the voyage that have come down to us. That he was ready to undertake such an expedition is made evident by the agreement into which he entered with Sir John Zouche. In all probability, his agreement to serve Sir John, in his endeavor to turn Waymouth's discoveries to personal advantage, brought him into disfavor with those who were interested in the northern colony.

Gorges says he gave Challons instruction to take a northerly course as high as the latitude of Cape Breton until the main land was sighted, and that then he was to sail southward, following the coast until, from the Indians who were with him, he was told that he had reached that part of the American coast "they were assigned unto". Challons, on the contrary, paid no attention to his instructions, and, following the course of earlier voyagers generally, made the Canary islands the starting point of his expedition. This course could not have been taken because of contrary winds, inasmuch as Stoneman, in his narrative of the voyage, makes no mention of such winds until after the Canary islands were reached. But leaving those islands, contrary winds baffled them. For six weeks they were driven in a southerly direction, and the voyagers found themselves at the end of that time at the island of Saint Lucia, one of the Lesser Antilles, twenty-nine degrees out of their way. After a delay of three days at that port the Richard was started northward. But there was further delay at Porto Rico, where "the captain went ashore for the recovery of his health, while the company took in water and such other provisions as they had present use of, expending some time there, hunting after such things as best pleased themselves". At length, leaving Porto Rico and proceeding northward one hundred and eighty leagues, Challons encountered a severe storm which continued ten days. At its close, "in a thick fog of mist and rain", he found himself surrounded by eight Spanish ships, which bore

down upon the Richard and compelled her surrender. Among the wounded in Challons' company was Assacomoit,[1] one of the two Indians the Richard was bearing homeward. Challons and his men, including the Indians, were taken to Spain as captives. Some of them at length were liberated, some escaped from prison, and others sickened and died.[2] Gorges says, "The affliction of the captain and his company put the Lord Chief Justice Popham to charge, and myself to trouble in procuring their liberties, which was not suddenly obtained". So ended Challons' ill-fated expedition from which Gorges had expected so much.[3]

Another vessel, fitted out by Sir John Popham for the purpose of co-operating with the Richard in the exploration of the coast visited by Waymouth, left England not long after Challons' departure. Of this vessel Thomas Hanham[4] was commander, and

[1] Gorges, in his *Briefe Narration*, at the opening of Chapter XII, says he "recovered Assacomoit" from Spanish captivity.

[2] Thayer, *The Sagadahoc Colony*, page 11, says: "Stoneman was questioned closely respecting the Virginia coast and offered large wages to draw maps. His sturdy loyal refusal remanded him to prison, and when later enlarged on parole he learned he was in danger of the rack to extort the desired information, he made escape, and by the way of Lisbon reached Cornwall, November 24, 1607; sixteen months after embarkation at Plymouth." Challons was not released until the following May.

[3] Gorges, in a letter to Challons, dated Plymouth, March 13, 1607, wrote: "I rest satisfied for your part of the proceedinge of the voyage".

[4] Little has come down to us concerning this associate with Pring in the voyage of 1606. As Sir John Popham's oldest daughter Penelope married a Thomas Hanham, Thayer (*Sagadahoc Colony*, 145) inclines to the view that the chief justice "selected his trusty son-in-law to be the controlling agent" in the expedition. Alexander Brown thought it probable that the Hanham of Pring's voyage was a son of the same name (*Genesis of the United States*, II, 909). It is now known that such was the fact, as the Thomas Hanham who married Penelope Popham died August 30, 1593 (*History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, III, 230, 231), and so could not have accompanied Pring to the American coast in 1606. From the same source it is learned that Thomas Hanham, who died in 1593, had a son, Thomas Hanham, of Wimborne Minster, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Broughton, of County Somerset. To him the Dorset *History* (III, 232) makes reference as follows: "Thomas Hanham, Esq., second son of Thomas last mentioned, was one of the members of the Long Parliament that attended

Martin Pring, who commanded the expedition of 1603, was master. Gorges makes no mention of Hanham in his reference to the voyage, and it is evident that his position was a nominal one as a representative of Sir John Popham, the chief promoter of the expedition.

Unfortunately we have no record of this voyage. That a *Relation* was prepared by Hanham is learned from Purchas,[1] who mentions such a narrative. Purchas had a copy of it about the year 1624. Possibly it may have come into his possession with the Hakluyt papers, which were placed in his hands after Hakluyt's death. Why he did not publish the record in his *Pilgrimes*, it is difficult to conjecture on account of the significance of the voyage from its connection with the fitting out of the Popham colony. Purchas might well have omitted many another narrative in order to give place to this.

Although we have no record of the date of Pring's departure for

the King at Oxford, and subscribed the letter for peace to the Earl of Essex. . . . . In a grant of land in North America made to him (the reference is to the charter of April 10, 1606, authorizing two companies for colonizing North America) with Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Thomas Gorges, etc., he is styled Thomas Hanham, Esq., and also Captain Hanham. He was buried in Wimborne Minster, where see his monument." Unfortunately (probably because of a comparatively recent restoration of the edifice), this memorial of Captain Hanham is no longer to be seen. The 1868 edition of the Dorset *History*, however, contains the inscription of the memorial as printed in an earlier edition, with the statement that formerly, at the upper end of the south aisle of the Minster, was an altar tomb of gray marble. The inscription follows: "Here lyeth the body of Thomas Hanham, late of Dean's Court, Eng., second son of Thomas Hanham Sergeant at Law and of Penelope his wife, the daughter of Sir John Popham, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of England, who departed this life the first day of August in the 76th year of his age, Anno D. Ni, 1652". Accordingly, Captain Thomas Hanham was about thirty years of age at the time of the voyage of 1606. The second son of Captain Thomas Hanham, and also named Thomas Hanham, died June 17, 1650. A mural monument of white marble, erected by Margaret "his loving and sad widow", and containing "his portraiture and her own, intending if God so please to be interred by him" (*History*, III, 218), has come down to us and is now at the west end of the north aisle of the nave of Wimborne Minster.

[1] *Pilgrimes*, Ed. of 1624, IV, 1837.

the coast of Maine, Gorges says[1] that Pring's vessel followed the Richard "within two months". Probably Pring sailed from Bristol, and the voyage, as may be inferred from Challons' instructions, and what Gorges says concerning it, was a direct one to the American coast. St. George's harbor, the Pentecost harbor of Waymouth's anchorage in 1605, was doubtless the place of rendezvous agreed upon by Challons and Pring. Not to meet Challons there, or in the vicinity, was a matter of surprise and disappointment to those who followed him and expected to find the work of added exploration already well advanced. There may have been some little loss of time in searching for the co-operating vessel, but the favorable season for accomplishing satisfactory work was drawing to a close, and Hanham and Pring soon entered upon the task assigned to them. The coast was carefully examined,[2] and the explorations made by Waymouth the year before were considerably extended. Especially was attention given to that part of the coast lying west of the territory of Waymouth's discoveries. The Sagadahoc, now the Kennebec, was found to be a larger and more important river than that which evoked so much admiration from the explorers on the Archangel. It also afforded much larger trade facilities with the Indians and on this account offered advantages for a settlement that ought not to be overlooked. Accordingly, the location of the river and directions with reference to its entrance were carefully noted. Indeed all facts necessary in planning for the establishment of a colony in the explored territory were sought for and made available for use on the vessel's return.

Gorges implies that Pring was obliged to cut short his work of exploration by the approach of winter, and such seems to have been the fact. The vessel that bore the expedition hither left England about the first of October, and if ten weeks are allowed

[1] Letter to Challons, March 13, 1607.

[2] In this work Hanham and Pring had the assistance of Dehamda (Rosier's Tahanedo), one of Waymouth's captured Indians, whom they brought with them and left in the country on their return.

for the voyage and subsequent examination of the coast, Hanham and Pring could not have set out on their return much before the close of the year. Their arrival in England was on an unknown date. It was a winter voyage, and there were doubtless storms and delays. But port was at length reached—Bristol probably—and Popham and those who were interested in the voyage were at once made acquainted with its encouraging results.

Gorges in his reference to it[1] makes mention of Pring's "perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors", which his report described; and he calls it "the most exact discovery" of the coast that had come into his hands. While he makes no mention of Hanham's connection with the expedition, he pays high tribute to Pring, whose services had proved so acceptable, and had achieved success so greatly desired. "His relation of the same", adds Gorges, "wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates, that notwithstanding our first disaster we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect."[2]

[1] *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 11.

[2] Pring's later service was largely connected with the East Indies. In 1617, he was general of the East India fleet. In 1622, the Quarter Court of the Virginia Company made Captain Martin Pring a freeman of the company and gave him two shares of land in Virginia. Brown (*Genesis of the United States*, II, 973) considers it probable that Pring "died on his voyage to Virginia, or very soon after his return to England", probably in 1626, at the age of 46. His monument in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, England, bears witness to the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. The following is the inscription which is recorded on the memorial tablet:

To the Pious Memorie of Martin Pringe, Merchaunt, Sometyme Generall to the East Indies, and one of ye Fraternity of the Trinity House.

The living worth of this dead man was such
That this fayr Touch can give you but a Touch
Of his admired guifts; Theise quarter'd Arts,
Enrich'd his knowledge and ye spheare imparts;
His heart's true embleme where pure thoughts did move,
By a most sacred Influence from above.
Prudence and Fortitude are topp this toombe,
Which in brave Pringe took up ye chiefest roome;
Hope, Time supporters showe that he did clyme
The highest pitch of Hope though not of Tyme.

CHAPTER VI.

The Popham Colony.

The Southern Virginia Company, as stated in the preceding chapter, had already despatched colonists to the new world. There also was a movement for a like undertaking on the part of the Northern or Plymouth company. Conferences were held by the members of the company with others interested in the expansion of England's territory and trade. With enthusiasm the work of organizing the proposed colony was commenced. As this work, at least for the most part, was carried forward at Plymouth, Gorges, who was in command of the fort at that place, may be regarded as most conspicuous in this service, as well as in making preparations for the voyage. Difficulties were encountered as the work proceeded. A glimpse of these is afforded in a letter[1] which the mayor of Plymouth addressed May 10, 1606, to Lord Salisbury, King James' Secretary of State, suggesting some modifications of the charter. Sir John Popham, he wrote, had invited the co-operation of some of the prominent citizens of Plymouth; but some of the provisions of the charter were objectionable, especially the provision that placed the direction of the affairs of the colony in the control of a council, the majority of whose members were "strangers to us and our proceedings". They accordingly asked the prime minister's protection and help. This complaint was not sent to Lord Salisbury without the knowledge of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; for on the same day Gorges addressed a letter[2] to the prime minister, explaining further the position taken by the men of Plymouth, who, he wrote, were at first well disposed and ready "to be large adventurers", but had now withdrawn their

[1] *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 122, 123.
[2] Ib., III, 123–126.

aid and refused to have anything to do with the work to be undertaken. Evidently, Gorges considered this a very undesirable situation, and he urged a change in the provisions of the charter to which objection had been made, believing that in this way the interest of "many worthy and brave spirits" could be secured. The complaint of the mayor of Plymouth and his associates was laid before Lord Salisbury by Captain Love, the bearer of the letter. No word concerning the result has been preserved, so far as is known. Such, however, was the success of the efforts of the chief justice in connection with the fitting out of the Popham colony, that harmony of action among those interested in the enterprise seems at length to have been reached.

Two vessels, the Gift of God[1] and the Mary and John[2]—the tonnage of both unknown—were secured for transporting the colonists and their stores to the selected location of the colony. Concerning the number of the colonists, and the manner in which they were obtained, there is little information. Gorges makes mention of "one hundred landsmen". Probably he does not include in this designation "divers gentlemen of note", who are said to have accompanied the expedition. Strachey says the Gift of God and the Mary and John carried "one hundred and twenty for planters". To this number, of course, must be added the number of the crews of the two vessels in order to make up the full number of persons connected with the enterprise.

In providing the funds that were necessary for the purpose of fitting out and establishing the colony, Sir John Popham doubtless had a prominent place. He not only made large contributions when calls for money came, but he interested many of his friends and acquaintances in the work to which, with so much enthusiasm, he had put his hands. In one way or another the funds

[1] In the Lambeth Palace manuscript the name of this vessel is the "Gift". The fuller title is given by Strachey, who calls the vessel a "fly boat", that is, a light draught vessel.

[2] Gorges erroneously says there were "three sail of ships". *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 13.

were raised and the expedition was made ready. May 31, 1607, was the sailing day. The Gift of God and the Mary and John—the former commanded by George Popham[1] and the latter by Ralegh Gilbert[2]—lay in the old harbor of Plymouth, now known as Sutton's Pool, the same harbor from which the Mayflower sailed thirteen years later. Gorges, doubtless, was present at the departure of the colonists. Doubtless, too, Sir John Popham was there, having laid aside his official robes and left London in order by his presence to give forceful expression to the hopes he entertained, both for himself and the nation, in establishing an English colony in northern Virginia. All Plymouth, too, was there, prominent merchants, military and other professional men, fishermen and seamen, all much interested in an enterprise that was designed to bring the old and new worlds into close and prospering relations. As the Gift of God and the Mary and John sailed out of the harbor, the vessels were saluted by the guns of the fort, while from the Hoe the heartfelt benedictions and best wishes of a great company followed the colonists until the vessels had disappeared upon the horizon.

A brief account of the fortunes of the Popham colony appeared

[1] George Popham was the second son of Edward Popham, and a nephew of the chief justice. He was born about 1553-1555, and before his appointment in connection with the Popham colony he held the position of "his Majesty's customer of the Port of Bridgewater". His name appears in the charter for the North and South Virginia colonies in 1606, and he was the first president of the colony in North Virginia.

[2] Ralegh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and nephew of Sir Walter Ralegh, was also mentioned in the charter of 1606. While the date of his birth is unknown, it is supposed that when he joined the Popham colony he was not far from thirty years of age. Evidently he was lacking in the finer personal qualities of life, and Gorges' portraiture of him (in a letter to Secretary Cecil, Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, III, 158) is not a favorable one. Concerning his administration of the affairs of the colony after the death of President Popham, we have no information. As Thayer says, it "may have been vigilant and wholly satisfactory to the patrons", *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 32. He was made a member of the Council for New England in 1620.

in 1614 in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*. This was followed in 1622 by a short statement in *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England* by the president and council. In 1624, Captain John Smith included in his *General History of New England* a brief record of the Popham enterprise. These were the principal sources of information concerning the colony until 1849, when the Hakluyt Society published William Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania*, written about 1616. Evidently the narrative was based upon sources not in the possession of the earlier writers, and Strachey's account of the experiences of the Popham colonists was the best available until 1875, when a manuscript, once in the possession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and containing a journal, written by one connected with the colony, was discovered in the library of Lambeth Palace, London.[1] It covers a period of about four months, that is, from the departure of the expedition from the Lizard, June 1, 1607, to September 26, 1607. With this last date the manuscript abruptly closes; but as Strachey, by many evidences which his narrative furnishes, is believed to have used this manuscript in preparing his account of the Popham colony, his continuation of the story from September 26 is believed, for the same reason, to have been based upon that part of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, which in some way was afterward lost and is still lacking. Although in the title of the manuscript the name of the author is not mentioned, indications in the narrative point almost unmistakably to the conclusion that the writer was James Davies, one of Gilbert's officers on the Mary and John, and otherwise prominently connected with the colony.

The narrative of the voyage begins at "the Lizard"[2] on the first of June, the day after the vessels sailed out of the harbor of Plymouth, fifty miles away. Thence both vessels, instead of taking the direct westerly course to the American coast, as did Gosnold

[1] This manuscript, known in the Lambeth Palace Library as Ms. No. 806, was discovered in 1876 by the Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa of New York, and was first printed from the original manuscript in the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society* for May, 1880.

[2] At the southwest extremity of the county of Cornwall.

and Pring, followed Waymouth's course in the Archangel, and sailed southerly to the Azores islands, which were reached in twenty-four days. June 27, at the island of Flores, a landing was made for wood and water. Continuing the voyage, Popham and Gilbert fell in with two Flemish vessels June 29, and Captain Gilbert, as a token of friendly feeling, invited the captain of one of the vessels to come aboard the Mary and John. The invitation was accepted, and the Flemish captain was kindly received and hospitably entertained. On his departure, the guest cordially invited Gilbert and a few others on the Mary and John to accompany him to his ship, apparently moved thereto by the kindly reception he himself had received. To this "earnest entreaty", Gilbert and those with him, yielded; but, to their surprise, on reaching the Flemish vessel, they were treated as prisoners, some of the party being placed in the "bibows" (bilboes,) and others being subjected to "wild and shameful abuses". It happened, however, that in the crew of the Flemish vessel were English sailors, who, noticing this affront to their countrymen, found opportunity to make known to Gilbert their determination to stand by him and his companions. When the Flemish captain discovered this evidence of a threatened uprising on the part of his own men, the situation was not pleasing to him. He accordingly hastened to release the prisoners, and returned them to their own ship to their "no small joy".[1]

Meanwhile, Popham, in the Gift of God, either had not seen or failed to answer the signals of distress made by the Mary and John. His action is not explained in the narrative, which seems to imply unworthy conduct on his part in sailing away without an attempt at assistance.[2] The two vessels thus fell apart, and did

[1] The narratives of the voyages of that day furnish abundant illustrations of the fact that such discourtesies at sea between representatives of rival nations were by no means uncommon.

[2] Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 39, note), says, "Capt. Popham may be fairly entitled to the benefit of the doubt if he saw or comprehended the signals". It is certainly in favor of this view that no added mention of the incident appears in the *Relation*.

not again come together until their arrival on the American coast.

When this affair with the Flemish ship occurred, the Mary and John was ten leagues southwest of Flores. Continuing the voyage to the American coast, the vessel reached soundings July 27, in latitude 43°, 40′,[1] and July 30, land was descried, evidently the Nova Scotia coast. Gilbert anchored[2] and landed, but his stay was brief, and he proceeded down the coast on his way to the appointed rendezvous. August 5, land again was sighted. In the narrative there is an outline sketch of the view that was obtained by the voyagers in thus approaching the coast—a view of the high mountains "in upon the main land near unto the river of Penobscot". Such they knew them to be from the maps of Waymouth and Pring in their possession. Both the sketch and the narrative make it evident that the Mary and John, in now approaching the coast, must have been some distance southeast of the Matinicus islands. The mountains were the Camden mountains, noteworthy features of the coast to any mariner approaching the land at this point. Gilbert and his men now knew that the designated meeting-place of the vessels, in case of separation, was not far away.

Proceeding in toward the coast, the Mary and John, her entire ship's company alert with interest, came at length to the Matinicus islands easily recognizable from the narrative. A second outline sketch of the mountains toward which the Mary and John was moving is here inserted in the Lambeth manuscript, showing the changed appearance of the mountains, as seen from this nearer point of approach. At these islands the vessel's course was made "west and west by north" towards three other islands, eight leagues from the islands before mentioned. Differences of

[1] Here, sounding, they had ground in eighteen fathoms, and fished with such success that they caught about one hundred cod—"very great and large fish, bigger and larger fish than that which comes from the bank of Newfoundland. Here we might have laden our ship in less time than a month". Evidently they were on a portion of Sable island bank.

[2] The *Relation* also makes reference to the fish caught here; "we took great store of cod fishes, the biggest and largest that I ever saw or any man in our ship."

opinion have found expression as to the three islands to which reference is thus made. The record is brief, and it is difficult to obtain from it that accurate information which a fuller statement would have supplied. But the general direction seems unmistakable. Following down the coast from the Matinicus islands, the course of the Mary and John must have been in the direction of the St. George's islands.[1] A careful examination of the narrative in the light of such facts as are now attainable warrants this statement. It was ten o'clock at night when an approach to these islands was made. "We bore in with one of them", is the record, and the inference is that other islands were near. In fact, in the clear light of the morning that followed, the voyagers on the Mary and John found themselves "environed" with islands, and the narrative adds "near thirty", evidently an estimate. The anchorage, therefore, was not at Monhegan, as some have maintained. The *Relation* excludes any such view. No mariner, anchored at Monhegan, would refer to his vessel as "environed" with "near thirty islands". On the other hand, if the Mary and John, guided by directions derived from the narratives of the voyages of Waymouth and Pring, anchored in what is now known as St. George's harbor, the mention of environing islands—"near thirty"—is in harmony with easily recognized facts as to distance and direction.[2]

It should be added, furthermore, that the *Relation* makes the anchorage of the Mary and John not far from the island on which Waymouth erected a cross as a token of English possession. The statement is, "We here found a cross set up, the which we suppose was set up by George Wayman".[3] Rosier's narrative of

[1] No other view can be brought into harmony with the plain statement of the narrative.

[2] See Thayer's *Sagadahoc Colony*, 50–52 note, where the facts are presented with great clearness and force.

[3] Their finding the cross, which they supposed was erected by George Waymouth two years before, is very significant. Captain Gilbert unquestionably had with him a copy of Rosier's *Relation*, and probably a copy of Waymouth's "geographical map". Hence his readiness in discovering the cross, and his

Waymouth's voyage affords no foundation whatever for the supposition that the cross, which Waymouth erected upon an island on the coast of Maine, was erected on Monhegan. His brief visit to that island was from his anchorage north of it on his first approach to the coast, and was for the purpose of obtaining wood and water. On the following day, from that anchorage, he brought the Archangel "along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains" he had seen on approaching the coast. The St. George's islands, extending in a line nearly north northeast and south southwest for about five miles, answer fully to this description, as has already been stated. Gilbert and his men were not long in finding the cross Waymouth erected on one of these islands, confirming the other facts in their possession, that the designated place of rendezvous had been reached.

Gilbert's first anchorage, which was made somewhat hastily under the circumstances, was not found to be satisfactory, and a better one was secured on the following day. While the necessary examination was in progress, and the Mary and John was "standing off a little", a sail was descried at sea, but "standing in towards this island", namely the island near which the Mary and John had been anchored. Gilbert at once sailed out to meet the stranger, and it was soon discovered that the new arrival, as hoped for, was Gilbert's consort, the Gift of God. Evidently, differences as to the cause of the separation were at once forgotten; and in the joy of their "happy meeting" the two vessels sailed into the appointed haven, and "there anchored both together".

The language of the *Relation* is plain, and there is no warrant whatever for the view, maintained by some writers before the discovery of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, that this anchorage was at Monhegan. The island near which both vessels anchored was

identification of it as the one set up by Waymouth. He had brought the Mary and John into Pentecost harbor. Thayer (*Sagadahoc Colony*, 55) is evidently correct in his inference that Waymouth's cross was erected on the north end of Allen's island.

no other than the island in the vicinity of which the Mary and John anchored on her arrival on the coast; and this, as has already been shown, was not the island of Monhegan, but one of the St. George's islands and probably the one on which Waymouth set up a cross. If Monhegan had been the place of rendezvous, Popham would have sought an anchorage there. On the contrary, he was heading for islands farther in toward the main when the Gift of God was sighted from the deck of the Mary and John, and thence was led by her into the island harbor, which, evidently on the part of both captains, was the predetermined location for anchorage on reaching the American coast.

One of the five Indians captured by Waymouth was included in the company on board of the Mary and John. In the Lambeth Palace manuscript he is mentioned as "Skidwarres". Rosier, in his *Relation*, calls him "Skicowaros". Probably he was one of the Indians assigned by Waymouth to Sir John Popham, and doubtless very much was expected from him in matters connected with the settlement of the colony, especially in the relation of the colonists to the Indians. Very naturally Skidwarres, on reaching these familiar scenes, was anxious to be set on shore at once, in order to join his people from whom he had so long been separated. Just as anxious, apparently, was Gilbert to further the wishes of Skidwarres, and so, with the first opportunity, to place himself in friendly relations with the natives of the country. Accordingly at midnight, following the arrival of the Gift of God, Gilbert and some of his men, in one of the ships' boats, rowed westward[1] past "many gallant islands", and landed Skidwarres, by his direction, in a little cove on the mainland, on the east side of the Pemaquid peninsula, and evidently at what is now known as New Harbor. Then, still guided by Skidwarres, they marched across the peninsula, a distance of "near three miles" to the Indian encampment.

[1] With the two vessels at anchor in St. George's harbor, the direction is clearly indicated. Skidwarres was a Pemaquid Indian. From the very place where he was captured two years before, he is now returned by Captain Gilbert and his men.

The chief of the Indians was none other than Nahanada,[1] also one of Waymouth's captives, who had been returned by Hanham and Pring the year before; but though the Indians very naturally were inclined at first to hold themselves somewhat aloof, the assuring words addressed to them by Skidwarres and Nahanada caused them to lay aside their fears, and assurances of mutual friendship followed. Gilbert and his men remained at the Indian village two hours, and then, accompanied by Skidwarres, they returned to the ships in Pentecost harbor.

The next day was Sunday. Concerning its religious observances by the colonists, the *Relation* contains this record: "Sunday, being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. George's island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again." The place of this first recorded observance of Christian worship in New England is here clearly indicated. It was on the island near which Waymouth anchored the Archangel after leaving his anchorage north of Monhegan, and on which Waymouth's cross stood. No appeal can be made to the fact that this island is called in the narrative "St. George's island"—the name given by Waymouth to Monhegan. Its mention here—the writer being familiar with Rosier's *Relation*—is evidence only to the well-known fact that thus early the name St. George had been transferred from Monhegan to the island on which Waymouth's cross was erected, and later was made to include the whole group of islands since known as the St. George's islands.

The character of the service is also clearly indicated in the *Relation*. Though the words "sermon" and "preacher" are very suggestive of religious conditions in England at that time, and

[1] He was designated by Rosier Tahanedo and was called by him "a chief or Commander". Gorges mentions him under the name Dehamda, while in the Lambeth Palace manuscript he is known as Dehanada.

may have been due to the writer's habit of expression, it is probable that the preacher, Rev. Richard Seymour,[1] was a clergyman of the Church of England. With such promoters as those most interested in the colony—Popham, chief justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an ardent royalist and churchman—it is not likely that English dissent would furnish religious leadership in the undertaking. If there were differences of religious belief among the colonists, these were laid aside; and devout hearts found abundant occasion in the experiences of the voyage for glad expression of thanksgiving and praise. It was certainly a most fitting service in connection with an enterprise that meant so much both for the old world and the new.[2]

On the following day, August 10, both captains—Popham in his shallop with thirty men and Gilbert in his ship's boat with twenty men—taking with them Skidwarres, passed round Pemaquid point, evidently to avoid the march across the peninsula, and visited the Indians at the place where Gilbert had met them two days before. As at the previous interview, the establishment of kindly relations with the Indians was the purpose of the visit; but

[1] Concerning Rev. Richard Seymour there is no information known to the writer aside from his connection with the Popham colony. Bishop Burgess (*Popham Memorial*, Me. Hist. Society, 101-4) suggested that he was connected with the Popham, Gorges, Gilbert and Ralegh families, but the suggestion remains a suggestion only. A Richard Seymour matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1588-9, but a biographical sketch of this Oxonian makes it clear that he did not become a clergyman, and so was not the Richard Seymour of the Popham colony.

[2] In the King's instructions for the government of the colonies occurred these words, which Popham evidently had not failed to notice: "We do specially ordain, charge and require, the said president and councils, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and precincts, that they, with all diligence, care and respect, do provide that the true word and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted and used, not only within every of the said several colonies and plantations, but also as much as they may amongst the savage people which do or shall adjoin unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rites and religion now professed and established within our realm of England". Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 67, 68.

apparently the memory of the natives, who were captured by Waymouth with Skidwarres and Nahanada and had not been returned, lingered in the hearts of the members of the tribe, and there was an evident lack of cordial feeling. The visitors spent the night by themselves on the other side of the Pemaquid river. Better relations were not secured on the following day; and the visitors, leaving Skidwarres, who now expressed a determination to remain with his people, returned to their ships.

That night the vessels remained at the place of rendezvous. But the summer was rapidly passing, and the planting of the colony was now a matter of pressing interest and importance. Accordingly, on the following morning, Wednesday, August 12, anchors were weighed, and both vessels, moving out from their island harbor into the open sea, were headed westward down the coast. Pring's explorations of the preceding year had called attention to the river Sagadahoc as a larger and more important river than that which Waymouth discovered in 1605, and therefore one upon which a more suitable location for the settlement of a colony could be found. It is a clear inference from the *Relation* that before the Gift of God and the Mary and John left England it had been decided that the colonists should proceed to the Sagadahoc, and establish themselves there. In accordance with this decision, Popham and Gilbert now sailed westward, instead of moving in toward the main land and the river of Waymouth's exploration.

In reaching the sea, the Kennebec river, the ancient Sagadahoc, does not present an opening that is discoverable from vessels passing along the coast. Popham and Gilbert had been made acquainted with this fact, and careful directions for gaining an entrance to the river had been placed in their hands. Accordingly, when night drew on, in order not to pass too far to the westward and so "over shoot" the mouth of the river, both vessels struck their sails and thus remained from midnight until morning. With the break of day, they were about half a league south of the

"island of Sutquin".[1] The writer of the *Relation* adds here two rude but good drawings of Seguin as seen from different points; and in referring to the island he mentions the fact that the island is situated "right before the mouth of the river of Sagadahock". Popham and Gilbert, therefore, had an excellent guide to the mouth of the river. But Gilbert, in the Mary and John, not convinced that the island was "Sutquin", continued to stand to the westward in search of it. On the other hand, Popham, in the Gift of God, sending his shallop landward from the island which he held to be the "Sutquin" of his directions, found the mouth of the Sagadahoc, and at the close of the day brought his vessel safely into the river and anchored.

That night a heavy storm from the south broke upon the Mary and John, and with difficulty the vessel was rescued from many perils upon a lee shore; but at length a refuge was found under the shelter of two islands.[2] Here Gilbert remained until Saturday, August 15, when the storm having spent itself, he headed his vessel again for "Sutquin". On his return, however, by reason of an offshore wind, he was unable to bring the vessel into the river. On the following day, Popham in his shallop came to the assistance of his consort, and before noon the Mary and John found anchorage in the Sagadahoc alongside of the Gift of God.

The location of the colony was now the matter of first importance with the colonists, and on the following day, August 17, Popham in his shallop with thirty others and Gilbert in his ship's boat and eighteen others—fifty in all—proceeded up the river in

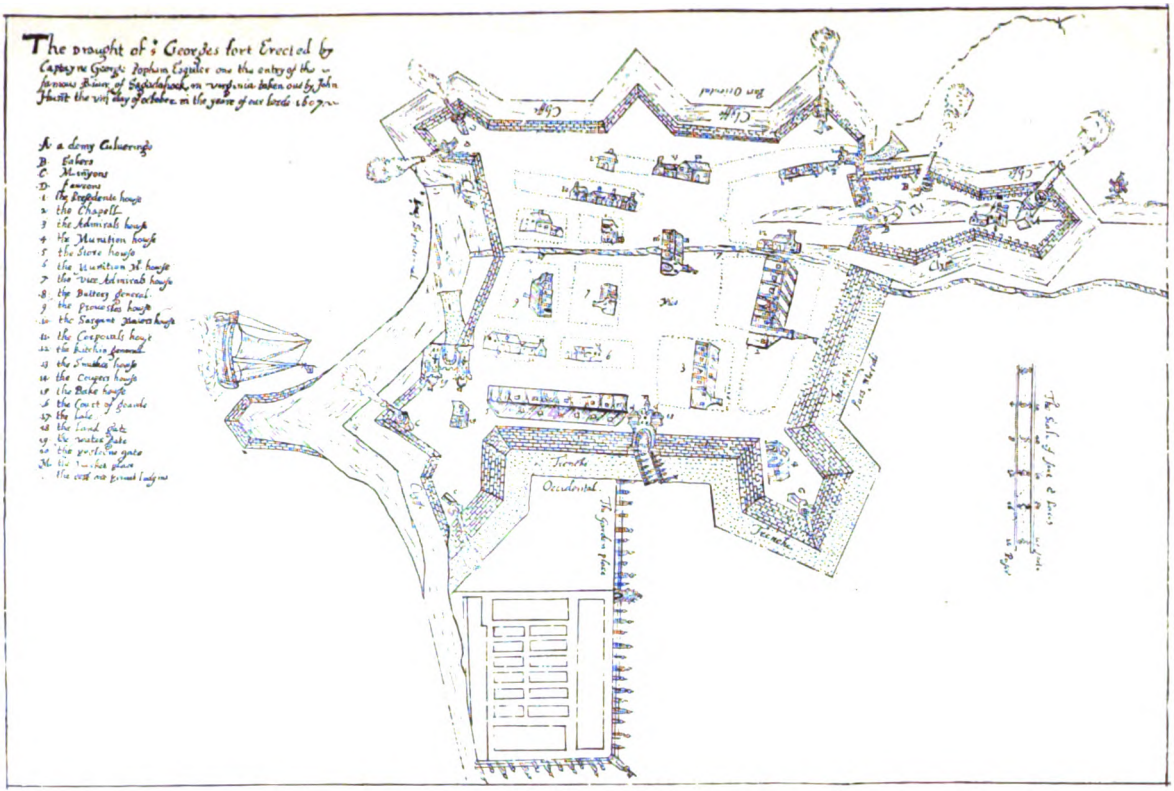
[1] This is the first mention of the island in the early narratives. Capt. John Smith (1616) calls it Satguin. According to the late Rev. M. C. O'Brien of Bangor, a recognized authority in the Abnaki language, this Indian name of the island means "he vomits". Evidently the Indians had long been familiar with the general condition of the waters between Seguin and the main land.

[2] The vessel, it seems, was now in the vicinity of Cape Small point. Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 62, note) says: "The outermost point or true cape must be regarded as one of the islands, though it is now joined to the main land by a low neck of sand. It is 400 or 600 yards in extent. Seal island, 350 yards in length, lies northeast, nearer the land."

search of the most suitable place for the plantation. "We find this river", says the *Relation*, "to be very pleasant with many goodly islands in it and to be both large and deep water having many branches in it; that which we took bendeth itself towards the northeast". From these words it may be inferred that, after reaching Merrymeeting bay, the explorers passed into the Kennebec; but concerning the distance made in that part of the river there is no statement, or any words even from which an inference can be drawn. It is evident, however, that in their search the explorers found no place for a plantation preferable to that which was observable from the vessels in the river. Accordingly, after their return they "all went to the shore and there made choice of a place for our plantation, which is at the very mouth or entry of the river of Sagadahock on the west side of the river, being almost an island of a good bigness". The record affords no opportunity for doubt with reference to the place selected. It was at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, and on the west side of the river. The added statement, that the land selected for the plantation formed "almost an island of a good bigness", describes in general terms the peninsula of Sabino, "a huge misshapen triangle" between Atkins bay and the sea. Examination of this tract of land establishes its fitness for plantation purposes.[1] Just as clearly as the *Relation* establishes the general location of the Popham colony on the west side of the river, so another discovery, since that of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, enables us to fix the precise location of the fortified settlement, which Popham and his associates made at the mouth of the Sagadahoc.[2]

[1] For very full particulars concerning the location, and especially for mention of erroneous opinions held by early writers, see Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 167–187.

[2] Among the treasures secured for Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, by Dr. Curry in the library at Simancas, Spain, was a copy of "The draught of St. George's fort erected by Captain George Popham, Esquire, on the entry of the famous River of Sagadahock in Virginia, taken out by John Hunt the VIII of October in the year of our Lord 1607". When this plan was published in the *Genesis* (Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1890, I, 190), it was discovered that the generally accepted view as to the location of Popham's



Archivo general de Simancas- Secretaria de Estado- Legajo 2586- f.º 117

PLAN OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1607.

The choice of this precise location of the settlement was made August 19. "All went to the shore" for this purpose, and after the selection there was a religious service. To the colonists this meant much more than that held a few days before on one of the islands of St. George's harbor. Then, the service was one of thanksgiving for their safe arrival in the new world. Now, they were about to lay the foundations of civil government; and as their own hopes, and the hopes of those most deeply interested in the welfare of the colony, extended into an unknown future, their preacher, in the presence of all the colonists, implored the blessing of God on the great undertaking upon which they now formally entered. "After the sermon", adds the *Relation*, "our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed". The patent—if patent there was—must have been a copy of that granted by James I on April 10, 1606, providing for two colonies in America, designated as the first and second, the former known as the southern colony and the latter as the northern colony.[1] The document is a lengthy one and its reading could have added little interest to the occasion, as its provisions were already known. But as the words in the *Relation* "therein prescribed" make the

fort was no longer tenable. In fact, an examination of the plan, and of the topographical features of the peninsula of Sabino, soon made it evident that the newly discovered plan could only be made to fit the plot of ground situated a few hundred yards west of the present Fort Popham. When laid down upon this plot the plan fitted the location as a glove fits a hand. At the Popham celebration, August 29, 1862, the Maine Historical Society provided a granite memorial of the Popham settlement for insertion in the wall of Fort Popham. As the construction of the fort was abandoned even before the close of the Civil War—so rapid was the advance in the requirements for offensive and defensive warfare in coast fortifications—the proposed memorial block remained uncalled for in the grounds of the fort until the approach of the tercentenary of the Popham colony in 1907, when the society obtained permission from the War Department at Washington to transfer the memorial to the rocky ledge, included in Popham's fort as indicated on the Simancas plan. The transfer was made, and with a slight addition to the inscription the location of Popham's fortified settlement was appropriately and accurately indicated.

[1] Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 52–63.

patent the source of the "orders and laws" now read to the colonists, the writer doubtless had reference to the instructions of the King promulgated November 20, 1606[1] for the government of the colonies. These were prepared "for the good Order and Government of the two several Colonies and Plantations to be made by our loving subjects in the Country commonly called Virginia and America". A copy of these instructions was furnished to the heads of both colonies, southern and northern. The copy received by the Popham colonists has not been preserved. Happily, however, the copy carried to Virginia by the Jamestown colonists has come down to us in full, with its provisions for orderly government, appointment of officers, administration of justice, trial by jury, punishment of offenders, etc., the foundation principles of the civil government which the colonists were to organize.

First of all, these instructions established in England a "King's council of Virginia", having full power to give directions for governing the colonists "as near to the common laws of England and the equity thereof as may be". This King's council was authorized to appoint for each colony a council, and the council was made the governing body of the colony. The president of the colony, serving one year, was appointed by the colonial council from its own membership. His successor, in case of death, or absence, received appointment from the council, and for any just cause the council could remove the president from office. In cases of criminal offense, the president and council pronounced judgment. Provision was made for reprieve by the president and council, and for pardon by the King. The president and council also had power to hear and determine all civil causes. They could also from time to time "make and ordain such constitutions, ordinances and officers for the better order, government and peace of the people", these always, however, to be "in substance consonant unto the laws of England, or the equity thereof". Then follow these words:

[1] Ib., I, 64–75.

"Furthermore, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby determine and ordain, that every person and persons being our subjects of every the said colonies and plantations shall from time to time well entreat those savages in those parts, and use all good means to draw the savages and heathen people of the said several places, and of the territories and countries adjoining to the true service and knowledge of God, and that all just, kind and charitable courses shall be holden with such of them as shall conform themselves to any good and sociable traffic and dealing with the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawn to the true knowledge of God and the obedience of us, our heirs and successors, under such severe pains and punishments as shall be inflicted by the same several presidents and councils of the said several colonies, or the most part of them within their several limits and precincts, on such as shall offend therein, or do the contrary."

In other words, both the colonists and the natives of the country, in their mutual relations, were to be under a reign of law that would aim to secure the rights and happiness of all. In the King's instructions with reference to the government of the two colonies, the rights of the colonists, so far as personal liberty is concerned, received no recognition. The officers were to be elected by the King's council, and not by popular vote. Strachey, indeed, says that after the reading of the laws under which the Popham colonists were now placed, "George Popham, gent, was nominated president; Captain Ralegh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymour, preacher, Capt. Richard Davies, Capt. Harlow . . . . . were all sworn assistants.[1] Captain John Smith, however, puts the case very differently, when, in referring to the Popham colony in his *General History of New England*,[2] he says: "That honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it (i. e. that part of America formerly called Norumbega,

[1] *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 67, note.

[2] Richmond, Va., 1819, II, 173–4.

&c.,) and sent Captain George Popham for president; Captain Rawleigh Gilbert for admiral; Edward Harlow, master of the ordinance; Captain Robert Davis, sergeant major; Captain Ellis Best, marshal; Master Leaman, secretary; Captain James Davis to be captain of the fort; Master Gome Carew, chief searcher".

The natural inference from these words is that the officers of the colony were appointed in England by Sir John Popham. But the name of the chief justice is not included in the list of members of the "King's council of Virginia" which appears in the instructions for the government of the colonies. In that council, however, the Popham family was represented by Popham's son and heir, Sir Francis Popham. Captain Smith, making the above record in 1624, probably was in error in implying that the officers of the colony were appointed by Sir John Popham. The latter's enthusiastic exertions in financing the undertaking entitled him to honorable mention in any reference to the northern colony; but unquestionably there is no ground for the inference that the King's instructions were not strictly followed in the appointment of all the officers of the Popham colony.

On the following day, Thursday, August 20, the whole company again landed, and work at once was commenced on the fort that was to inclose the colonist's settlement. It was a large earthwork, occupying the level plot of ground at the northern extremity of Sabino head. President Popham "set the first spit of ground". The rest followed, and "labored hard in the trenches about it". As within the inclosure necessary buildings were to be erected later for the use of the colonists, there was need of busy endeavor in order to complete the required work before the winter opened.

On the next day, the colonists continued their work, some in the trenches and others in the woods preparing fagots for use in the construction of the fort. Thus early, also, under the direction of the head carpenter, those who were familiar with shipbuilding repaired to the woods and commenced to cut timber for the construction of a small vessel, which would be needed by the colonists

on the return of the Mary and John and the Gift of God to England before the close of the year.

On Saturday, August 22, President Popham proceeded in his shallop up the river as far as Merrymeeting bay. From that large body of water, in his former exploration, he had entered the Kennebec, and noted its characteristics and opportunities for trade with the Indians. This time he turned westward from this point, and entered the ancient Pejepscot, now the Androscoggin. Probably he proceeded as far as the falls at Brunswick. There, or at some other part of the river, he held a parley with a body of Indians, who informed him that they had been at war with Sasanoa, the chief of the Kennebec Indians, and had slain his son. He also learned that Skidwarres and Nahanada were in this fight. Having completed his exploration, President Popham returned with his party to the mouth of the river on the following day.

With the new week that had opened, the colonists continued the work upon which they had entered with so much energy and enthusiasm. Meanwhile Captain Gilbert had in contemplation exploration to the westward after the return of President Popham. By unfavorable weather, however, he was delayed until Friday, August 28, when, in his ship's boat with fifteen others, he sailed out of the river and proceeded westward along the coast. Mention of "many gallant islands", evidently the islands of Casco bay, is made in the *Relation*. It was a picturesque scene which Gilbert and his companions had before them, as in the afternoon, with a favoring breeze, they sailed past these many wooded islands. That night, the wind having now shifted and being strong against them, they anchored under a sheltering headland called Semeamis. Because of meager details in the *Relation*, the exact location of this headland cannot now be determined with certainty. Thayer, who has carefully sought for a location in the light of these scanty materials, expresses the opinion that it is to be found on some part of Cape Elizabeth, not far from Portland head light, in what is known as Ship cove.[1]

[1] *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 69, note.

The next morning, Captain Gilbert, against a strong head-wind, continued his course along the coast. There was hard rowing in a rough sea, and progress was slow. At length as the day drew to a close, escaping the baffling billows that had assailed them so many hours, they came to anchor under an island "two leagues from the place" where they anchored the night before. The indications are clear that this island was no other than Richmond's island. Here Gilbert remained until midnight, and then, the wind having subsided, he and his companions left the island "in hope to have gotten the place we desired". But soon after the wind again swept down upon them—a strong wind from the southwest —and they were compelled to return to the anchorage they had just left. Concerning the desired place which Gilbert hoped to reach, there is no information. Something, evidently, he had learned from Pring, or earlier explorers, led him onward and the head-winds that beset him, and drove him back, brought disappointment.

The next day was Sunday, and the southwest wind being favorable for the return to the Sagadahoc, the baffled voyagers directed their boat thitherward. Again they entered Casco bay, and again the writer of the *Relation* extolled its "goodly islands . . . . . so thick & near together that you cannot well discern to number them, yet may you go in betwixt them in a good ship, for you shall have never less water than eight fathoms. These islands are all overgrown with woods very thick as oaks, walnut, pine trees & many other things growing as sarsaparilla, hazle nuts & whorts in abundance". The return journey was successfully made, and the mouth of the Sagadahoc was reached at the close of the day. It was a very favorable run from Richmond's island.

Attention was now given not only to work on the fort, but also to the erection of a storehouse within the inclosure. Any relation with their Indian neighbors was a matter of very great interest. On the first day of September a canoe was discovered approaching the fort, but its occupants, when at the shore, acted warily, not allowing more than a single colonist to come near at a

time. The writer of the *Relation* makes mention of two "great kettles of brass" that he saw in the canoe, an evidence apparently of earlier trading relations with European fishing and trading vessels on the coast.

A few days later, September 5, nine Indian canoes entered the river from the eastward. They contained about forty men, women and children, and among them were Nahanada and Skidwarres. All were kindly welcomed and entertained. The larger part of the visitors, after a while, withdrew to the opposite side of the river and made their camp there; but Skidwarres and another Indian remained with the colonists until night. Then, as both wished to rejoin their own people, Captain Gilbert and two other officers conveyed them across the river, and stayed that night with the Indians who were to depart in the morning. When, at that time, the Indians set out on their return to Pemaquid, Gilbert obtained from them a promise that on a certain day, agreed upon by both parties, they would accompany him to the place on the Penobscot river where the "bashabe", or principal chief of that region, resided.

This promise evidently gave great satisfaction to the colonists, and strengthened the hope that thus early strong friendly relations would be opened with one of the most powerful of the neighboring Indian tribes. Accordingly, three days later, Tuesday, September 8, Gilbert, accompanied by twenty-two others, started eastward, taking with them various kinds of merchandise for traffic with the Indians. But again the wind was contrary, and in waiting for more favorable weather conditions, they delayed so long that they were not able to reach Pemaquid at the appointed time. When they finally came to the place, the Indians, whom they were to meet, and who were to conduct them to the "bashabe", had left. They "found no living creature. They all were gone from thence". This is a noteworthy record in the *Relation*, inasmuch as it furnishes information with reference to conditions existing at Pemaquid at that time. Indians were its only inhabitants, and they had now left. If Gilbert and his men, in their

search for the Indians, found at Pemaquid any traces of other inhabitants or of an earlier European civilization[1], they failed to record the fact. Early references to Pemaquid make mention only of Indian occupation, or traces of such occupation.

But Gilbert and his companions, disappointed in not finding the Indians, and especially Nahanada and Skidwarres, did not abandon the expedition, but sailing round Pemaquid point, Gilbert directed his boat to the eastward in the hope of reaching by water the seat of the "bashabe" upon the Penobscot river. Three days were spent in this endeavor, but the river did not open to them in that time, and their food supply not warranting a farther search, the explorers were at length compelled to turn about and make their way back to their companions at the mouth of the Sagadahoc.

Meanwhile the storehouse within the fort had been so far completed, that September 7, the removal of supplies from the Mary and John began. But work on the fort was not discontinued.

[1] The "Commissioners in Charge of the Remains of the Ancient Fortifications at Pemaquid", in their report dated December 13, 1902, say (p. 3): "The remnants of a well-populated and well-built town with paved streets now quite below the surface of the present cultivated soil—the date of which establishment has not yet been discovered— show that this was also in very early times occupied with intention of permanence." The reason for this non-discovery is found in the fact that search is made where nothing is to be found, if by "very early times" is meant some period prior to the Popham Colony. In connection with their report the commissioners print a "Memorial" submitted by Hon. R. K. Sewall, who refers to "marked remains and relics of Spanish occupation". Members of the Popham colony visited Pemaquid on four different occasions, but make no mention of indications of earlier "Spanish occupation" or any other occupation than Indian, nor did the Indians call their attention to "marked remains"; neither did such careful explorers as Pring, de Monts, Champlain, Capt. John Smith and others make any mention of such remains. In connection with the construction of Fort Willian Henry (1692) a very substantial structure, "paved streets", *i. e.*, good roadway approaches to the fort, were doubtless made, or, in 1729, when upon the ruins of Fort William Henry (destroyed in 1696) Fort Frederic was built. This last strong fortification was demolished early in the Revolution in order that it might not become a British stronghold. With the utter overthrow of these Pemaquid fortifications, any "paved streets" made in connection with them naturally disappeared.

The season, however, was advancing so rapidly that it seemed desirable to make a more extended exploration of the river before it should be closed by ice. Accordingly, September 23, Gilbert and nineteen others started "for the head of the river of Sagadahock". For two days and a part of a third day, the course of the Kennebec was followed as far as the falls at Augusta. With some difficulty these were successfuly passed, and Gilbert and his companions ascended the river about a league farther. But night coming on they landed and went into camp. The evening had not far advanced when their rest was disturbed by a call in broken English from some Indians on the opposite side of the river. A response was made, but the strangers soon withdrew and the night passed without added interruption. The use of broken English by these savages indicated an earlier contact with Englishmen in American waters. Possibly this was in the preceding year when Hanham and Pring were on the coast. It is perhaps more probable that the "broken English" of these Indians was the result of trading relations with English fishermen, whose vessels had visited American waters from the opening of the century, or at least shortly after its opening.

On the following morning, Saturday, September 26, four Indians appeared and made themselves known as the Indians who had called to them from the opposite side of the river the evening before. Evidently they had received information of the progress of Gilbert and his men up the river, and wished to learn the significance of the presence of the visitors. One of the four announced himself as "Sebanoa . . . . . Lord of the river of Sagadahock".

With this announcement, the manuscript *Relation*, followed in this narrative thus far, abruptly closes at the bottom of a page. There can be little, if any doubt whatever, that originally there were added pages which in some way became detached, and so were finally lost in the vicissitudes through which the manuscript passed before it found a safe resting place in the library of Lambeth Palace. The story of the Popham colony that is found in

William Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, follows so closely the *Relation* to this point as to leave little doubt from the character of the rest of the story, that Strachey had all the missing pages of the manuscript before him while writing his narrative. As there is reason to believe that the manuscript—doubtless prepared for the information of the patrons of the enterprise—was continued only to October 6, 1607, the probable date of the sailing of the Mary and John for England, the loss is not a great one, and happily is in part at least supplied by Strachey's narrative, supplemented from other sources than those available now.

Strachey's narrative continues the story of Gilbert's interview with Sebanoa, recording acts of duplicity and treachery on the part of the Kennebec Indians as well as other acts of kindness and good-will. Gilbert seems to have conducted himself with tact and discretion under circumstances that were full of peril to himself and his party. It was his declared purpose in the exploration to go "to the head of the river", but the rapids he had now reached made progress difficult. His experiences with the Indians, also, had been by no means what he desired. At all events he now abandoned farther advance up the river, and having erected a cross at the highest point he had reached, he set out on his return to the settlement. On the way down the river, search was made for the "by river of some note called Sasanoa", by which plainly was meant the tidal river that connects the Kennebec opposite Bath with the waters of Sheepscot bay. Concerning this inland passage into the Sagadahoc, information doubtless had been received from Indians they had met in interviews already mentioned; but though Gilbert and his party looked for it carefully, a fog at length settled down upon them and they were obliged to make their way homeward as best they could.

They reached the fort on September 29. September 30 and October 1 and 2, all were busy about the fort. On the Mary and John, too, now nearly ready to sail on her return voyage to England, there were doubtless many evidences of preparations for the voyage. September 3, Skidwarres, crossing the river in a

canoe, brought a message to President Popham, saying that Nahanada, also the bashabe's brother and other Indians, were on the opposite side of the river, and would visit the colonists on the following day. This they did, two canoes conveying the party, which included Nahanada and his wife, Skidwarres, the bashabe's brother and a chief called Amenquin. Popham entertained his guests with kindness and generosity during two days, the last day being Sunday, on which "with great reverence and silence" the Indians attended the religious services of the colonists both morning and evening. With the exception of Amenquin, all the Indians departed on Monday, October 6, and on this date the daily journal in Strachey's narrative ends. This abrupt suspension of the daily record of the Popham colony gives probability to the inference that it was brought to a close because of the sailing of the Mary and John about this date; the journal having been kept apparently for the purpose of affording the patrons of the colony in England eagerly awaited information at the earliest possible opportunity. As the plan of Fort St. George, already mentioned, bears the inscription, "taken out on the 8th of October, 1607", it is possible that in these few words is recorded the exact date on which the Mary and John sailed out of the river homeward bound.[1]

The vessel arrived in the harbor of Plymouth, England, on the first day of December. No one with a deeper personal interest welcomed the tidings the Mary and John brought from the colonists than Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The journal was placed in his hand, and added information with reference to the colony was communicated by the officers of the vessel. It was "great news", and the commander of the fort at Plymouth late that very night —evidently having spent the preceding hours in personal interviews with the returning voyagers—hastened to make known to Secretary Cecil at Hatfield house the information he had received.[2]

[1] Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 192–196, has a valuable paper on the "Movements of the Ships".

[2] *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 154–157.

The colonists, he wrote, had successfully established themselves in a fertile country, with gallant rivers, stately harbors and a people tractable, if only they were discreetly dealt with. To be sure, the Mary and John had brought no such cargo as would satisfy the expectation of those who had furnished the funds for financing the undertaking, and this fact, he said, might be used to the disadvantage of the enterprise; but it should be remembered, he added, that the colonists during the two months following their arrival at the mouth of the Sagadahoc had been busily engaged in establishing themselves in a secure position there. But this was not the whole story, and Gorges was compelled to add that already among the colonists there were discordant elements, occasioned by the "defect and want of understanding of some of those employed, to perform what they were directed unto, from whence there did not only proceed confusion, but, through pride and arrogancy, faction and private resolution", concerning which he would inform his lordship more fully at another time.

But though Gorges evidently was considerably discouraged on account of the reported condition of things among the colonists, he had no difficulty in finding excellent reasons why his associates in the enterprise should not steadfastly resolve to follow it up with energy and hopefulness. Such reasons he found in "the boldness of the coast, the easiness of the navigation, the fertility of the soil, and the several sorts of commodities that they are assured the country do yield, as namely fish in the season in great plenty, all along the coast mastidge for ships, goodly oaks, and cedars with infinite other sorts of trees, rosin, hemp, grapes very fair and excellent good, whereof they have already made wine, much like to the claret wine that comes out of France; rich furs if they can keep the Frenchmen from the trade; as for metals, they can say nothing, but they are confident there is in the country, if they had means to seek for it, neither could they go so high as the alum mines are which the savages doth assure them there is great plenty of". The manufacture of alum from pyritic shale was at that time exciting public interest not only in England but upon the

continent; and the fact that thus early the colonists had satisfied themselves of the existence of deposits of pyritic shale in the Sagadahoc country was one especially welcome to Gorges.[1]

In a second letter to Cecil, dated December 3, 1607,[2] Gorges gives fuller expression to the reports he had received with reference to the general confusion already existing among the colonists. President Popham, he described as "an honest man, but old and of an unwieldly body, and timorously fearful to offend or contest with others that will or do oppose him; but otherwise a discreet, careful man". Concerning Gilbert, the second in command, Gorges says he is described by those who returned in the Mary and John as "desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life, prompt to sensuality, little zeal in religion, humorous, headstrong and of small judgment and experience, other ways valiant enough". Of the other officials, the preacher, Rev. Robert Seymour, was especially commended "for his pains in his place and his honest endeavors". Honorable mention was also made of Captain Robert Davies and Mr. Turner, the company's physician. But of the colonists in general, little was said. Evidently they were regarded by Gorges as unfit for employment in such an undertaking. "Childish factions" had already developed among them.

Naturally, Gorges was disturbed on account of this condition of things in the new colony; and he expresses to Cecil the wish that the king, "unto whom by right the conquest of kingdoms doth appertain", would take the matter into his own hands, and so not allow the project to fail. Delicacy did not allow Gorges to withhold the suggestion that in case this were done he would be "most happy to receive such employment" from the king as his highness shall deem him fitted, and he had no doubt that, with

[1] "Large deposits of pyritic shale, or more popularly alum stone, exist near the Sagadahoc. It occurs at the mouth of Sprague's river, near Small point, in Georgetown; and an extensive belt of it extends through the towns of Lisbon and Litchfield. On Jewell's island alum has been successfully manufactured from pyritic shales within a recent period." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 156, note.

[2] Ib., III, 158–160.

"very little charges", he would be able "to bring to pass infinite things".

In all probability Cecil laid before the king this discouraging report. We have no reason to believe, however, that it gave the easy-going monarch any part of that deep anxiety that disquieted his devoted servant in command of the fort at Plymouth; and Gorges' suggestion concerning the man for the hour evidently received no consideration whatever. But there was occasion for anxiety, as Gorges well knew. If, as he desired, government assistance in supporting the colony could not be obtained, there was no lack of whole-heartedness in his continued endeavors to render all possible aid with reference to English colonization in the new world.

Information concerning affairs at the mouth of the Sagadahoc after the departure of the Mary and John is derived for the most part from Strachey's narrative; but such information is exceedingly meagre. The colonists, he says, finished the fort and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance. They also built fifty houses within the inclosure, besides a church and a storehouse. In this mention of the number of houses erected by the colonists there is evidently an error. No such number was required for present occupancy. Moreover, the plan of the fort found in the library at Simancas, which apparently was drawn with reference to completeness of design, shows not a third of the number of buildings mentioned by Strachey. To have completed, before winter set in, even the number indicated on the plan, would have required a force of workmen far beyond that which was at Popham's command. The most that was attempted, doubtless, was to provide for the colonists as comfortable quarters as the means at their disposal admitted.

Added information with reference to the colonists is furnished in a letter[1] written by Gorges February 7, 1608, to Secretary Cecil, informing him of the arrival of the Gift of God in the harbor of Plymouth. Probably the date of the letter is the date of the arrival of

[1] Ib., III, 161–164.

the Gift, as Gorges was not likely to lose any time in conveying to the government this latest intelligence from the mouth of the Sagadahoc. First of all, he refers to the severity of the cold at Sagadahoc, by which the colonists had been sorely pinched, although it was probably not later than the middle of December when the Gift's return-voyage was commenced and the winter then was only in its early stages. The health of the colonists, however, was good. But the troubles among them which had appeared even before the departure of the Mary and John were still operative, and Gorges was compelled to report "idle proceedings" and the existence of "divisions", "factions", each "disgracing the other, even to the savages".[1] The picture was a dark one and might have been made even darker. Certainly Gorges could have found in the report little encouragement, either for himself or Cecil, with reference to the success of an undertaking to which he had given his best endeavors. In fact, his only hopes in connection with English colonization upon American soil seemed now to hang upon the king, "the chief spring of our happiness . . . . . who at the last must reap the benefit of all our travail, as of right it belongs unto him"; and so he urges upon the secretary careful consideration of the whole matter, adding his own public and private reasons in seeking to extend the glory of England beyond the sea—namely "the certainty of the commodities that may be had from so fertile a soil as that is, when it shall be peopled, as well for building of shipping, having all things rising in the place wherewith to do it". This, also, would be for "the increase of the king's navy, the breeding of mariners, the employment of his people, filling the world with expectation and satisfying his sub-

[1] Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 205–211) has a very carefully prepared paper on the "Character of the Colonists". The review he presents is unfavorable. After quoting various writers he says (210): "In the dim reflected light of these few expressions, we get a blurred but not wholly misleading view of the colonists, as at least in part a low class of men, of light weight in character by former practices, or by reaction from former pressure of severe administration of law, inclined to be lawless and emulous of base and wicked deeds."

jects with hopes, who now are sick in despair and in time will grow desperate through necessity". Moreover, to abandon American colonization would afford an opportunity for others to seize the prize, which England might have. "At this instant", adds Gorges, "the French are in hand with the natives to practice upon us, promising them, if they will put us out of the country, and not trade with none of ours, they will come unto them", etc. "The truth is", he adds, "this place is so stored with excellent harbors and so bold a coast, as it is able to invite any actively minded to endeavor the possessing thereof, if it were only to keep it out of the hands of others". These words of Gorges indicate a strong and even statesmanlike grasp upon problems that had much to do with the future of the island kingdom; and they admirably illustrate the prevalent thought and purpose of those best informed in England, not only then but in the generations that followed, until the inspiring dream of England's hold upon American soil had finally been realized.

Of course, in the present state of affairs at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, if anything was to be done by the government, it must be done quickly; and Gorges suggests to Cecil that the king furnish for the undertaking "one of his middle sort of ships, with a small pinnace, and withal to give his letters, and commission, to countenance and authorize the worthy enterpriser". This would put new life into the colony, and Gorges, ready to serve his sovereign and the country, declared his willingness to take command for the discovery of the whole American coast "from the first to the second colony".

In this letter to Cecil, Gorges makes no mention of the fact that a part of the colonists returned to England on the Gift of God. Purchas, however, in his *Pilgrimes*, published in 1614, says in his reference to the Popham colony that "forty-five remained there, after the departure of the Gift, and refers to a letter written by President Popham as his authority for the statement. Captain John Smith, in his *General History of New England*, published ten years later, says, "They were glad to send all but forty-five of

Ad pedes serenissimi regis sui humillime se prosterit Georgius Popham⁹ præsidens
secundæ colonie Virginie, Si diuinæ magestati tuæ placuerit patientiæ seruo
obseruantissimo ac deuotissimo quamvis indigno pauca recipere, ab Altitudinis tuæ
claritate vel minimum aliæ nare arbitror. Quoniam in dei gloriæ sublimitatis Vestræ
amplitudine et Brittanorum vtilitatem redundare videantur peraqu igitur
indicans magestati tuæ notum fieri, quod apud Virginios et nicassones nullus
in orbe terrarum magis admiratur quam Dominus Jacobus Brittanorum imperator,
propter admirabilem iustitiæ ac incredibilem constantiæ quæ istarum principiarum
natiuis non mediocre perfect. letitia. dicentibus insuper nullum esse deum verum
adorandum præter illum Domini Jacobi sub cuius ditione atq imperio libenter
militare Voluerunt Tahanida vnus ex natiuis qui Brittaniæ adsunt vestras
laudes ac virtutes hic illis illustrauit Quid et quantum in his negocijs subeundis
et illorum animos confirmandis Valeret eorum sit iuditium qui domi voluerunt
scienter agnoscens omnes conatus meos ponere cum incompatione officij debiti
erga principem habeantur. Optima me tenet opinio, dei gloria facile in his
regionibus efflorescere, Vestræ magestatis imperium amplificari, et Brittanorum
rempub breuiter augmentari. Quod ad mercimonia attinet, omnes indigena
constanter affirmant his messe provincijs nuces amisticas, maciam, et
Sinamomum preterea Betumen, lignum Brasiliæ, Cochinelam et Ambergrethe
cum multis alijs magni momenti et valoris eaq maxima quidem habundantia
Insuper assimatur meum aquant esse mare aliquod inaduersa vel occidentali
huius prouinciæ parte non plus septem dierum itineris spacium a presidio
nostro Sancti Georgij in Sagadahoc amplum, latum et profundum, cuius
terminos prorsus ignorant. quod aliud esse non potest nisi australe,
tendens ad regiones Chinæ qua longe abhinc partibus procul dubio esse
non possunt Si igitur placuerit diuinos habere oculos tuos apertos in
subiecto certis. Gaciones meas, non dubito quin Celsitudo Vestra absoluet opus
deo gratissimum magnificentiæ Vestræ honorificum et reipub tuæ maxime
conducibile, quod ardentissimis precibus vehementer exopto et a deo
optimo maximo contendendo vt regis mei Domini Jacobi magestatem quam
diutissime seruat gloriosam a presidio Sancti Georgij in Sagadahoc de
Virginia 13° Decembris 1607

Seruus vestræ magestatis ommmodis deuotissimus
Georgius Popham⁹

PRESIDENT GEORGE POPHAM TO JAMES 1.

their company back again''. As none of the colonists returned in the Mary and John, so far as is known, the reference must be to the colonists who returned in the Gift of God. Such a lessening of the number of the colonists before even a single winter had passed was the most discouraging fact which the arrival of the Gift revealed to Gorges, and he had no heart to make it known to Cecil in this first report of the arrival of the second vessel.[1]

One added report from the colony is found in a letter to King James written by President Popham, December 13, 1607.[2] Gorges makes no reference to it, and of its existence there was no knowledge until it was discovered a little more than half a century ago by George Bancroft, the historian, while making some researches in the Records Office in London. The letter was written in Latin that cannot be called classic, and abounds in those flattering, adulatory words and phrases that were so pleasing to the heart of the king. Popham makes no mention of discouraging circumstances. He had no reference even to the winter cold that had chilled so thoroughly the interest of so many of the colonists. It is his ''well-considered'' opinion ''that in these regions the glory of God may easily be evidenced'', the empire enlarged, and its welfare speedily augmented. His report concerning the products of the country, however, is not so well considered; for he informs the king that ''there are in these parts shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood and Brazilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products, and these in the greatest abundance''. Allowance must be made for the exaggeration of enthusiasm, but evidently the president's nutmegs, cinnamon and Brazilian cochineal were the products of excited imaginations.

February 5, 1608, two days before Gorges wrote to Cecil concerning the arrival of the Gift of God, President Popham died. Gilbert and the remaining colonists doubtless gave him fitting

[1] There is a very full statement concerning the ''Colonists Sent Back'' in Thayer's *Sagadahoc Colony*, 197–199.

[2] Thayer, *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 116–119. The letter and a translation by Leonard Woods, D.D., president of Bowdoin College, were printed in 1857 in the *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 344–360.

burial within the enclosure of Fort St. George. Gorges says, "he had long been an infirm man". High aims and purposes, however, still animated him. He was not one who would turn back in any worthy enterprise. The opportunity for securing for his king and country a stronghold upon the American continent, he clearly saw, and he embraced it with whatever of toil and hardship it might bring to him personally. We have no information concerning his last days. No other member of the colony died from sickness that winter. In fact, the health of the colonists throughout the winter season was exceedingly good. In all probability on account of his extreme age, the leader of the enterprise was ill-prepared to endure the exposures to which an unusually severe winter subjected him and his followers.[1] Whether, however, the end came suddenly, or after prolonged illness, Popham manfully fulfilled all the duties devolving upon him as the head of the colony, and worthily finished his course. Gorges, writing many years afterwards, paid beautiful tribute to Popham's steadfast loyalty to God and native land, in the words: "However heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country."

Meanwhile Gorges, Sir Francis Popham and others, were busily employed in securing supplies and forwarding them to the colonists at the mouth of the Sagadahoc. Writing to Cecil March 20, 1608, Gorges said:[2] "As concerning our plantation, we have found the means to encourage ourselves anew, and have sent two ships from Topsham for the supplies of those that be there, with victuals and other necessaries, having set down the means how we shall be able by May next to send one more of two hundred tons".

[1] A bit of information concerning the hard experiences of the Popham colonists that winter is mentioned by Gorges in his *Briefe Narration*, in the statement that during the winter the "store house and most of their provisions were burned." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 15. In the *Relation*, published in 1622 by the Council for New England, it is stated that "their lodgings" also were burnt.

[2] Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 16.

[3] Ib., III, 165.

The two vessels thus despatched brought to the colonists the intelligence of the death of Sir John Popham in the preceding June. This was a loss as unexpected as it was severe. But the welcome arrival of these two ships with abundant supplies was ample testimony to the fact that the colonists still had in England ardent friends of the enterprise. In the reports that have come down to us concerning the arrival of these two vessels, there is no mention of any increase in the membership of the colony by recruits from England. Gorges refers to supplies only. Of course there was need of these; but it was not by any means the only need of the men, who, notwithstanding past discouragements, were loyally sustaining Sagadahoc interests; and it is impossible to think of any such gathering of supplies by Gorges and his associates that was not at the same time accompanied by the most earnest efforts to reinforce the little company of forty-five left with Popham and Gilbert on the departure of the Gift of God in the middle of December. Such efforts, however, seem to have been unsuccessful.[1]

But the affairs of the colonists brightened with the arrival of the two vessels from England. The winter with its cold and storms was behind them. Gilbert had succeeded George Popham as president of the colony. The Virginia had been launched and was ready for service. With the promise of a third vessel and added supplies soon to be on their way, the outlook for the future of the colony was certainly a more favorable one. Evidently neither on the part of the supporters in England, nor on the part of the leaders of the enterprise at Fort St. George, was the possible abandonment of the undertaking in any way under consideration.

Concerning the condition of affairs under the direction of Gilbert we have no information whatever. All we know is that his

[1] "No evidence whatever shows subsequent accessions to the depleted company. . . . . The several writers make references to a new supply furnished, necessaries to supply them, ships sent back with supplies. . . . . but there is joined no word respecting men also, whether laborers, mechanics, planters, or persons for special duty." Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 198.

presidency was brought to an unexpected end by the tidings brought to the Sagadahoc by the third vessel despatched thither. When Gorges, March 20, wrote to Secretary Cecil concerning this third vessel, he thought it might be ready to sail in May, but for some reason unknown there was delay in the preparation for the voyage, and in all probability the vessel did not leave England until July. This is a well-founded inference from the fact that Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of President Ralegh Gilbert, died July 5, 1608.[1] The third vessel, bringing this intelligence to President Gilbert, could not have left England before that date. Probably there was not much added delay in despatching the vessel, and if this was the fact the arrival of the vessel must be placed about the first of September, or a little later. President Gilbert was his brother's heir, and on account of the large personal interests involved in this fact, it became necessary for him to make preparations for an early return to England. The situation was a peculiar one. Among the little company remaining there was no one who possessed the requisite qualifications for the successful administration of the affairs of the colony. To continue the enterprise, therefore, seemed out of the question. Accordingly, the complete abandonment of Fort St. George and all for which it stood followed, and preparations at once were made for dismantling the fort and removing the ordnance and stores to the vessels anchored near by. How much time was required in accomplishing this transfer is not known. In all probability the embarkation of the colonists occurred as early as the close of September. In the records that have come down to us concerning the return of the colonists there is not a hint that the departure brought any sorrow or even disappointment to those who constituted the great body of Gilbert's company. Their interest in the undertaking was of the slightest kind. In all probability the experiences of a single winter at the mouth of the Sagadahoc made welcome to them an opportunity to return thus early to more desirable conditions of life in their native land. Far otherwise was it with

[1] *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 195.

Gorges and other steadfast friends of English colonization in America, when about the close of November, or early in December, the three vessels and the pinnace Virginia, built by the colonists,[1] arrived in Plymouth harbor and announced the abandonment of the colony. This was chilling information, and years afterward, Gorges, in referring to its effect upon himself and other patrons of the undertaking, could only say: "all our former hopes were frozen to death."[2] The collapse of the colony was complete. Strachey says: "all embarked . . . . . and set sail for England."[3]

Why was not the Popham colony assigned to a more southerly location on the American coast, one in which the colonists would have avoided that severity of the winter season to which they were unaccustomed in their English homes? Certainly it was not from any lack of knowledge concerning the unfavorable conditions in which they found themselves after the location of the colony. Nor was it because of insufficient information with reference to the character of the country farther down the coast. There had been careful exploration of the territory to the southward as far nearly as Narraganset bay. Pring, whose explorations largely determined the location of the Popham colony, was familiar with the coast as far as Massachusetts bay. What advantage, then,

[1] The pinnace was one of the vessels of the fleet that sailed from England to the southern colony in 1609.

[2] *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 17.

[3] *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 85, 86. Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 17. In "A Description of New England", obtained in England by Mr. Henry F. Waters, and published in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, January, 1885, we get a glimpse of the remains of Fort St. George at a little later period. The description is supposed to have been written about 1660 by Samuel Maverick, who came to this country in 1624, which is thought to be the approximate date of the visit. He says: "Three leagues distant from Damerell's Cove is Sagadahock at the mouth of the Kennebeck river, on which place the Lord Popham's people settled about fifty years since, but soon after deserted it and returned for England; I found roots and garden herbs and some old walls there, when I first went over, which showed it to be the place where they had been."

had the location at the mouth of the Sagadahoc over places in a more congenial climate?

Evidently one of the determining factors in its selection was the great value of the fisheries in the immediate vicinity of Fort St. George. The early explorers on the coast, in their printed reports, and much more by word of mouth, had called attention to the rich returns that these fisheries promised. English fishermen also were already acquainted to some extent with the fishing privileges in these waters. Those who were especially interested in the establishment of the colony were merchants of Plymouth and Bristol, long connected with fishing interests, and attracted hither by the reports of the greater abundance of fish on the American coast. Certainly, these fishing grounds had a value that could not be overestimated. France was endeavoring to seize and hold these grounds, but England claimed them and their possession was deemed worthy of a supreme effort on the part of the English nation.

Another determining factor in the location of the Popham colony is to be found in the opportunity that the river Sagadahoc offered for profitable trade with the Indians, especially in valuable furs. There was no such opportunity farther down the coast.

From a commercial point of view, therefore, the location of the Popham colony seems to have been amply justified.

Why, then, did the colony fail? Primarily, the death of the Pophams, Sir John in England and Captain George, the president of the colony, in Fort St. George, was a heavy blow at the enterprise. Then, too, Gilbert's recall to England on account of the death of his brother was doubtless a heavy stroke, inasmuch as among the other colonists no one could be found who was capable of taking Gilbert's place. This statement, however, reveals only partially the difficulties of the situation. Not only were the Popham colonists generally lacking in those sturdy qualities that such an enterprise demands, but if we may accept the testimony that is furnished by contemporary writers, the company comprised the vagrant and the dissolute to such an extent that Gorges is

MEMORIAL OF THE POPHAM COLONY (FORT ST. GEORGE).

believed to have stated the fact mildly when he wrote, that they were "not such as they ought". Indeed, as later he reflected upon the disastrous ending of the undertaking, he felt, and had reason for feeling, that if he and others interested in American colonization would achieve success in connection with their desires and endeavors, "there must go other manner of spirits" than were found so largely in the Sagadahoc colony.[1]

[1] The tercentenary of the landing of the Popham colony was celebrated by the Maine Historical Society August 29, 1907. It was one of the fairest and brightest of summer days. The site of Fort St. George was first visited. The literary exercises that followed were held in the Popham Beach village meetinghouse. Addresses were delivered by Hon. James P. Baxter, president of the society, and Prof. Henry L. Chapman of Bowdoin College. A poem, *The Virginia of Sagadahoc*, by Mr. Harry L. Koopman, librarian of Brown University, was read by Rev. Dr. John Carroll Perkins of Portland. On the rocky eminence overlooking the site of Fort St. George, and a part of the fort inclosure, a memorial had been placed with this inscription:

THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONY
ON THE SHORES OF NEW ENGLAND
WAS FOUNDED HERE
AUGUST 29, N. S. 1607
UNDER GEORGE POPHAM.

The memorial was unveiled by Mrs. William Addison Houghton, president of the Maine Society of Colonial Dames, and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan, governor of the Maine Society of Colonial Wars; and addresses were made by Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D., and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan. Following the unveiling, the U. S. Revenue Cutter, at her anchorage north of the site of Fort St. George, fired a governor's salute in honor of George Popham, the first governor of the Popham colony, who died in Fort St. George and was buried within the inclosure.