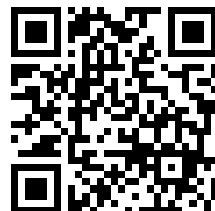


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LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, SIR JOHN POPHAM.

1531-1607

HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO. BOSTON

# THE SAGADAHOC COLONY,

COMPRISING

The Relation of a Voyage into  
New England;

(Lambeth Ms.)

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY THE REV. HENRY O. THAYER, A. M.



PRINTED FOR THE GORGES SOCIETY, PORTLAND, MAINE.  
1892.

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No. Jan

History is the memory of time, the life of the dead, the happiness of the living.

CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

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FROM THE PRESS OF  
STEPHEN BERRY, PORTLAND, ME.

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## P R E F A C E .

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Studies in the history of the Sagadahoc region during my residence for a score of years by that ancient river necessarily included notice of the Popham colony. New motives prevailed to lead me on to special and extended research, of which this work is the result,—an endeavor to gather all attainable materials which can cast light upon that undertaking.

Former knowledge of the colony was very slight. Additions within the past half century have been gratifying, but still leave much to be desired. Valuable information has been derived from a journal of the colony unknown till recent years. Attention was called to its discovery by Rev. B. F. DaCosta in 1875-6, and its contents were first made known to the public in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1880.

It exists in manuscript in the library of the Lambeth  
Palace,



Palace, London. This palace, of great antiquity, located in a beautiful suburb on the south bank of the Thames, has been for nearly seven centuries the official residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Its library, begun about 1600, comprises 30,000 volumes, and has also some 1,200 volumes of miscellaneous manuscripts.

Long held in such a place of deposit, this Ms., No, 806, proves its high value as the original and authentic record of the opening stage of the Popham enterprise. It necessarily holds a chief place in the study of that historic event. As a further contribution to our Maine history, its publication, together with associated and elucidating facts, was determined upon by the Gorges Society. An exact transcription, made at the instance of James P. Baxter, Esq., in his visit to England, was used as the basis of this study, and is here reproduced in type in the precise orthography and abridged forms of the original. The earlier movements of colonization, preceding and preparatory for this attempt, of which a cursory view seemed needful, are comprised in the Introduction. Several matters suitable for a place among the explanatory notes, or incidental to the main topic but requiring extended treatment, are gathered into an Appendix.

While the press-work was going forward, Mr. Alex'r Brown's "Genesis of the U. S." appeared and furnished  
a unique

a unique document, pertinent and indeed invaluable to this study—a plan of Fort St. George. An examination of it in advance had been kindly allowed me, Its testimony was decisive, certifying fully conclusions already reached in respect to locality, but greatly enlarging our knowledge of the subject.

The plan, and evidence derived from it, came under the review of the Maine Historical Society, upon its annual field-day, September 3 and 4, 1891. The conclusions on the main point of locality, which are herein presented, received ample, and to me gratifying approval.

The plan of the fort and surroundings, so valuable as evidence and illustration, could not be spared from this work, and a copy was obtained. Grateful acknowledgments are due for services in the matter to our minister in Spain, Gen. E. Burd Grubb, and also to Senor Claudio Perez y Gredilla, the Spanish official in charge.

The copy obtained was finely executed and exactly represents in size and appearance the original preserved at Simancas. The heliotype reproduction was all that could be desired.

To adjust these outlines of fort and surroundings to the existing topography, a survey was made and the accompanying plan drawn of Point Popham in its present

ent state. The position of the Point, and the peninsula of Sabino, are likewise exhibited by the map reproduced from a coast survey chart, of a section of the land and water areas about the mouth of the river.

The photographic view of Point Popham was taken from the nearest accessible station in the bay,—a remnant of a former steamboat pier. The view from the pier looks towards the southwest.

Generous aid has been accorded me, for which I make grateful acknowledgments.

I am much indebted to Pres. J. P. Baxter, of the Maine Historical Society, for cheerful assistance rendered in examining obscure or difficult matters under consideration and for the favor of portions of his manuscript and advance sheets of his "Sir F. Gorges and his Province of Maine." Mr. H. W. Bryant, librarian of that society, has diligently served me in furnishing books and in many ways, and has kindly exercised supervision over illustrations and the practical details of bringing out the work, and to him many acknowledgments are due. Rev. H. S. Burrage, D. D., has likewise been a ready coadjutor and counsellor. Dr. Chas. E. Banks offered without stint from his stores of collected materials, and gave valued suggestions. The librarian of Bowdoin College, Prof. G. T. Little, has heartily aided me

## PREFACE.

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me by examining books, and by a watchful outlook for materials helpful to my purpose. Rev. M. C. O'Brien forwarded useful information. Also I am specially indebted to Miss F. Hopper, Brixton, London, for patient and generous services in research for facts regarding the Popham family. I am under obligation for the considerate favor of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., publishers of the "Genesis of U. States," for very seasonable and helpful advance examination of their copy of the plan of Popham's Fort. Also I appreciate the favor of Jas. P. Baxter, Esq., of Dr. J. F. Pratt, of the Popham Family, at Littlecote, Eng., in furnishing illustrations. Thanks are due to Mr. J. H. Stacy and Mr. N. Perkins, of Popham Beach, for services and favors, when I was studying the locality.

Circumstances, already indicated in part, have delayed the issue far beyond original purpose, but the invaluable materials thereby gained have more than compensated.

It is not unreasonable to hope that other facts may yet be brought to light, respecting the colony, which will extend our knowledge or relieve existing obscurities.

HENRY OTIS THAYER.

Limington, Me., January, 1892.





## INTRODUCTION.

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**B**REPEATED and costly endeavor gave European nations the possession of the discovered New World. In the process immense treasure was dissipated ; human life squandered. Most startling is the record of shipwreck in voyages for exploration and early settlement. The hazards of those untried seas were proved at excessive cost. The means, wealth and zeal contributed to make seizure of that unexplored domain were swallowed up, or beaten in pieces on inhospitable shores. Tropical diseases fatally smote multitudes ; enraged natives cut off thousands, and harrassed or swept away infant settlements. Even Europeans themselves, rival and hostile, added to the wreck of beginnings and the loss of human life.

Disaster and failure have startling prominence along the lines of colonization. Yet success, oft delayed,  
beaten

beaten back, at length gained the field. The first colony of Columbus was crushed within a year. The second, reduced, mutinous, its location changed, scarcely survived. His third, attempted in 1501 on the Carribean coast, was quickly expelled. Spain secured dominion in the New World by invasion and bloody conquests, and has left a revolting record of inhumanity, shaming greed, and atrocity. The Spaniard subjected the Antilles and overran tropical America by the terror of his weapons, against which the native races made imbecile resistance. Before his rapacity and cruelty the conquered peoples withered away, but excessive and sore were his own losses in securing that rich domain. At Panama, in twenty-eight years after the conquest of Peru, forty thousand men died of various distempers.<sup>1</sup> The scheme to occupy the Carribean coast in 1510, under grants to Ojeda and Nicuessa signally failed. Hostility of an assailed people, a noxious climate, a series of calamities, shattered these colonies, and of a thousand men, considerably reinforced, the greater part perished within a year, and only fragments finally gained precarious foothold at Panama. A decade later the humane Las Casas laid benevolent plans for civilizing colonization in Cumana, weakened and frustrated at the outset.

A mere

1. Harris' Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 141.

A mere handful went with him, and soon these were withdrawn. Ponce de Leon, in 1521, sailed to possess and to colonize the Florida of his discovery, but met a savage and deadly repulse, from which but a portion of his men regained their ships. Himself received a wound which sent him to Cuba to die. Then Narvaez and his confident followers, in 1528, seeking in the same "land of flowers" the prizes of conquest to insure early possession for Spain, pushed fearlessly into the interior, where hardship, want, arrows from the flanking enemy, wreck of boats, and unknown disasters, made them all victims, save four who gained the Pacific coast. For similar purpose, but in the name of religion not of war, Dominican monks went thither in 1549; fear and suspicion held them enemies; three became martyrs to their high aim; the disaster terminated the attempt, for "death seemed to guard the approaches to the land."

France had explored the northern coasts, and in a domain without bounds had by a name created a New France. But first essays at occupation were futile and disastrous. Cartier and Roberval, giving reality to the nation's dreams of empire on the St. Lawrence, in 1541, set down 200 colonists at Hochelaga, but divided leadership, the inroads of death, wrecked the hopeful scheme.

The

2. History of U. S., by George Bancroft, Centenary Ed., Vol. 1, p. 52.



The remnants of the broken colony soon stole back to France. Discomfiture fell harshly on Coligny's plans for Huguenot colonization in America. That at Rio Janeiro proved abortive by the faithlessness of Ville-gagnon. That under Ribault at Port Royal of the Carolinas, 1562, unsupported by reinforcements, weakened by dissensions, lacking vigorous purpose, in a year deserted the post given it to hold for France. Two years later, the colony led out by Laudonnière to Florida escaped wreck threatened by turbulent, dissolute, selfish elements within it, to be utterly crushed under fierce and infamous blows, as Spain sent Melendez to assert her claim and manifest her hate for heretics. But a remorseless avenger quickly came in the Gascon De Gorges, who seized and hung "as robbers and murderers," the Spaniards who had occupied the place of the Huguenot victims.<sup>3</sup> When again, thirty years later, Catholic France renewed the attempt, forty colonists drawn from prisons, and assigned to the isle of Sable by De la Roche, made suspicious materials for founding a state. After a half dozen years one-third still alive restored to France, may have merited the pardon they received.

England busied her explorers and seamen with the problem of the north-west passage, the extension of commerce,

3. History of U. S., by George Bancroft, Centenary Ed., Vol. 1, pp. 53-61.

merce, the search for precious metals, but tardily essayed occupation of the domain Cabot had discovered. Yet, while the French were engaged with the St. Lawrence, Mr. Hore of London, projected a settlement at Penguin, island of Newfoundland, in 1536.<sup>4</sup> But this colony was driven by its necessities and distress to cannibalism, and was justified in seizing a French ship with which to withdraw.

Frobisher's voyage of 1578 aimed at a settlement. Disaster by icebergs, perils in unknown seas, desertion, loss of provisions, flagging zeal, turned the expedition homewards, gaining only cargoes of glittering, worthless earth. In the same year Humphrey Gilbert, under royal patent, projected a foreign plantation. Early dissensions rent the collected company of adventurers; a portion led by Walter Raleigh, undertaking the voyage, were driven back by added misfortune; the enterprise came to naught. Four years later Gilbert renewed his endeavor and sailed with a squadron to make precise exploration and lay foundations for colonies. But unrelenting disaster followed closely, and finally struck down both him and his enterprise. One ship at the outset turned back; one was abandoned at Newfoundland; a third, the largest remaining and Admiral of the fleet, suffered miserable, needless wreck

4. Harris' Voyages, V. 2, p. 102.

## 6 THE SAGADAHOC COLONY.

wreck on the coast of Cape Breton; on the return voyage, in a fierce tempest and amid "outrageous seas," the little craft of ten tons, in which Gilbert persisted in sailing, went down, nearly in the longitude of the Azores: a single vessel gained Falmouth harbor to give disheartening report of ships, means, lives, made an empty sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> The disaster is the more deplored, since Gilbert intended a precise description of the region to be visited, so there is lost to us valuable information of the existing condition in 1583 on the coast of Maine, towards which he sailed, but approached no nearer than the place of the wreck.

Raleigh, undaunted pushed similar designs: in 1585 sent 100 men in charge of Grenville to Carolina, who held Roanoke Island for a year. Then these, weak in purpose and despondent, esteemed the supplies and encouragement of the sea-rover Drake of far less worth than permission to embark with him for England. Grenville reappeared in a few weeks only to find Roanoke deserted. Fifty men were left to hold possession, but at a year's end the speechless ruins could not tell their fate. Again in 1587, Raleigh renewed the experiment; a colony of men and women reoccupied Roanoke and laid the foundations of the city  
of

5. Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Ed. 1889, pp. 691-3.

of Raleigh. But opening events threatened misfortune; delayed supplies involved dire disaster; the colony disappeared without record to show the agonizing process of the ruin and dispersion.

Throughout a century from the discovery of the continent, misadventure and calamity attended every endeavor to establish settlements. Spain indeed had costly success; France and England failed repeatedly, and with burdening loss and prostrated hopes, to which only a few indomitable spirits were superior. The sixteenth century closed without a hamlet on the whole coast north of St. Augustine, a witness to permanent homes of Europeans.<sup>6</sup> These abortive attempts were not however wholly wasted force. They were processes of education and preparation. As the new century opened, added and in some respects nobler motives were operative to induce seizure of the inviting domain beyond the sea. The purpose of colonization still lived, was intensified. Raleigh had given an invaluable example of courage and enterprise. It was potent to inspire others, though himself in prison awaited death. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, coming to the front in generous and zealous leadership, efficiently used his fortune and influence. Again adventurers went out,—Gosnold and his

6. Folsom's Discourse; Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., Vol. 2.

## 8 THE SAGADAHOC COLONY.

his company in 1602 to the shores of Cape Cod. But when their ship essayed to spread her sails for the return voyage, unmanly fears stole away their hearts; they abandoned the beginnings of a settlement, and another failure extended the lamentable series. But failure was not defeat; other tentative voyages followed. In the next year Martin Pring came to the coast of Maine and gained valuable information. Next, in 1605, occurred the voyage of Geo. Waymouth, of uncertain destination and purpose, but turned by refractory compelling winds towards the north and furnishing stimulus to immediate colonization.

The narrative of this voyage has exercised the critical sagacity of the ablest, and evoked diverse opinions, and much controversy in the endeavor to identify the bepraised river. Complete unanimity is not yet reached, but the final result is foreshadowed by the fact that the trend of opinion for years has been manifestly towards the St. George river, and leading the way by reversal of previous views after mature study, are such accrediting examples as Hon. Wm. Willis, profoundly versed in Maine history, and Hon. George Bancroft, whose rich harvests of a lifetime of historical study honor him and his country.<sup>7</sup>

Nor

7. Rosier's "True Relation" of this voyage, with associated evidence, facts, and literature, has been admir-

ably elucidated by Rev. H. S. Burrage in a recent volume published by the Gorges Society.

Nor should we fail to notice the attempts of Frenchmen, in earnest rivalry, beginning eagerly the contest with the British crown for the occupation of New England and Nova Scotia. Merchant adventurers had sought fortunes on the St. Lawrence, but Chauvin died "after wasting the lives of a score of men in a second and a third attempt to establish the fur trade at Tadousac."<sup>8</sup>

Then De Monts with his associates, pursuing schemes of gain in Acadia, led out the advance guard of a colony into Acadia, which occupied St. Croix and Port Royal in 1604. First of Europeans, they had essayed to found an agricultural colony in the New World; but built on a false basis, sustained only by the fleeting favor of a government, the generous enterprise had come to naught.<sup>9</sup> The order for the abandonment of Port Royal was carried into effect in the very month when the ships of Popham and Gilbert were approaching the coast of Maine. A slight change of movement, and the dispirited and retreating colonists would have met upon the sea the rival colony, which in a year would retire as humiliated as themselves. Thus France added another failure to the lamentable series.

The foregoing cursory glance comes down to the  
events

8. Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, p. 218.

9. Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, pp. 247-9.

events immediately connected with the project of colonization to be detailed in this work.

One result of those latest voyages was manifest in the greatly quickened enthusiasm for foreign plantations and the enlistment of zealous supporters.

The favor and patronage of King James I. were so far won that by the royal signature he certified the noted charter of April 10, 1606, for two colonies in America. In December, Newport's fleet, carrying the southern colony, sailed for the Chesapeake and the settlement of Jamestown was begun, and was maintained. Equal success did not attend the northern colony. The story of this enterprise, as we now engage with it, goes forward hopefully, in the wise purposes of the patrons, the efficiency of the leaders, the promising inauguration, to end so soon in dispiriting and mocking failure.

Sagacious counselors determined that accurate exploration must precede the colony. In four months from the date of the great charter, the affairs of the northern company were so far adjusted that two ships were despatched to open the way.

Under the patronage of Gorges, the ship Richard, of fifty-five tons, in command of "Mr. Henry Challons, gent," sailed from Plymouth August 12th.<sup>10</sup> The sea-  
man

10. Purchas, his Pilgrimes, Vol. 4, p. 1832.

man, Nicholas Hine, was master, and John Stoneman, pilot. Opposing winds, seconding their violation of orders, drove them far south, consumed much time, so that it was November before they regained Latitude 27°, when a storm again sent them astray to be captured on the 11th by a Spanish fleet, completing the disaster. In Spain they were ill-treated and imprisoned. 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. Captain Challons was restored in the following May.

The overturn of this projected voyage was a vexatious disturbance of plans. Yet another vessel, at the charge of Sir John Popham, had been sent out at about the same time to act in concert with Challons. Captain Tho's Hanham,<sup>11</sup> one of the Plymouth council, seems to have been chief in command, with Captain Pring as associate. Reaching the Maine coast, but deprived of Challons' assistance through the ill fortune of that voyage, they performed

11. Penelope, a daughter of Chief Justice Popham, married one Thomas Hanham. He is inferred to be the

person directing this voyage in behalf of his father-in-law.



performed alone the assigned task and gained very precise and full information, such that Gorges regarded it the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to his hands. Purchas mentions a narrative of a voyage of Captain Tho's Hanham unto Sagadahoc, written by himself, which undoubtedly was the detailed account of this very voyage. Students of Maine history could well have spared folios of Purchas' work if this might have been substituted.

Captains Hanham and Pring, extending the discoveries made in the previous year by Waymouth, must be regarded as the first known Englishmen to explore the Sagadahoc. Champlain, in the service of France, had indeed anticipated them by little more than a year. There can be no doubt that the results of their examination determined the location of the proposed colony at this river, which was in full intent the destination of the expedition when it sailed. The "Relation," now to be examined, furnishes the clearest implication of the fact. It must be doubted if Challons or Pring carried men to leave as an advance guard of the proposed colony."

The

12. Bancroft has written, "to begin a plantation"; but the choice of the site would answer the statement. Gorges does not at all favor such an idea, but Strachey writes, "with many

planters," and is probably in error, for he writes it of Challons' ship, whose company certainly numbered but twenty-nine, the same Waymouth had in his voyage of discovery.

The information derived from the voyage of Hanham greatly inspired the chief patrons of the undertaking, and Gorges writes, "we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect." Accordingly preparations were urgently carried forward, and at the end of May, 1607, the expedition was in readiness which was to plant the northern colony.

Of the preliminary stage—the outfit of the expedition,—nothing is known. Whence, or by what methods colonists were obtained, by whom or in what proportions the means were furnished, must be left to conjecture or inference. Manifestly Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Popham and Gilbert families were foremost as responsible and active patrons. Gorges writes that "three sails of ships" were despatched. His memory is not accurate, for certainly but two made the voyage. A third may have been proposed, but not employed. The expedition was made ready in the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges held the military command. The precise number of the company is not shown. Gorges says, "one hundred landmen," in which number he may not include "divers gentlemen of note." Strachey writes "one hundred and twenty for planters," which may represent all intended to stay in the colony. The seamen manning the ships  
were

were probably not included in the number. Of the size of the vessels no definite facts appear.<sup>13</sup>

One of them by this account is named the "Gift," but Strachey shows that in full it was the "Gift of God." He also terms it a "fly-boat." This form of craft was large, flat bottomed, of light draught. The expedition of Weymouth in 1602, to the northwest, was made in two fly-boats.<sup>14</sup> Nothing indicates the size of the *Mary and John*. A vessel, bearing this name, of 400 tons, Captain Squeb, master, arrived at Nantasket in 1630.<sup>15</sup> The identity of name will not determine it the same vessel. George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, the two leading personages in the expedition and highest in authority in the colony, are mentioned as the respective commanders of the *Gift*, and the *Mary and John*. But it is not assured that they were trained, practical seamen:<sup>16</sup> rather did they exercise a general authority, while subordinate officers had in charge the details of navigation.<sup>17</sup>

Strachey's

13. Hon. William Willis (Popham Mem. Vol., p. 40,) has said, "sixty and forty tons." I have failed to find in original sources any authority for the statement.

14. Purchas, his Pilgrimes, Vol. 5, p. 812.

15. Mem. Hist. Boston, Vol. 5, p. 424.

16. Mr. Willis also says (Popham Mem. Vol., p. 48), "as able and gallant commanders as ever walked a quarter deck."

17. The *Mary and John* had a master, evidently not Gilbert, and mates, while another officer, who reproves them, must have been the responsible pilot. Likewise in the

Strachey's narrative, which has been before the public for forty years, was faultily misleading and written in seeming to relate the joint voyage of both ships. The journal, however, discloses their separation at the Azores, its cause, their meeting again near Monhegan, and that all those details of the voyage from Sable bank to the Matinicus islands pertained simply to the Mary and John. Strachey intentionally omitted every fact bearing upon this separation. Of the wide ocean passage of the Gift, nothing whatever is known.

The narration begins the voyage at the Lizard, and has no mention of the port of embarkation. But Strachey, Smith and Gorges give Plymouth. The latter is precise in the date, "one and thirtieth day of May, 1607." Smith writes "the last of May," but Strachey is not exact, and errs, saying "in June." Twenty-four hours' sail brought them to the offing of the Lizard, where they took their departure from land. From this point the MS. details the events of the voyage, the arrival and debarkation at Sagadahoc, and the opening stage of the colony.

The voyage of Challons, he is styled "Gentleman," though also represented as captain of the ship. But we know that Hine (Haines, writes Strachey) was master, and there was another master, St. John, as well as Stoneman, the pilot. (Purchas, his

Pilgrimes, Vol. 4, p. 1832.) In the other vessel doubtless Hanham was the superior in command, or superintending patron, although perhaps not a seaman, while Capt. Pring was master and responsible navigator.

The narrative bears close relations to the chapters of Strachey's history, which detail the Popham enterprise. It cannot be doubted that he had access to it, and drew largely from it. Many sentences are transferred complete, others with slight changes; portions are abridged and others wholly omitted, but the agreement is so clear that the two cannot be independent narrations. Strachey, however, must have had other sources of information—memoranda or log-books of the voyage. He adds distances sailed, notes position of the ship, variation of compass and additional soundings. He wholly omits the causes of the separation, and seems to show that the two vessels kept company throughout the voyage, yet introduces no events which must have pertained specially to the Gift, nor indicates her course, whether she sighted Nova Scotia at all, or by a southerly course directly made Monhegan; hence he cannot have taken anything from her log-book.

The apparent abrupt closing of the journal warrants the opinion that a portion has been lost, and we may presume that the continuation by Strachey was likewise drawn from that part now missing. If this be true, the fact would show that the writer carried his journal only to October 6th. This is the probable date of the sailing of the *Mary* and *John* for England, by which the  
journal

journal was despatched to the patrons. The remainder is Strachey's general summary of events after that date until the abandonment, obtained from various sources, but not from any detailed record.

The author of the MS. is not shown, his name being left blank on the title page. Yet this descriptive title was added many years after, when the MS. came to light among Sir Ferdinando Gorges' papers, without doubt not till after his death in 1647, and the finder could not or did not sufficiently endeavor to discover the writer.

Yet some evidence will aid in shaping an opinion. The writer was clearly one engaged in the navigation of the ship. His use of *we* and *us* suggests that he held a prominent place in the company. But he records distances and courses as if one who officially noted them; he takes observation of the latitude; he reproves the master and mates for error in respect to Flores; he mentions "myself and twelve others" taking the boat and going ashore, implying that he was the officer in command; he attends Captain Gilbert to Pemaquid, on both trips up the Kennebec, "myself being with Captain Gilbert," and also to Cape Elizabeth and to Penobscot. But when Captain Popham went to the Pejepscot, the writer indicates that he was not of the party. These facts strongly unite to point him out as Captain Gilbert's

bert's trusted officer, whence every probability will make him pilot of the *Mary and John*, since he was neither master nor mate. When a party crossed the river to remain for the night with their Indian visitors, it is "Captain Gilbert, accompanied with James Davies and Captain Ellis Best." In every other reported trip, "myself" attends Gilbert, leading us to expect the same now, which would point out either Davies or Best as "myself," the writer. Were it Davies, then in due deference for rank, he might need to put his name before that of Best, yet as a modest man he omitted his own title. Strachey, however, is in conflict with this conclusion, since in writing of going ashore at Nova Scotia, instead of "myself and twelve others," as in our MS., he substitutes "Capt. R. Davies and twelve others." This shows that he supposed Robert Davies was the person. But Purchas has a brief account of the colony,—main facts of the settlement and discoveries as found in this MS. epitomized,—and by marginal references, directly from the words "*Mary and John*," gives James Davies as his authority. We cannot doubt that he knew from whom he derived his information, and the facts also strongly suggest this MS. All the conditions will assign to him much greater weight of authority than to Strachey in that one sentence, for the latter fell into errors of detail.

There

There is further evidence in the account as given by Bloome,<sup>18</sup> who represents that Captain James Davies sailed up the river, discovered an island and fall of water, and a second fall impassable;—statements showing that he was Gilbert's officer. Yet much value cannot be given to this quotation, since the author makes this Davies the leading man of affairs, choosing the location, reading the patent, building the fort,<sup>19</sup>—evidently having found reasons to give him an important place in the colony.

The conclusion is well supported that the author of the journal or "Relation" was James Davies.

Both Robert and James Davies were assigned to office in the colony administration. The former likewise, according to Strachey, was despatched to England in the *Mary and John*. It must be that the two, under the designations of "Captain Davies and Master Davies," were the officers in command of the "*Virginia*" in a voyage in 1609, to the southern colony. In the next year, Captain James Davies is reported from there as in command of "Algernoone Fort," at Point Comfort. Robert Davis, of Bristol, was master of Sir Walter Raleigh's vessel, the barke "*Rawley*," which sailed in Sir H. Gilbert's expedition of 1583.<sup>20</sup> John Smith mentions among "those

18. *Vide Literature, post.*

19. Popham Mem. Vol., p. 170.

20. Hakluyt's Voyages, Ed. 1590,  
p. 684.



"those noble captains" connected with the planting of Sagadahoc, "Robert Davis, James Davis and John Davis." Josselyn<sup>21</sup> reports three successive voyages to the Northwest by Captain John Davis, in 1585-6-7.<sup>22</sup> A family of master mariners seems to be indicated.

Among those associated in this enterprise, Sir Ferdinando Gorges exercised a commanding influence.<sup>23</sup> The Norman conquest brought in to England Ranolph de Gorges from Lower Normandy,—the ancestor of this family. Later, the manor of Wrokeshale, or in later form Wraxall, in Somerset, became a family possession.

Edward Gorges, of Wraxall, died August, 1568, at his town residence in Clerkenwell, near London. Ferdinando was the younger of two sons. The record of his birth—probably at Clerkenwell rather than Wraxall,—fails, but an approximate date will be 1566 or 1567. Military training and service brought him, when about twenty-one, a captain's commission. He was at the siege of Sluys in 1587; a prisoner of war in the next year; in the siege of Paris in 1589, and wounded. In 1595, he was ordered to Plymouth to superintend the erection

21. Chronol. Observations; Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d Series, Vol. 3, p. 387.

22. *Vide* Life of John Davis, the Navigator, 1650-1605, by C. R. Mark-

ham, (1890.)

23. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, by James P. Baxter, Esq., Prince Society.

erection of fortifications, and in March following he was made commander of the fort, and rendered valuable services for many years in the defence of Devonshire.

By friendship for the Earl of Essex, he was drawn into complicity with the conspiracy against the queen ; was in great danger when a moment's caprice in Elizabeth would have cost him his head ; yet gained pardon and release from prison. Soon after the accession of James he was restored to the command at Plymouth.

Gorges' relations with Sir Walter Raleigh aided to incite in him interest in schemes of American colonization which had prevailed from the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Especially did information, derived from three of the savages, kidnapped by Waymouth, give him vigorous impulses toward undertakings for seizure of the unknown land. From that time forward, Sir Ferdinando used his fortune lavishly, and applied his resolute activity in all ways to that end. Yet was he wofully beset by the adverse at every step of project and endeavor for establishing colonies, or deriving benefits from his own chartered possessions. He was, however, hopeful and persistent when wasted expenditure or defeat followed his exertions.

He took broad views of the benefits to be reaped from colonization, " the increase of the king's navy ; the breeding

breeding of mariners; the employment of the people." He also wisely estimated the advantage to the realm by an extension over a valuable territory which otherwise rival nations would seize. Not for himself alone in any heartless narrow way in his aims and purposes, but for his king, were his endeavors persistently and heartily applied to ensure foreign settlements. Left by the death of Justice Popham to take a larger duty in superintending the enterprise at Sagadahoc, his letters<sup>24</sup> disclose him intently watchful of the needs and welfare of the company in Fort St. George, alert and efficient in furnishing supplies and sending out ships. The sudden collapse of the colony which he had sustained with characteristic ardor and energy, was a keen disappointment, but he met it with nothing but resolution to go forward. It was an indomitable spirit indeed, which gave him endurance, as he still under manifold vexations pursued his cherished aim, foreign plantations. Trade and fishery he employed to advance his purposes, yet confesses that what he gained in one way he lost in another. With reliant confidence, as an honest man claiming only chartered rights, he met in Parliament the attack upon the New England patent. Monhegan and Agamenticus recall his business schemes and unchilled ardor:

Gorgeana,

24. *Vide Literature, post*, and Baxter's *Memoirs of Gorges*.

Gorgeana, the transitory city, remains a name in history to witness to the broad aims of the man, hampered, assailed, frustrated by agencies mightier than he. Sanguine, self-reliant, courageous in disaster, persevering, daring fortune's heaviest rebuff, not without ambition in respect to the honor and wealth to be derived from the growth and government of his extensive domain, still in all his endeavors to establish plantations, he strove constantly against the adverse, culminating in defeat and the wreck of almost all his own and his family's hopes in regard to the province of Maine. But forty years of such leadership and effort, however personally fruitless, gave him superior rank and title to honor among the agencies operative in the settlement of Maine.

Gorges was unselfishly loyal to his king, a bold royalist, upholding the monarchy; and as a trusted officer managing military and civil affairs, he was discreet energetic, foresighted, vigilant.

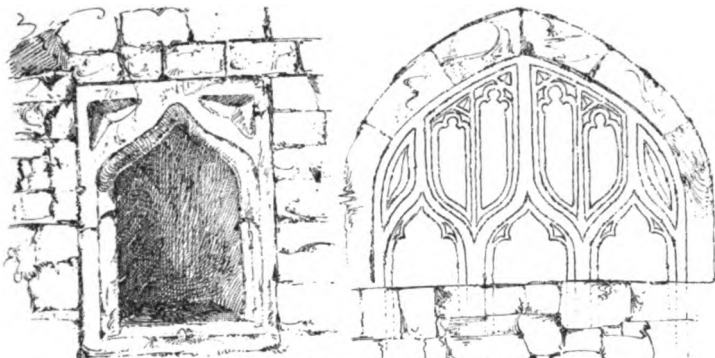
Sir Ferdinando's first wife was Ann, daughter of Edward Bell, who, from marriage in 1589, continued his companion for thirty-one years, and bore him four children. Next, in 1621, he married Mary, widow of Thomas Achims, soon taken from him. A third marriage followed in 1627, with a twice widowed cousin, the daughter of Tristram Gorges, a union severed by death in a few

few weeks. Again, two years later, he married a cousin, widow of Hugh Smyth, of Ashton Court. He now took up his residence with his wife at Ashton Phillips, her possession, in the manor of Ashton in Somerset County, near Bristol, which became for near a score of years the home of his declining age. Here he died in 1647, above eighty years old, his burial occurring May 14th.

Equally devoted and active in the scheme of colonization was Sir John Popham. This family name is traced back to the twelfth century, originating at Popham in Hampshire County. From Gilbert Popham, who obtained the manor of Popham in 1200, John Popham was the sixth in descent, and was born in Wellington, Somersetshire, about 1531.

His early life was wayward and scandalous, but by the influence of his wife, as is believed, whom he married about 1560, he abandoned his vicious courses, applied himself energetically to the law, and attained high distinction in his profession. He had been educated at Baliol College, Oxford, and in succession was member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Speaker of the House of Commons, Attorney-General, Treasurer of the Middle Temple; next he was elevated to the bench in 1592, as Chief Justice of the realm. In the same year he was made Knight of the Bath and Privy Counsellor.

Very



Pychna ix Private Chapel.

Remains of Base Window in  
Pychna Corner.



**SKETCHES**

OF THE  
 REMAINS OF THE PRIVATE  
 CHAPEL  
 OF ASHTON PHILLIPS  
 AND MANSION OF  
 Sir Ferdinando Gorges.  
 By  
 James Olney Baxter  
 July 1886.

Doorway & Windows in  
 East Front of  
 Ashton Phillip as they were in the time of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.



Very divergent opinions have been held respecting Chief Justice Popham. His character has been quite bitterly assailed. A spirit of detraction in some writers may have charged upon him more than his due of dishonor. Others with an equal excess of charity have excused his faults, or palliated and ignored his vices. Be the facts as charged, his case will not be the only instance of a dissolute youth and early manhood so far changed that matured years won good repute and honorable station. That his early years were wild, lawless, perhaps criminal, will admit of little doubt. Strong suspicions have also rested upon him that in later official life he made private gain, in obtaining his home, at Littlecote, by judicial dishonor. It has been affirmed by one writer that his law reports were miserably done, and have little authority; hence the inference of deficient ability as much as of slighted work. On the contrary, it is held that his selection for such high legal duties, by a discerning queen and advisers, testifies to his fitness. Evidently he had the confidence of the crown, and was held to be a fit instrument for the work to be done.

His relation to the Sagadahoc colony has brought the petty animadversion, having certainly no proof in fact, that he devised the scheme of plantations to maintain  
in the



in the New World those who could not live honestly in the Old. It must be doubted if his motives and aims have been disclosed, but the success of such a scheme, in the then state of England's lower classes, might have brought him more credit than dishonor. But if such an aim had the least existence, the scheme found no realization, because of the quick blasting of the colony, and any small number of the vagrant and vicious injected into it made but slight diminution of the criminal or suspected classes at home.

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.

Manifestly he was heartily engaged in the projects for American colonization and was a fitting associate for Sir Ferdinando Gorges. His contributions must have been on a liberal scale towards the expenses,—an investment from which he hoped to realize largely. In a foremost place and active in these undertakings, yet his name was not entered in the charter of 1606, and doubtless for evident reasons in the case of such an officer of the crown. With zealous aid he sent out the advance ship in which  
Hanham

Hanham sailed, and presumably at his own expense: then, with equal patronage and outlay, helped to secure the outfit of the colony,—ships, provisions, materials, men. He had the satisfaction to learn of, if he did not witness, their departure from Plymouth. Thus the first stage of the undertaking was realized. Then his part in it, though he knew it not, was finished, for the ships had not made half the distance to the Azores, when he died, June 10, 1607, aged seventy-six. An elaborate tomb in the church of Wellington marks the resting place of his remains.

His only son, Sir Francis Popham, at once took upon him his father's care of the incipient plantation, and after its dissolution pursued the vanishing phantom of success and fortune by sending ships to those shores.

He was chosen a member of the Council for the Colony, and was one of the grantees of the new charter of 1620.

George Popham, first President of the colony, whom Strachey designated "kinsman" of the Chief Justice, was a nephew, the son of his brother Edward. He held the office of "his Ma'ts customer of the Porte of Bridgewater," previous to his departure for Sagadahoc.<sup>25</sup> Sea-service in former years as a master mariner is an allowable

25. Copy of his letter, obtained by James P. Baxter, Esq., in Archives of Me. Historical Society.

able presumption, though his position as captain of the Gift is not proof that he was a practical navigator, but only that he had the chief authority in directing the voyage. He was one of the four persons whose names are written in the charter of 1606 in behalf of the northern colony, and it is fair to infer for him deep personal interest in foreign plantations, which led him to become a principal adventurer in this project; but doubtless he also represented the Popham families and especially his kinsman, the Chief Justice. His personal devotion, however, must have been a chief reason for assigning the difficult duty of leadership in this foreign enterprise to an old man who had long been infirm, and thereby unfitted for the exacting service required. Yet his discernment and judgment may have been wholly adequate, while nerve and vigorous resolution, with ability to control men and with positive personal force to give shape to dubious affairs, may have been deficient. Gorges' characterization of the man is doubtless a just estimate: "an honest man, but old, and of unwieldy body, and timorously fearful to offend or contest with those that will or do oppose him, but otherwise a discreet, careful man."<sup>26</sup> His statements also indicate the lack of a vigorous administration, and it appears that in a few months the spirit of disorder was working mischief in the enterprise,

26. *Vide Literature, post.*

prise, while confusion and divided aims prevailed—assuredly a severe trial to the aged president, however far his timid official hand was responsible for the continuance. To praise him, or sharply to criticize and blame, we cannot, for we have not sufficient knowledge of the facts. His term of service was short: midwinter—February 5th—released him from the onerous duty. Some acute malady, incident to a new climate and a severe winter, may have caused his death; or, in ripened years, it may have been nature's time for dissolution. The end may have been hastened by the taxing of his powers by official duty, and the anxieties which rampant disorder and sedition raised.

What Gorges writes,<sup>27</sup> would be a suitable epitaph, if a stone could be raised on the unknown spot of his burial at Sagadahoc:—

“However heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country.”

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose projected enterprise, resolutely pursued, came to a disastrous issue, and involved also the loss of his own life,—may yet have left to his sons, as a natural inheritance, an interest in the seizure and occupation of the domain he had attempted to secure.

Sir John

27. Brief Narration, p. 22, in Me. Hist. Coll., Vol. II.

Sir John Gilbert is shown to have been the eldest son in a family of at least seven children left by Sir Humphrey. The choice of him, in 1607, to be a member of the enlarged council for the northern colony is the chief fact which identifies him with the Sagadahoc enterprise. It is also stated that he was made president of the company,<sup>28</sup>—a further proof of his interested activity in its affairs. His death July 5, 1608, was a momentous event for the colony, indirectly causing it to disband. His home was in Compton, of Devonshire. His wife was Alice, daughter of Richard Molineux, of Sefton, but he left no children.

Raleigh Gilbert, holding so prominent a position in the company's affairs, was likewise a son of Sir Humphrey,—not a brother, nor a nephew, as has also been held. His age is not definitely known, but so far as the family pedigree<sup>29</sup> is ascertained, he was next to the youngest child, and a fair estimate of probabilities will make him not younger than twenty-seven, nor older than thirty-five at his departure for Sagadahoc. In the previous year he had enjoyed the distinction of becoming one of the four patentees in whose names was issued the charter of 1606; and his name appears likewise in the new charter of 1620.

It seems

28. Oldmixon.

29. Essex Institute Collections, Vol. 17, p. 40.

It seems that an unwonted portion of the father's scheming and adventurous spirit rested upon this youngest son, that he should have early devoted himself to similar aims in America. Recognized abilities and force of character must be presumed by which so young a man was esteemed fit to be put forward as a grantee under the charter, and next as vice president of the colony.

The journal, we now exhibit, discloses Raleigh Gilbert's energy and activity in the affairs of the colony, not lessened, we may be assured, when the death of President Popham advanced him to that office. Information now obtained shows that ambition and selfish aims were among his faults, and soon modified his cordial relations to the enterprise. The returning ship brought report that Gilbert's aspiring claims were threatening the plans and interests of the company. He proposed to revive his father's patent, and to demand supposed rights accruing to him under it, which he believed could not be superseded by the charter of James in 1606; and was endeavoring to form a party to support his designs, sending messages to England to friends to come over and join him. Gorges sought at once to checkmate these plans, and it is inferred that Gilbert soon learned that his revolutionary scheme was hopeless.

Gorges'

Gorges' estimate of the man does not commend him ;<sup>30</sup> "desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life, prompt to sensuality, little zeal in religion, humorous, headstrong, and of small judgment and experience, otherwise valiant enough": and prompts the question of his fitness for the responsible position. Manifestly his administration was very unlike that of George Popham, and yet his more vigorous hand and force of will were suited to control restless and turbulent elements of the colony. Gilbert's presidency, extending from February into September, was fully equal in length to that of Popham, and may have been vigilant and wholly satisfactory to the patrons; but when intelligence came of the death of his brother, Sir John, to whose property he was heir-at-law, he judged his return to England absolutely needful. It seems that his personal force mainly held the colony to its purpose, for his projected departure forced its dissolution since there was no one there who could or would step into his place.

Raleigh Gilbert was probably unmarried at this time, for his oldest son was born about 1615. He married Elizabeth Kelly, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. The date of his death is approximated by the proving of his will, which, made in 1625, was proved in 1634, February 13th. His home was in Greenway, in Devonshire.

Sir Ferdinando

30. *Vide Literature, post.*

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and members of the Popham and Gilbert families were evidently the principal projectors and active managers of the undertaking, and most liberal contributors to the expenses. Others, how many we cannot know, were willing to put a few score or a few hundred pounds into the venture and wait for the profits of the investment, when the imagined mines and the products of the country should speedily fill the depleted treasury. We must presume that all those chosen to be members of the council had a financial interest in the project. These names of knights and gentlemen, may, therefore, be added as interested patrons:—Thomas Hanham, William Parker, Edward Hungerford, John Mallet, Thomas Freake, Richard Hawkins, Bartholomew Mitchell, Edward Seamour, Bernard Greenville, Edward Rogers, Rev. Matthew Sutcliff. It is probable that in the opening stage there was no lack of patrons, and the expedition sailed well furnished for its purpose.

From this point the Lambeth MS. carries forward the story of the enterprise,—supplemented after the abrupt closing, by the continuation given in the History of Strachey. Some letters of Gorges, recently obtained,<sup>31</sup> add very valuable information, and an inside view of the affairs of the colony. The Literature exhibits the  
general

31. *Vide Literature, post.*



general voice of history concerning the enterprise, to which is appended discussion of a few matters vitally connected with its progress and ending.

Liberal expenditures and foresight had prepared the way; abundant supplies were subsequently forwarded; vigilant care of devoted patrons followed the colony; but an inward disease, more than outward ills, not indeed wanting, weakened it, so that a slight stroke in the end broke the resolution of the company, and there was added to a lamentable series of frustrated attempts, one more discouraging failure in the colonization of America, by the sudden abandonment of Sagadahoc.







ASR

Memphigien 1818 in 1803



# THE RELATION.

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In the nam of God, Amen.

The Relation of a Voyage unto New England.

Began from the *Lizard*, ye first of June 1607,

By Capt<sup>n</sup>. Popham in ye ship ye Gift,

&

Capt<sup>n</sup>. Gilbert in ye Mary & John :

Written by .....

& found amongst ye Papers of ye truly Worpfull:

Sr. Ferdinando Gorges, K<sup>nt</sup>.

by me

William Griffith.<sup>32</sup>

3.

Departed from the *Lizard*<sup>32</sup> the firste daye of June  
Ano Domi 1607, beinge Mundaye about 6 of the Cloke  
in the

32. This subscription explains itself ;  
it was written by the finder, Griffith,

as a title indicating the contents of  
the MS. which had been in Gorges'

in the afternoon and ytt bore of me then Northeeste and by North eyght Leags of.

from thence Directed our Course for the Illands<sup>34</sup> of flowers & Corve in the wch we wear 24 dayes attainynge of ytt. All wch time we still kept the Sea and never Saw but on Saill beinge a ship of Salcom<sup>35</sup> bound for the New Foundland wherin was on tosser of Dartmoth Mr. in her.

possession, and was brought to light subsequent,—it may be many years,—to his death.

33. At the southwesterly extreme of England, in the county of Cornwall. The lighthouse stands in Lat.  $49^{\circ} 57'$  N. and Lon.  $5^{\circ} 11'$  W. Land's End, twenty-three miles distant, slightly further north, is the most westerly point. From the Lizard the navigator took departure for the ocean voyage. The ships had left Plymouth harbor, fifty miles northeasterly, on the previous day.

34. The Azores lay in the route to New England since it had been the practice to sail southward, often far towards the West Indies, and then take the wind up the American coast. Gosnold is accredited with the first attempt at a direct westerly passage. Yet Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage of 1583 was laid direct for Cape Race. The sailing directions ordered to run first W. S. W. to  $43^{\circ}$  or  $44^{\circ}$ , then to

traverse to  $45^{\circ}$ , and not above  $47^{\circ}$ , but to endeavor to keep in  $46^{\circ}$ . This group of islands, nine in number, 800 miles west of Portugal, lie in north latitude from  $38^{\circ} 55'$  to  $39^{\circ} 44'$ . They were taken in possession by the Portuguese government about 1432, and named Azores—or as often written Accores, from the Portuguese word *acor*—a hawk, as these birds were very abundant.

Flores, Corvo, Gratosia, disguised by the spelling, are the islands here mentioned. Josselyn in 1663, (*Two Voyages*, Mass. H. Coll., 3 S., 3 V., p. 230) writes, "We found flowers to be in the southern part in Lat.  $39^{\circ} 13'$ . We descried a village and a small church or chappel seated in a pleasnt valley to the eastern side of the island . . . inhabited by outlawed Portingals. The town they call Santa Cruz."

35. Salcombe, a village of Devonshire, at the entrance of Kingsbridge Harbor.

The

The 25<sup>th</sup> daye of June we fell w<sup>th</sup> the Illand of Ger-sea on<sup>36</sup> of The Illands of the Assores & ytt bore of<sup>36</sup> us then South & by est ten Leags of, our Mr. & his matts makinge ytt to be flowers but my Selffe w<sup>th</sup>stood them & reprooved them in thear errorr as afterward ytt appeared manyfestly and then stood Roome<sup>37</sup> for flowers.

The 26<sup>th</sup> of June we had Seight of flowers & Corv. & the 27<sup>th</sup> in the mornynge early we wear hard aboard flowers & stod in for to fynd a good rod for to anker Whearby to take in wood and watter the 28<sup>th</sup> we Descryed to<sup>36</sup> Sailles, standinge in for flowers Whearby we presently Wayed Anker & stood towards the rod of Santa Cruse<sup>38</sup> beinge near three Leags from the place. Whear we wattered. thear Capt popham ankered to take in wood and wattr but ytt was So calme that we Could nott recover or gett unto hem beffor the daye cam on.

The 29<sup>th</sup> of June beinge Mundaye early in the morn- ing those to Sailles we had seen the nyght beffore Wear neare unto us & beinge Calme they Sent thear bots beinge full of men towards us. And after the orders of the Sea they hailed us demandynge us of  
whense

36. The forms of several words throughout the MS. need not mislead: —“of” for *off*, “on” for *one*, “to” for *two*, etc.

37. This word is an old nautical

term, and signifies to tack about before the wind.

38. A town on the island of Flores, having a harbor or port. Another of the same name is found on the north side of Graciosa.

whense we wear the w<sup>ch</sup> we told them: & found them to be flemens<sup>39</sup> & the stats shipes. on of our Company named John Goyett of plymoth knew the Capt. of on of the shipes for that he had ben att Sea w<sup>th</sup> hem. havinge aquainted Capt. Gilbert of this & beinge all frinds he desyered the Capt. of the Dutch to com<sup>r</sup> near & take a can of bear the w<sup>ch</sup> hee thankfully excepted we still keepinge our Selves in a redynesse both of our small shott & greatt; the Dutch Capt. beinge Com to our ships syde Capt. Gilbert desyered hem to com aboard hem & entertand hem in the beste Sort he Could. this don they to requytt his kind entertainment desyered hem that he wold go aboard w<sup>th</sup> them. & uppon thear earnest intreaty he went w<sup>th</sup> them takinge three or 4 gentell w<sup>th</sup> hem, but when they had hem aboard of them they thear kept hem per Forse charginge him that he was a pyratt & still threatnyng<sup>e</sup> hemselfe & his gentell-  
men

39. Capt. Gilbert's courtesy was illy repaid, and the Dutch were guilty of a base and perfidious trick. Nor are the motives at all to be discerned. Refusal to examine the ship's papers, with detention and scandalous treatment, seems like paying off some grudge at Englishmen. Their threats, if more than wicked gasconade, betokened a desire for a pretext to make prizes of the ships. It is but conjecture that behind all was a pur-

pose to overthrow the voyage in the interest of Dutch projects of settlement. The latter had not as yet made endeavor to secure a foothold on the coast. In this case the base captain released Gilbert and companions because he doubted the loyalty of his own crew, since some, being English, would have prevented the execution of the Dutchman's design to seize the ships.

men w<sup>th</sup> hem to throw them all overbord & to take our ship from us. in this Sort they kept them from ten of the Clok mornynge untill eyght of the Clok nyght ussing Som of his gent in most wild maner as Settinge Som of them in the bibowes & buffettinge of others & other most wyld & shamffull abuses but in the end havinge Seene our Comission the w<sup>ch</sup> was proffered unto them att the firste but they reffused to See yt and the greatest Cause doutinge of the Inglyshe men beinge of thear owne Company who had promist Capt. Gilbert that yf they proffered to perform that w<sup>ch</sup> they still threatned hem that then they all woold Rysse w<sup>th</sup> hem. & either end thear Lyves in his deffence or Suppress the shipe. the w<sup>ch</sup> the Dutch perseavinge presently Sett them att Lyberty & Sent them aboard unto us aggain to our no small Joye. Capt. popham all this tyme beinge in the Wind of us never woold Com roome unto us not withstandinge we makege all the Seignes that possybell we myght by strykinge on topsaill & hoissinge ytt aggain three tymes & makege towards hem all that ever we possybell could.<sup>40</sup> so hear we lost Company of hem  
beinge

40. Capt. Popham may be fairly entitled to the benefit of the doubt, if he saw or comprehended the signals : otherwise his course is unexplainable, or may be called cowardly, that he did not approach to inquire. If he

was more suspicious of the Dutch vessels than Capt. Gilbert had been, he failed damagingly in duty to his consort. His unmanly action separated the two vessels for the remainder of the voyage.



beinge the 29<sup>th</sup> daye of June about 8 of the Clok at nyght beinge 6 Leags from flowers West norwest wee standinge our Course for Vyrzenia the 30<sup>th</sup> wee laye in Seight of the Illand.

The firste Daye of Jully beinge Wesdaye wee depted from the Illand of flowers<sup>41</sup> beinge ten Leags South weste from ytt.

From hence we allwayes kept our Course to the Westward as much as wind & weather woold permytt untill the 27<sup>th</sup> daye of Jully duringe wch time wee often times Sounded but could never fynd grounde. this 27<sup>th</sup> early in the mornynge we Sounded & had ground but 18 fetham beinge then in the Lattitud of 43 degrees &  $\frac{1}{2}$  hear w... fysht three howers & tooke near to hundred of Cods very great & large fyshe bigger & larger fyshe then that wch coms from the bancke of the New Found

#### Land

41. They had kept their course southwesterly by Flores to about Lat. 39°. Then they sailed westward (Strachey,\* p. 292, writes W. by N. and W. N. W.) for twenty-six days, when they reached soundings in Lat. 43° 40'. A portion of Sable Island bank, south and west of the island, between Lat. 43° 40' and 44', shows

\* All references to this writer will be made to the reprint in Collections of Maine Hist. Soc., Vol. 3.

seventeen to twenty-six fathoms. Strachey writes twenty and twenty-two, not eighteen. At no other point in the given latitude, except near the island, is this depth found. This approximates their position and shows that they passed some twenty miles to the S. W. of Sable Island. Had they cast the lead an hour or two earlier, they would have found forty to sixty fathoms.

Land hear wee myght have loddén our shipe in Lesse time then a moneth.

From hence the Wynd beinge att South west wee sett our Sails & stood by the wind west nor west towards the Land allwayes Soundinge for our better knowledg as we ran towarde the main Land from this bancke.

From this bancke we kept our Course west nor west 36 Leags wch ys from the 27<sup>th</sup> of July untill the 30<sup>th</sup> of July in wch tyme we ran 36 L as ys beffore sayed & then we Saw the Land<sup>42</sup> about 10 of the Clok in the mornynge bearinge norweste from us About 10 Leags & then we Sounded & had a hundred fethams<sup>43</sup> blacke oze hear as we Cam in towards the Land from this bancke we still found deepe wattr. the deepest within the bancke ys 160 fethams & in 100 fetham you shall See the Land yf ytt be Clear weather after you passe the bancke the ground ys still black oze untill yo Com near the shore this daye wee stood in for the Land but Could nott recover

42. From point of soundings to the land they reckon forty-six leagues. Sable Island is distant from Aspotogeon about 140 miles or in close agreement. "The high lands of Aspotogeon and La Heve are conspicuous and remarkable." "The high and conspicuous mountain of Aspotogeon is visible more than twenty miles off." "Cape La Heve, a steep, abrupt cliff

107 ft. high." (Blunt's Coast Pilot, 1867, pp. 193-195.)

43. After passing Sable Bank, the depth for many leagues, varies from eighty to 125 fathoms. Within twenty miles of Sambro light, off Halifax, are eighty to ninety-seven fathoms: near Sambro banks, but south of their probable course, are 140 to 162 fathoms. (*Vide* Coast Charts.)

cover ytt beffor the night tooke us so we stood a Lyttell from ytt & thear strok a hull untill the next daye beinge the Laste of July hear Lyeinge at hull we tooke great stor of cod fyshes the bigeste & largest that I ever Saw or any man in our ship. this daye beinge the Last of July about 3 of the Clok in the after noon we recouered the shor & cam to an anker under an Illand<sup>44</sup> for all this Cost ys full of Illands & broken Land but very Sound & good for shipinge to go by them the wattr deepe. 18 & 20 fetham hard aboard them this Illand standeth in the

— — — — —

This Illand standeth in the lattitud of 44 d &  $\frac{1}{4}$  & hear we had nott ben att an anker past to howers beffore we espyed a bisken<sup>45</sup> shallop Cominge towards us havinge

44. Determinations of latitude in that period were not accurate by reason of the rudeness of instruments employed. Fractions of degrees were usually but approximations. (*Vide* New England His. and Gen. Reg., 1882, p. 145.) Hence the latitude here given will not certainly point out the island. Macnab Island, at the entrance of Halifax harbor, Tancook and Green Islands, guarding Mahone bay, and Cross Island, at Lunenburg bay, closely meet the requirements of latitude. Ironbound Island, in Lat. 44° 16', is a quarter of a degree south, but presents its claims from its prox-

imity to the harbor of La Heve. Champlain (Bk. 2, p. 49) had made the latitude of Cape de La Heve 44° 5'. The narrative mentions as the chief of those parts a Sachem Messamott, and Lescarbot shows the Messamott was "Captaine or Sagamore in the river of the port of La Heve." These facts favor but are not decisive that the anchorage was at La Heve, yet do give Ironbound Island the preference. The chief Messamott had been in France. (*Vide* Lescarbot, 1609 Ed., Chap. 44.)

45. Boats of European make were proofs of the intercourse which had

inge in her eyght Sallvages & a Lyttell salvage boye they cam near unto us & spoke unto us in thear Language. & we makinge Seignes to them that they should com aboard of us showinge unto them knyues glasses beads & throwinge into thear bott Som bisket but for all this they wold nott com aboard of us but makinge show to go from us. we suffered them. So when they wear a Lyttell from us and Seeinge we proffered them no wronge of thear owne accord retorned & cam aboard of us & three of them stayed all that nyght wth us the rest depted in the shallope to the shore makinge Seignes unto us that they wold return unto us aggain the next daye.

The next daye the Sam Salvages wth three Salvage wemen beinge the fryst daye of Auguste retorned unto us bringinge wth them Som feow skines of bever in an other bisken shallop & propheringe thear skines to trook wth us but they demanded ouer muche for them and we Seemed to make Lyght of them So then the other three wch had stayed wth us all nyght went into the shallop & So they depted ytt Seemth that the french hath trad wth them for they use many french words the Cheeff Comander of these pts ys called Messamott & the ryver

OR

existed between the natives and the hardy fishermen frequenting the coast. Also the French were engaged

in traffic with them, as Lescarbot shows.

or harbor ys called emannett<sup>46</sup> we take these peopell to be the tarentyns<sup>47</sup> & these peopell as we have Learned sence do make wars<sup>48</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Sasanoa the Cheeffe Comander to the westward whea . . we have planted & this Somer they kild his Sonne So the Salvages depted from us & cam no mor unto us After they wear depted from us we hoysed out our bot whearin my Selfe was w<sup>th</sup> 12 others & rowed to the shore and landed on this Illand<sup>49</sup> that we rod under the w<sup>ch</sup> we found to be a gallant Illand full of heigh & myghty trees of Sundry Sorts hear we allso found abundance of gusberyes—strawberyes rasberyes & whorts<sup>50</sup> So we returned & Cam aboard

Sondaye beinge the second of Auguste after dyner our bott went to the shore again to fille freshe wattr whear after they had filled thear wattr thear cam fower Salvages unto them havinge thear bowes & arowes in  
thear

46. This name does not appear elsewhere. The French designation La Heve supplanted it. In Normandy, near Havre de Grace, is a high bluff bearing this name, which manifestly was transferred and affixed by early seamen. (*Vide* Champlain, Prince Soc., Vol. 2, p. 9, note.)

47. One division or tribe of the Etechemins, who occupied the Penobscot region and the East. Purchas says the Tarratine County is in 44° 40'. (*Vide* Williamson, 1, 470. Me. His. Col., 7, 100.)

48. The fight occurred in August, and is mentioned again under date of the 22d. This sentence may have been added later to the Relation when the whole was written out, from the original notes and log book.

49. Cross Island is more notable in size than Ironbound, comprising 253 acres. Good channels on either side. (Blunt, p. 194.)

50. Whortleberries. Lescarbot mentions the red gooseberries.

theare hands makinge show unto them to have them Com to the shore but our Saillers havinge filled theare watter wold nott go to the shore unto them but returned & cam aboard beinge about 5 of the Clock in the afternoon So the bott went presently from the ship unto a point of an Illand & theare att Lo watter in on hower kild near . 50 . great Lopsters you shall See them Wheare they Ly in shold Watter nott past a yeard deep & wth a great hooke mad faste to a staffe you shall hitch them up theare ar great store of them you may near Lad a Ship wth them. & they are of greatt bignesse I have nott Seen the Lyke in England So the bott returned aboard & wee toke our bott in & about myd nyght the wynd cam faier att northeast<sup>51</sup> we Sett Saille & deputed from thence keepinge our Course South west for So the Cost Lyeth.

Mundaye being the third of Auguste in the morninge we wear faier<sup>52</sup> by the shore and So Sailed alongste the Coste we Saw many Illands all alonge the Cost & great Sounds, goinge betwyxt them. but We could make prooffe of non for want of a penyshe<sup>53</sup> hear we found fyshe still all alonge the Cost as we Sailed.

Tuesdaye being the 4th of Auguste in the morninge

5 of

51. Strachey adds, "and the moon shining brightly."

52. "A league from it," says Strachey.

53. Pinnacle.

5 of the Clok we wear theawart of a Cape or head Land<sup>54</sup>  
Lyeing in the Latitud of 43 degrees and cam very near

unto

54. Allowing for time to get under way after the wind came round, they were a little more than twenty-four hours in running down the coast from their anchorage to Cape Sable, which must be the cape mentioned. The landfall in  $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , this coast-wise trip S. W. to a cape in  $43^{\circ}$ , then in leaving it, entering a great deep bay, and making some forty-five leagues westerly out of sight of land, furnish evidence additional to the manifest crossing of Sable Bank, that their course across the ocean brought them to Nova Scotia. No other part of the American coast would fit these facts. When the "Historie" of Strachey was published disclosing first the details of the voyage, this cape presented no slight difficulty. The English Editor, Mr. R. H. Major, misled probably by theory and assumption of landfall necessarily on the coast of Maine, sadly befogged the matter. From the narrative and other information at hand, and especially a "very elaborate and beautiful map of the coast of Maine in the British Museum, on a scale of two miles to an inch," he reached conclusions in his opinion "most consistent with all the details," that Cape Small Point must be the headland in question. Yet then he was forced to as-

sign an error in the reported latitude of half a degree. In his careful study, however, he overlooked plain details of the narrative, able to shatter his conclusions. He failed to follow the vessel, and to notice that these navigators, after passing the headland, sailed two days out of sight of land, some fifty leagues by estimate, on courses, S. W., W. by S., W. S. W., W. N. W., W., and W. by N., constantly *westerly*, and then sighted the mountains of Penobscot. To sail westerly from Small Point, and reach Penobscot bay is a feat of seamanship vastly easier in performance in an English library than on the quarter deck. Surprise at such a blunder is but augmented by the further fact that in the American reprint of a portion of Strachey with Mr. Major's appended notes, by the Historical Societies of Massachusetts and of Maine, his elucidations and conclusions upon this point gained neither dissent, criticisms, nor notice. He had suggested, in view of the latitude, that the first landfall might have been at Mount Desert, not heeding the fact that the parallel of  $44^{\circ}$  cuts Nova Scotia as well as Maine. (Capt. George Prince in appendix to Rosier's Relation [1860] regards the landfall as eastward of Mt. Desert.)

unto ytt.<sup>55</sup> ytt ys very Low Land showinge Whytt Lyke sand but ytt ys Whytt Rocks and very stronge tides goeth hear from the place we stopt att beinge in 44 de &  $\frac{1}{2}$  untill this Cape or head land ytt ys all broken Land & full of Illands & Large Sounds betwixt them & hear we found fyshe aboundance so large & great as I never Saw the Lyke Cods beffor nether any man in our shipe.

After we paste this Cape or head Land the Land falleth away and Lyeth in norwest & by north into a greatt deep baye<sup>56</sup>. We kept our course from this head Land West and Weste and by South 7 Leags and cam to thre Illands<sup>57</sup> whear cominge near unto them we found on the Southest Syd of them a great Leadge of Rocks<sup>58</sup> Lyeinge near a Leage into the Sea the wch we perseavinge

55. The latitude was doubtless an estimate, with no accuracy of observation. Cape Sable light is in  $43^{\circ} 23'$ , as given by Blunt, who mentions the strong set of the tides across the ledges—the Horseshoe and Cape Ledges—at the rate of three and sometimes four knots an hour. (Coast Pilot, p. 200.) Strachey must have drawn from the log book or memoranda of the voyage, since he says that off the cape the ship was in  $42^{\circ} 50'$  and ran within half a league of it. Blunt says that the cape itself is a broken white cliff, visible four or five leagues off.

56. The Bay of Fundy; all the early maps indicate it. In the writings of Jesuit missionaries it is named “Baie Française”—French Bay.

57. Seal Island and Mud Islands, the latter four in number, but all would not be separately discerned from the ship. The distance is very precise, as Seal Island lies nearly twenty miles due west from Cape Sable.

58. The Blonde Rock is three and one-half miles distant, South  $\frac{1}{2}$  East from Seal Island and is uncovered at low water. The Elbow Shoal lies nearly between, and the Zettland



perseavinge tackt our ship & the wynde being Large att northest Cleared our Selves of them kepinge still our course to the westward west & by South and west South-west untill mydnyght. then after we hald in more north-erly.<sup>59</sup>

Wensdaye being the 5th of Auguste from after mydnyght we hald in West norwest untill 3 of the Clok afternoon of the Sam and then we Saw the Land aggain bearinge from us north weste & by north and ytt Risseth in this forme hear under. ten or 12 Leags<sup>60</sup> from yo they ar three heigh mountains<sup>61</sup> that Lye in upon the main Land near unto the ryver of penobskot in wch ryver the bashabe<sup>62</sup> makes his abod the cheeffe Comander of those pts & streatcheth unto the ryver of Sagadehock under his Comand yo shall see these heigh mountains when yo shall not perseave the main Land under ytt they

Shoal still more westerly. Over these is a heavy tide rip during the strength of the tide. (Coast Pilot, p. 201.) These manifest perils were avoided by tacking ship.

59. Strachey adds in the first case "and made thirty leagues;" and in the second "made fifteen leagues." At this point they descried land.

60. A low estimate Strachey wrote "nine or more." *Vide* note 63. As later shown the ship was some distance south east of the Matinicus Islands. Six miles east of Seal Island,

the most easterly of the Matinicus group, at present variations of  $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , Mt. Megunticook, the nearest, has just the given bearing, N. W. by N., and is twenty-five miles distant.

61. Strachey writes that they are in the land of Segohquet.

The Camden mountains, called by Col. Benjamin Church Mathebestuck Hills, present clear and bold outlines to seamen; they can be seen sixty miles out at sea.

62. *Vide* note on Bashaba, *post*.

they ar of shutch an exceedinge heygts: And note. that from the Cape or head Land beffor spoken of untill these heigh mountains we never Saw any Land except those three Illands also beffor mensyoned We stood in Right w<sup>th</sup> these mountains untill the next daye<sup>63</sup>.



Thursdaye beinge the 6<sup>th</sup> of Auguste we stood in w<sup>th</sup> this heigh Land untill 12 of the Cloke noon & then I found the shipe to be in 43 d &  $\frac{1}{2}$  by my observatio<sup>64</sup> from thence we Sett our Course & stood awaye dew weste & Saw three other Illands<sup>65</sup> Lyenge together beinge Lo & flatt by the wattr showinge whytt as yff ytt wear Sand but ytt ys whytt Rocks makinge show a far of allmoste

63. Sailing slowly, since they now only reached  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  southeasterly of the Matinicus Islands, and from them the mountains would be still some ten leagues away.

64. The writer certainly had some part in navigating the vessel,—further evidence that he was the pilot.

65. The Matinicus group, lying in the direct course from Cape Sable to Penobscot Bay. They are Matinicus, Ragged, Wooden Ball and Seal. The last three are the ones intended since

the first lying north of Ragged would be concealed. They regarded the three as lying in line due east and west. This course was not precise, for a line from the center of Ragged cutting the two others makes an angle of  $28^{\circ}$  with the parallel of  $43^{\circ} 50'$ , which intersects Ragged. This would require a variation of the compass of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  points, much too large, since Capt. Waymouth, two years before, found at Pentecost Harbor only one point variation.

allmoste Lyke unto Dover Cleeves. & these three Illands  
 Lye dew est & west on of the other so we Cam faier<sup>66</sup>  
 by them and as we Cam to the Westward the heygh  
 Land<sup>67</sup> beffor spoken of shewed ytt selffe in this form as  
 followith—



From hence we kept still our Course West & Weste  
 by North towards three other Illands<sup>68</sup> that we Sawe  
 Lyenge

66. "Fast by" writes Strachey,—  
 close or as near as prudent. He adds  
 also: "There lyeth so-west from the  
 easter-most of the three islands a  
 white rockye islands;" *i. e.*, Matini-  
 cus Rock, which is in lat.  $43^{\circ} 47'$ , and  
 about 3 ms. S. by E. from Ragged.  
 The narrative is best interpreted by  
 believing that the Mary and John,  
 laying her course close to the three  
 islands, sailed between Ragged and  
 Matinicus Rock. Yet our narrator  
 says they reached  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and then  
 sailed due west, which would have  
 laid their course many miles south  
 of the Rock. Evidently there was  
 faulty determination of the latitude  
 in this case or they hauled in north-  
 erly, of which no mention is made.

67. In advancing westward, the

outlines of the mountains change as  
 the rude sketches show.

68. Having cleared the Matinicus  
 Islands, they changed their course  
 towards the north. By evident lack  
 of full sailing notes and the unknown  
 variation, the precise course of the  
 Mary and John cannot now be laid  
 down on the charts. Another point  
 of view is required. They see three  
 other islands,—eight leagues distant,  
 —manifestly too liberal an estimate;  
 make for them and there find anchor-  
 age. Assuming that they had cleared  
 Ragged island then northwesterly  
 Metinic will be full ten nautical miles  
 away; Monhegan, eighteen; and be-  
 tween them are the Georges group,  
 about eighteen miles distant. The  
 range of view from Metinic on the

Lyenge from these Illands beffor spoken of 8 Leags and about ten of the Clok att nyght we recovered them & havinge Sent in our bott beffor nyght to vew ytt for that ytt was Calme a to Sound ytt & See whatt good ankoringe was under ytt we bor in wth on of them the wch as  
we cam

right to Monhegan on the left will comprise some thirty degrees of the horizon, constantly expanding on advance. (It is barely possible that a seaman might in a general way say he laid his course towards three islands in so wide a range.) But the mean and direct course would be towards the St. George islands—colloquially, the Georges. As Metinic is near and far to the right, so soon left on the starboard, it must be ruled out and could not have been one of the three. Monhegan must likewise be discarded, for they sailed towards *three islands*, and late in the evening “recovered them,” a statement only applicable to the Georges. On arrival they sent out a boat “to view it,” i. e., the nearest or chief one; after report they “bore in with one of them,”—the plural denoting a group,—and found anchorage. With greatest difficulty can the several statements be adjusted to Monhegan, though that has been put forth as the point reached. (*Vide* Mass. His. Proceed., 1880, pp. 89, 101; Bancroft, Vol. 1, p. 206, et al.) But they are clearly interpreted of the Georges Islands.

Further evidence is however conclusive.

1. In the morning at their anchorage they “were environed about with islands.” Such a statement is wholly inapt in reference to a station at Monhegan, that lonely outpost in the sea. Also there could be counted “near 30 islands round about us from aboard our ship.” This is an impossible statement for the view at Monhegan. The nearest are Allen’s and Burnt, full six miles distant northeasterly. In fine weather three or four small ones, scarcely separable from the mainland, can be made out by a practiced eye, stretching on the left towards Pemaquid. In the clearest weather Seguin, Metinic and Matinicus can be discerned. But an ordinary observer, a stranger, would at first notice only two, Allen’s and Burnt; while a sharper eye in the best weather might add six or seven more. But to regard these far away islands as environing the ship is wholly forced and absurd. But to an anchorage among the St. George islands the description would accurately apply.

2. Also after Popham’s arrival

we cam in by we still sounded & founde very deep wattr  
40 fetham<sup>69</sup> hard aboard of yt. So we stood in into a  
Coue<sup>70</sup> In ytt & had 12 fetham wattr & thear we  
ankored untill the mornynge. And when the daye ap-  
peared We Saw we weare environed Round about with  
Illands yo myght have told neare thirty Illands round  
about us from aboard our shipe this Illand we Call St.

Georges

they manned the boats and made a trip to Pemaquid, and in so doing they "rowed to the west in amongst many gallant islands." Accept the Monhegan anchorage, then Pemaquid, allowing only one point for variation, would have been N. W., not W. From the Georges it is due west to Pemaquid. Again, in the route from Monhegan to Pemaquid not an island intervenes, nor rock,—nor is there any nearer than Allen's island, five miles away. No sane man could have written of rowing among gallant islands on this course to Pemaquid. The Monhegan location is wholly inconsistent with the description; but one at the Georges fully accords, each point adding to the evidence and making it conclusive beyond question. (*Vide* Eaton's Thomaston, p. 23.)

69. The depth is exaggerated; twenty-eight fathoms are found east of Burnt Island.

70. It is not possible to designate this cove, and evidently here again the depth of water was reckoned in

excess. On the north and east of Burnt are coves of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  and  $7\frac{3}{4}$  fathoms, and on the west 10 and 13, but no proper coves. On the southeast of Allen's is a cove of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, and at the northeast one of 10.

71. No clear evidence determines which island they rode under, but probabilities favor Allen's. Capt. Geo. Prince concludes they anchored off the S. E. end of it. (Prince's Rosier, (1860.) p. 23.) They name it St. George's Island, evidently believing that Waymouth so named it. But Rosier's memory was at fault, else there can be scarcely a doubt but that Waymouth's company gave the name St. George to Monhegan, "the first island we fell with." Capt. G. Prince accepts the fact. Rev. Mr. Burrage regards it "a natural inference." (Rosier's Nar., p. 138.) Capt. Gilbert's company doubtless had not certain knowledge to which island Waymouth had given the name. Hence finding the cross set up by

Georges Illand<sup>71</sup> for that we hear found a Crosse<sup>72</sup> Sett up the w<sup>ch</sup> we Suposse was Sett up by George Wayman.

Frydaye

him they regard that as evidence of the name of the island and renew its use. By this erroneous conclusion the name was transferred and thereafter became permanent, never again appearing in application to Monhegan. The latter name comes into view in Capt. J. Smith's earliest narration (*Desc. of N. Eng.*, London, 1616) and prevailed ever after, though in various forms. Both names were used with obvious distinction by Richard Mather, 1635, (*Journal*) "made land at Menhiggin." "We saw more northward, divers other islands called St. George Islands,"—"rocks and islands on almost every side of us, as Menhiggin, St. George Islands, Pemaquid." The island St. George is mentioned by Geo. Munjoy in 1672, in his report of survey of the Massachusetts colony line, and probably could be no other than Allen's islands.

72. Rosier's Relation affords not a presumption that Waymouth set up a cross on Monhegan, since he does not hint that it was visited more than once, and briefly, for a boat load of wood. He did leave one by his harbor anchorage, and one on the bank of his river. Gilbert's company believed they found the former. Strachey allows not a doubt but it was Waymouth's. (*Vide* Wm. Willis, Me. H.

Coll., 5, pp. 348-9.) This is a proof of their knowledge of Waymouth's anchoring at the point, and strengthens other conclusive evidence that Waymouth's Pentecost Harbor was the Georges Harbor. A summary of that evidence is appropriate here.

1. Rational Presumption.

Waymouth first anchored north of Monhegan. Good seamanship demanded a secure anchorage against a possible storm. On our unknown coast sheltering islands are sought for that purpose. Three miles from Waymouth's ship lay inviting islands; others were dimly seen towards the main land. Wholly ignorant of the coast, he will first seek a harbor among these islands, or by an advance towards the land. To sail away ten or twenty miles westward along the coast is unnatural and absurd. Indeed, when he did seek his harbor, only four hours were required from weighing anchor till the harbor was selected and ship moored. He sought simply a well defended berth. Had he sailed, as alleged, to the vicinity of Boothbay, then must he have shut his eyes against any search in Muscongus Bay close about him, or at Pemaquid, or at Damariscotta River, where secure anchorages offer at many a point. He could not have acted thus irrationally.

Frydaye beinge the 7<sup>th</sup> of Auguste we wayed our Ankor whereby to bringe our shipe in mor bettr Safty<sup>73</sup> how Soever

2. In passing from first to second anchorage he sailed towards other islands more adjoining the main; *i. e.*, towards the mainland, not coastwise; also he sailed "in the road directly with," *i. e.*, towards high mountains.

No other interpretation of this language can honesty make possible.

3. The Camden Mts. alone can be intended,—inland, high, bold, always visible: also in the very direction given by Purchas, "north-north-east," which he writes in full, not in abbreviation, N. N. E., against which error could more reasonably be charged. (Purchas, 4: 1659.) The White Mountains are totally inadmissible,—visible on an average but once or twice a week; not visible at all from the sea north or west of Monhegan, except in rare cases of "looming." The mountains Weymouth saw were constantly in view; and from the river seemed near, a league away, while the White Mountains, 110 miles distant, when seen from the heights, present a cloudy range lifted a little above the horizon.

4. Champlain passed through the Sheepscoot and Kennebec a few days after Weymouth's alleged visit; conversed with the natives, heard nothing of a ship just departed, as his faithful records of events prove. Later he did learn of a ship having

been ten leagues east of the Kennebec, whose men had killed,—in fact kidnapped and secreted,—five Indians. Champlain locates this English ship in the vicinity of Monhegan, not west of it.

5. Cromwell's grant to Temple in 1657 gives names along the coast from Nova Scotia westward, and associates Pentecost with "St. George and Muscontus." Therefore Pentecost was east of Pemaquid.

6. Abbe Lavardiere's notes to Champlain locate Pentecost over against (*en face de*) Monhegan.

7. John Stoneman, pilot with Chalons, wrote a narrative (Purchas, Vol. 4, 1832) of that disaster not earlier than the first of 1608, possibly many many months later. He had been with Weymouth in his noted voyage and mentions that discovery of a river, the name of which he leaves blank, indicating that then no name for it was known and in use. But the Sagadahoc or Kennebec was well known in England by the colony then located upon it. And Stoneman could not have failed to know, certainly after consultation with Gorges, that the colony was not upon the river he had visited when with Weymouth.

8. On a map in Purchas' Pilgrims, 1625, a rude outline of the Maine

how Soever the wynd should happen to blow and about ten of the Cloke in the mornynge as we weare standinge of a Lyttell from the Illand we descried a sail standinge in towards this Illand<sup>4</sup> & we presently mad towards her  
& found

coast appears; indentations represent "Sagedhoc" and "Pemptoger" (Pentagoet or Penobscot), while between and near the latter is "Waymouch R.," clearly the St. George.

The aggregate of evidence assigning Pentecost Harbor to the Georges is very weighty, nor to be evaded in fair usage of Rosier's account. Of evidence to locate it in the vicinity of Boothbay there seems to be none, except the assumption of the White Mountain view, proved impossible. (For the whole matter, lucidly and effectively treated, *vide* Dr. Burrage's Rosier's Relation.)

73. The hasty anchorage chosen in the preceding evening was not satisfactory. The boats must have been sent out Friday morning to select a better, and of this no mention is made. In this search the cross set up by Waymouth would have been found. This fact determined their new anchorage. The Relation of Rosier seems very clear that the cross was set up by Waymouth's men on the rocks by the shore over against the ship. It was at the place where the pinnacle was constructed, where wells were dug, the garden plat made,

in fact on the shore of Pentecost Harbor, not at some other part of the island. It seems also that the Popham colonists anchored near the cross they found, for they went ashore to this place for the religious services of the Sabbath. They would not have transported by boat "the most part of their whole company of both ships" to a distant part of the island. Hence the Waymouth and the Popham anchorages were the same in the Georges Harbor. The cross was erected therefore on the north end of Allen's Island. While Gilbert's ship was standing off to come round to the new anchorage, Capt. Popham's ship was descried approaching. After separation at the Azores, it was a remarkable timing of the two voyages, thus to meet within twelve hours.

74. The Gift came confidently in as if knowing well the place, doubtless in charge of a pilot who had been here previously, probably with Pring. The pilot of the Mary and John does not appear equally acquainted. Yet both evidently sought a definite and assigned place, the appointed rendezvous in case of separation.



& found ytt to be the gyfte our Consort So beinge all Joye full of our happy meetinge we both stood in again for the Illand we ryd under beffor & theare anckored both together.<sup>75</sup>

This night followinge about myd nyght Capt. Gilbert caused his ships bott to be maned & took to hemselffe 13 other my Selffe beinge on. beinge 14 persons in all & tooke the Indyan skidwarres w<sup>th</sup> us<sup>76</sup> the weather beinge faier

75. The opinion which has long prevailed that the Popham expedition anchored at Monhegan and tarried there several days, is manifest error. It is evidently a faulty conclusion, doubtless based on the statement of Capt. J. Smith, (Gen. Hist.) who wrote simply "They fell with Monhegan the 11th of August." Of anchorage or tarry he has not a word. When Strachey's history appeared, he disclosed the stay of several days, but from his narration no one knew the place of the anchorage except to infer, by the aid of Mr. Major's quotation of Smith, that it was at Monhegan. This Lambeth MS. makes further disclosures of facts, omitted or garbled by Strachey. It shows the separation of the vessels on the voyage and well assures us that Popham's ship did make landfall at Monhegan, but without tarrying sailed directly by to the Georges. Smith was correct respecting the leading ship of the expedition; he may

have been ignorant of the movement of the other, or cared not in his brevity to make details. He wrote the general fact of the landfall in approach to the coast; that determined nothing concerning the anchorage, more than to make Hatteras or Portland Light assures dropping anchor in the offing. Monhegan and Matinicus were sufficiently well known to guide the pilots to the rendezvous.

76. Gilbert was pursuing a matured and politic plan to establish friendly relations with the Indians. Skidwarres was one of those captured by Waymouth. Gorges wrote the name Skitwarres, Skeetwarres; but Rosier, Skicowaros. (Burrage's Rosier, p. 161.) That he is now returned to this place and employed as ambassador and interpreter and shows thorough acquaintance with Pemaquid and the haunts of the savages, furnishes strong evidence that he was abducted from this place. Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage inclines to this

faier & the wynd Calme we rowed to the Weste in amongst many gallant Illands and found the ryver of pemaquyd<sup>77</sup> to be but 4 Leags weste from the Illand we Call St. Georges whear our ships remained still att anckor. hear we Landed in a Lyttell Cove<sup>78</sup> by skyd warres Direction & marched ouer a necke of the Land near three mills So the Indyan skidwarres brought us to the Salvages housses whear they did inhabitt although much against his will for that he told us that they wear all remoued & gon from the place they wear wont to inhabitt. but we answered hem again that we wold nott retorn backe untill shutch time as we had spoken with Som of them. At Length he brought us whear they did inhabytt whear we found near a hundreth of them men wemen and Children. And the Cheeffe Comander of them ys Nahanada<sup>79</sup> att our fryste Seight of them

opinion, though Rosier was quite indefinite. (*Vide* Burrage's Rosier's Rel., pp. 127, 134.) The party probably started away at midnight, so as to reach the abodes of the savages in the early morn before they should be scattered for the day's hunting.

77. The mouth of Pemaquid river is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Georges Harbor, and is due west on present variation. Muscongus Bay is dotted with islands and rocks. (*Vide* Coast Survey Chart.)

78. New Harbor is most probable

and most helpful to their purpose. The distance across the neck to the west side is near three miles, but their boat, driven well up the cove, would lessen the walk.

79. A native abducted by Waymouth, and styled by Rosier "a chief or commander," who also writes his name Tahanedo, but Gorges, Dehamda; this MS. has Dehanada; he had been returned by Capt. Hanham the year before. (*Vide* Strachey, pp. 29, 77.)

them uppon a howlinge or Cry that they mad they all presently Isued forth towards us w<sup>th</sup> thear bowes & arrows & we presently mad a stand & Suffered them to Com near unto us then our Indyan skidwarres spoke unto them in thear language showinge them what we wear w<sup>ch</sup> when nahanada thear Comander perseaved what we wear he Caused them all to laye assyd thear bowes & arrowes and cam unto us and imbrassed us & we did the lyke to them aggain. So we remained w<sup>th</sup> them near to howers & wear in thear housses. Then we tooke our Leave of them & returned w<sup>th</sup> our Indyan skidwarres w<sup>th</sup> us towards our ships the 8<sup>th</sup> Daye of August being Satterdaye in the after noon.

Sondaye<sup>80</sup> being the 9<sup>th</sup> of Auguste in the morninge the most p<sup>t</sup> of our holl company of both our shipes Landed on this Illand the w<sup>ch</sup> we call St. Georges Illand whear the Crosse standeth and thear we heard a Sermon<sup>81</sup> delyvred unto us by our preacher<sup>82</sup> gyvinge god thanks

80. Public divine worship, honoring the Sabbath, was fittingly held about the cross which for two years had stood a symbol of the entrance of a vanguard of a Christian nation upon heathen soil. The claim of Monhegan to this first religious service must be totally rejected. A proposed commemorative monument would have been indeed misplaced.

The former controversy on the first Christian worship in New England will be recalled.

81. "Sermon" and "preacher"—terms more in favor among dissenters,—seem to make prominent that part of the service. (*Vide* J. W. Thornton, Esq<sup>r</sup>'s Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges.) But there can be little doubt but that the usual

thanks for our happy metinge & Saffe aryvall into the Contry & So returned aboard aggain.

Mundaye beinge the X<sup>th</sup> of Auguste early in the morninge Cap<sup>t</sup>. popham in his shallope w<sup>th</sup> thirty others & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Gilbert in his ships bott w<sup>th</sup> twenty others. Acompanede Depted from thear shipes & sailed towards the ryver of pemaquyd<sup>93</sup> & Caryed w<sup>th</sup> us the Indyan skidwarres and Cam to the ryver ryght beffore thear housses whear they no Sooner espyed us but presently Nahanada w<sup>th</sup> all his Indians w<sup>th</sup> thear bowes and arrows in thear hands Cam forth upon the Sands—So we Caused skidwarres to speak unto hem & we our Selves spok unto hem in Inglyshe givinge hem to understand our Cominge tended to no yvell towards hem Selffe nor any of his peopell. he told us again he wold nott thatt all our peopell should Land. So beccause we woold in no sort offend them. hearuppon Som ten or twelffe of the Cheeff gent Landed & had Some parle together & then after-  
ward

forms of the Anglican worship were observed.

82. Rev. Richard Seymour. Nothing is really known of this person. That he was a youthful scion of the Devonshire branch of the Seymour family is an inference drawn from family history, and quite confidently put forth by Rev. Bishop Burgess in the Popham Mem. Vol., pp. 101-4. A name is found that meets the re-

quirements, and will show, for the supposed Seymour, family connection with the families of Gorges, Popham, Gilbert and Raleigh. The theory has a show of probability, but needs other support than genealogical tables.

83. On this trip they rounded Pemaquid Point and sailed up to the river, avoiding the wearying march across.

ward they wear well contented that all should Land So all landed we ussinge them with all the kindnesse that possibell we Could. neverthelesse after an hower or to they all Soddainly withdrew them Selves from us into the woods & Lefte us we perseavinge this presently imbarked our Selves all except skidwarres who was nott Desyerous to retorn with us. We Seeinge this woold in no Sort proffer any Violence unto hem by drawing hem perforce Suffered hem to remain—and staye behinde us. he promysinge to retorn unto us the next Daye followinge but he heald not his promysse<sup>84</sup> So we imbarked our Selves and went unto the other Syd of the ryver<sup>85</sup> & thear remained uppon the shore the nyght followinge—

Tuesdaye beinge the xj<sup>th</sup> of Auguste we returned and cam to our ships whear they still remained att anchor under the Illand we call St. Georges—

Wensdaye being the xij<sup>th</sup> of Auguste we wayed our ankors and Sett our saills to go for the ryver of Sagadehock we kept our Course from thence dew Weste<sup>86</sup> until 12 of the Clok mydnyght of the Sam then we  
stroke

84. From this time Skidwarres seems to have returned to a savage life.

85. Across to the west side, having some suspicion of treachery.

86. From Georges Harbor to Seguin the course is nearly S. by W.

But presuming that the ships first sailed to the southward of Allen's Island to avoid the rocks and ledges in its vicinity, then due west, at the probable variation will be accurate for their general course to Seguin.

stroke our Saills & layed a hull untill the mornynge Doutinge for to over shoot ytt—

Thursdaye in the mornynge breacke of the daye beinge the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of Auguste the Illand of Sutquin<sup>87</sup> bore north of us nott past halff a leage from us and ytt rysseth in this form hear under followinge the wch Illand Lyeth ryght beffore the mouth of the ryver of Sagadehocke South from ytt near 2 Leags but we did not make ytt to be Sutquin so we Sett our saills & stood to the westward for to Seeke ytt 2 Leags farther & nott fyndinge the ryver of Sagadehocke we knew that we had overshott the place then we wold have retorned but Could nott & the nyght in hand the gifte Sent in her shallop & mad ytt & went into the ryver this nyght but we wear constrained

87. Further proof that the pilot of the *Mary* and *John* had not been here previously. The *Gift's* pilot seems better acquainted. Here first appears this name for the island Seguin. Capt. John Smith also uses it (1616), in the form Satquin; Capt. Brawnde (1616) Sodquine; Council for N. Eng. (1622), Setquin. Rev. Dr. E. Ballard, in his study of our native geographical terms, regarded it as a Spanish word. It now appears occasionally as a personal surname of foreign origin; and it is said that the Abbé Seguin was in France the instructor of the nephew of John Randolph, of Roanoke.

But Rev. M. C. O'Brien, of Bangor, a recognized authority in the Abnaki, esteems it "distinctly Indian," and shows that it comes from *Sekkägwin*, meaning vomiting, or, one vomits, and is so interpreted in Råle's Dictionary. The early form Setquin or Sutquin arose by a change on the English ear and lips, of *k* into *t*, *Sek-kagwin* shortened becoming Setgwin. The meaning suggests that the natives, from the effect upon their stomachs, used this word respecting turbulent waters of fishing grounds off the mouth of the Kennebec, whence it was readily affixed to the noted sentinel island.

strained to remain att Sea all this nyght and about myd-night thear arose a great storme & tempest<sup>88</sup> uppon us the wch putt us in great daunger and hassard of castinge awaye of our ship & our Lyves by reason we wear so near the shore the wynd blew very hard att South right in uppon the shore so that by no means we could nott gett of hear we sought all means & did what possybell was to be don for that our Lyves depended on ytt hear we plyed ytt wth our ship of & on all the nyght often times espyeing many soonken rocks & breatches hard by us enfor synge us to put our ship about & stand from them bearinge sail when ytt was mor fyttter to have taken ytt in but that ytt stood uppon our Lyves to do ytt & our bott Soonk att our stern yet woold we nott cut her from us in hope of the appearinge of the daye thus we Contynued untill the daye cam then we perseaved our Selves to be hard aboard the Lee shore & no waye to escape ytt but by Seekinge the Shore then we espyed 2 Lyttell Illands<sup>89</sup> Lyeinge under our lee So we bore  
up the

88. Sudden storms of wind and rain from the south or southwest are not infrequent. The Mary and John was beset by affrighting perils among the ledges off Small Point or by the Heron islands east, or those in Casco Bay on the west if, they beat so far.

89. Cape Small Point is less than four nautical miles west of Seguin;

but no other than this will meet the requirements. 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 by 600 yards in extent. Seal Island, 350 yards in length, lies northeast, nearer the land. Between the two is Seal cove,

up the healme & steerd in our shipe in betwyxt them  
 whear the Lord be praised for ytt we found good and  
 sauffe ankkoringe & thear anckored the storme still con-  
 tynuinge untill the next daye followyng—



in this form being South from ytt,



beinge est & weste from the Illand of  
 Sutqin ytt maketh in this form.

Frydaye beinge the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of August that we anckored  
 under these Illands thear we repaired our bott being  
 very muche torren & spoiled then after we Landed on  
 this Illand & found 4 salvages & an old woman this  
 Illand ys full of pyne trees & ocke and abundance of  
 whorts of fower Sorts of them—

Satterdaye beinge the 15<sup>th</sup> of Auguste the storme  
 ended and the wind Cam fairer for us to go for Sagade-  
 hock so we wayed our anckors & Sett Sail & stood to  
 the

400 yards broad, showing five fathoms, while directly behind Seal Island will be found  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Strachey says the storm continued till noon. In Proc. Mass. His. Soc., 1880, p. 104, the statement in the notes that Strachey *errs* in saying the two islands were west of Sagadahoc is an inexplicable error of the writer

or printer. R. K. Sewall, Esq., gives the Mary and John safety in Cape Newaggen harbor, or *east* of Seguin. (*Vide Me. His. Coll.*, Vol. 7, p. 301.) The shuttlecock movements of the ships, as exhibited by Rev. J. S. C. Abbott in his History of Maine, are the more surprising in so recent a work.



the estward & cam to the Illand of Sutquin w<sup>ch</sup> was 2 Leags from those Illands we rod att anker beffor. & hear we anckored under the Illand of Sutqin<sup>o</sup> in the estersyd of ytt for that the wynd was of the shore that wee could no gett into the ryver of Sagadehock & hear Capt. pophams ships bott cam aboard of us & gave us xx freshe Cods that they had taken beinge Sent out a fysh-inge—

Sondaye<sup>91</sup> beinge the 16<sup>th</sup> of Auguste Capt. popham Sent his Shallop unto us for to healp us in So we wayed our anckors & beinge Calme we towed in our ship & Cam into the Ryver of Sagadehocke and anckored<sup>92</sup> by the gyfts Syd about xj of the Cloke the Sam daye—

Mundaye<sup>93</sup> beinge the 17<sup>th</sup> Auguste Capt. popham in his shallop w<sup>th</sup> 30 others & Capt. Gilbert in his shipes bott accompaned w<sup>th</sup> 18 other persons depted early in the

90. East of Seguin is good bottom in 7 to 9 fathoms. After the clearing of the storm the wind came in to the northwest, forcing them to remain till the next forenoon.

91. No mention of any religious service this day; the two companies were separated; to bring the delayed ship into the safety of the river was a chief concern.

92. The place of first anchorage is wholly conjectural, but as reasonably not a great distance inside the Sugar Loaves. Here Champlain first cast

anchor, July, 1605. But his map shows a ship lying close on the west of Stage Island, doubtless his subsequent permanent anchorage.

93. With commendable energy, they enter with Monday morning upon their undertaking. Fifty persons in all make this exploring trip. The size of the Gift's shallop can be in a measure judged, as it conveyed thirty persons. The same number had gone in it the Monday previous from Georges Harbor to Pemaquid.

the morninge from thear ships & sailed up the Ryver of Sagadehock for to vew the Ryver & allso to See whcar they myght fynd the most Convenyent place for thear plantation my Selffe beinge wth Capt. Gilbert. So we Sailed up into this ryver near 14 Leags<sup>94</sup> and found ytt to be a most gallant ryver very brod & of a good depth we never had Lesse Watt<sup>r</sup> then 3 fetham when we had Least<sup>95</sup> & abundance of greatt fyshe<sup>96</sup> in ytt Leaping about the Watt<sup>r</sup> on eatch Syd of us as we Sailed. So the nyght aproching after a whill we had refreshed our Selves uppon the shore about 9 of the Cloke we sett backward to return & Cam abourd our shipes the next day followinge about 2 of the Clok in the afternoon<sup>97</sup> We fynd this ryver to be very pleasant wth many goodly Illands in ytt & to be both Large & deepe Watt<sup>r</sup> havinge

94. Strachey, by careless transcribing, gave the number 40,—an impossible distance. Even 14 is a large overestimate.

95. Strachey wrote "sest." In Proc. Mass. His. Soc., 1880, p. 104, the text is "zest," conjecturally amended "rest," to obtain sense for the clause. Our reading is lucid and applicable.

96. The leaping of the sturgeon has ever been and in recent years very noticeable. Depositions to the fact were taken in land controversies of the company of the Kennebec Purchase, 1760-70. The splash of a stur-

geon falling back into the still water is now occasionally seen, though close fishing some ten years since almost exterminated them.

97. If their departure in early morn be put even as late as 8 o'clock, then they were away 30 hours, which would consume the time of two flood and three ebb tides, or the converse. Some laborious progress against tide, or waiting till it favored, with going ashore for examinations, consumed the time.

98. In a slight inspection would be included such creeks as Winne-

inge many branches<sup>98</sup> in ytt that wch we tooke bendeth ytt Selffe towards the northeast—

Tuesdaye beinge the 18<sup>th</sup> after our return we all went to the shore & thear mad Choies of a place for our plantation wh<sup>ch</sup> ys at the very mouth or entry of the Ryver of Sagadehocke on the West Syd of the Ryver beinge almoste an Illand<sup>99</sup> of a good bygness whylst we wear uppon the shore thear Cam in three Cannoos by us but they wold not Com near us but rowed up the Ryver & so past away—

Wensday beinge the 19<sup>th</sup> Auguste we all went to the shore whear we mad Choise<sup>100</sup> for our plantation and thear we had a Sermon delyvred unto us by our precher and after the Sermon our pattent was red wth the orders & Lawes<sup>101</sup> thearin prescrybed & then we returned aboard our ships again—

#### Thursdaye

gance, Whiskeag, Chops, as well as Cathance, Abagadasset and Eastern rivers. They passed up the true Kennebec, but how far no fact allows opinion save the inaccurate distance. Its general course from the sea to Augusta is nearly north. The Sagadahoc proper, from the Sugar Loaves to the Chops, 18 miles by channel, trends west  $3\frac{1}{2}$  statute miles. From the Chops through the bay and into the Kennebec channel there is a strong trend east, which they noticed.

99. *Vide* Appendix (Location of

fort). On the peninsula known as Hunnewell's Point. Strachey says the Indian name was Sabino.

100. This second choice may refer to the precise spot where they would fortify and to staking out the outlines of the work.

101. Formal service of inauguration of the enterprise. Their patent and laws were now promulgated, furnishing the framework of government under which their affairs must be conducted. Officials were now if not before made known; they had

Thursdaye beinge the 20<sup>th</sup> of Auguste all our Companies Landed & thear began to fortifye our presedent Capt popham Sett the fryst spytt of ground unto ytt and after hem all the rest followed & Labored hard in the trenches<sup>102</sup> about ytt.

Frydaye the 21<sup>th</sup> of Auguste all hands Labored hard about the fort Som in the trench Som for fagetts<sup>103</sup> & our ship Carpenters about the buildinge of a small penis or shallop.<sup>104</sup>

Satterdaye .

probably been selected before leaving England, but this act assigned them publicly to their several stations. They were not chosen by any popular vote of the company. Bancroft says: "There was not an element of popular liberty in their charter." Smith writes of the organization as if it had been determined by the patrons in England, saying: "That honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, \* \* sent Capt. George Popham for President; Capt. Rawleigh Gilbert for Admiral; Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance; Capt. Robert Davis, Sergeant Major; Capt. Ellis Best, Marshall; Mr. Leaman, Secretary; Capt. James Davis, to be Captain of the fort; Mr. Gome Carew to be searcher; all these were of the council." (Genl. History, p. 9.) But Strachey writes that after the reading of the laws: "George Popham, gent,

was nominated president; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymour, preacher, Capt. Richard Davies, Capt. Harlow \* \* were all sworne assistants." (History, p. 301.)

102. This suggests the nature of the fort, an earthwork thrown up with a surrounding trench.

103. These could not have been for fuel, but for purposes of fortification. Bundles of branches, or small poles, would make the supporting inner face of the breastwork. No further hint is given of the materials used in its construction. Sullivan wrote of the remains of a fort on the west of the river,—that it was built of earth and stone. Persons living, who had been familiar with the later stage of the ruins, cannot recall any stone.

104. The immediate prosecution of ship-building aimed at the possession of a small vessel of their own

Satterdaye the 22<sup>th</sup> Auguste Capt. popham early in the morninge deputed in his shallop to go for the ryver of pashipskoke<sup>105</sup> thear they had parle w<sup>th</sup> the Salvages again who delyvred unto them that they had ben att wars w<sup>th</sup> Sasanoa & had slain his Soone in fyght skidwares and Dehanada wear in this fyght.<sup>106</sup>

Sondaye the 23<sup>th</sup> our presedent Capt. popham returned unto us from the ryver of pashipscoke.

The 24<sup>th</sup> all Labored about the fort.

Tuesdaye the 25<sup>th</sup> Capt. Gilbert imbarked hem Selffe w<sup>th</sup> 15 other w<sup>th</sup> hem to go to the Westward uppon Som Discouery but the Wynd was contrary & forsed hem backe again the Sam daye.

The 26<sup>th</sup> & 27<sup>th</sup> all Labored hard about the fort.

Frydaye the 28<sup>th</sup> Capt. Gilbert w<sup>th</sup> 14 others my Selffe beinge on Imbarked hem to go to the westward again<sup>107</sup> So the wynd Servinge we Sailed by many galant Illands & towards nyght the winde Cam Contrary  
against

for coast or foreign use, when the vessels should be returned to England.

105. The ancient Pejepscoot. A variety of forms appear; Bishops-cotte, Pechipscote, (Grant to Thos. Purchase); Peshippscot and Pashippscott, (Council, 1622), Beshipscot, (Will of Geo. Way, 1641); (Pechips-cutt, (Josselyn, 1663); Pagiscott, Purchase to Winthrop, 1639.) Their

former trip above Merrymeeting Bay, took them up the eastern arm, or the true Kennebec; now they continue examination in the western arm, the Pejepscoot or Androscoggin.

106. There had been a war of the natives at Chouakoet (Saco) which was reported Aug. 10th (N. S.) at St. Croix to Champlain, with the fact of the killing of two chiefs, Onemechin and Marchin, " by Sasinou, (Sasanoa)

against us So that we wear Constrained to remain that nyght under the head Land called Semeamis whear we found the Land to be most fertill the trees growinge thear doth exceed for goodnesse & Length being the most pt of them ocke & wallnutt growinge a greatt space assoonder on from the other as our parks in England and no thickett growinge under them hear wee also found a gallant place to fortifye whom Nattuer ytt Selffe hath already framed w<sup>th</sup>out the hand of man w<sup>th</sup> a runyng stream of wattr hard adjoyninge under the foott of ytt.

Satterdaye the 29<sup>th</sup> Auguste early in the mornynge we depted from thence & rowed to the westward for that the wind was againste us but the wynd blew so hard that forsed us to remain under an Illand<sup>108</sup> 2 Leags from

chief of the river Quinebequy." Later, as here shown, the Pemaquid and eastern Indians assault the Kennebecks, and a son of Sasinoa is killed. It is possible that Popham's party met the savages on return down river after having been on the war path. Champlain shows that subsequently the companions of Onemechin got revenge by killing Sasinou. His son Pememen succeeded him. (Voyages, Vol. II, chap. xiv.)

107. The gallant islands were in Casco Bay; the headland where they tarried, some part of Cape Elizabeth.

Their site for a fortification can only be conjectured. It is a fair presumption that sailing from Small Point along by the gallant islands of Casco Bay, they did not go inside of Peaks and Bang's Islands, and therefore reached Cape Elizabeth not far from Portland Light, and so may have tarried over night in Ship Cove. Indeed, from this point to Richmond's Island, where they were forced to put in, is six miles, or the two leagues of their estimate.

108. Richmond's Island.

from the place we remayned the night beffore whilst we remayned under this Illand thear passed to Cannoes by us but they wold nott Com neare us after mydnyght we put from this Illand in hope to have gotten the place we dessyered<sup>109</sup> but the wind arose and blew so hard at Southwest Contrary for us that forsed us to return.

Sondaye beinge the 30<sup>th</sup> Auguste retornynge beffore the wynd we sailed by many gooly Illands for betwixt this head Land called Semeamis<sup>110</sup> & the ryver of Sagadehock ys a great baye in the w<sup>ch</sup> Lyeth So many Illands & so thicke & neare together that yo Cannott well desern to Nomber them yet may yo go in betwixt them in a good ship for yo shall have never Lesse Wattr the 8 fethams these Illands ar all overgrowen w<sup>th</sup> woods very thicke as ocks wallnut pyne trees & many other things growinge as Sarsaperilla hassell nuts & whorts in abundance So this day we returned to our fort att Sagadehock.

Munday being the Last of Auguste nothinge hapened but all Labored for the buildinge of the fort & for the storhouse to reseave our vyttuall.

### Tuesday

109. This purpose to reach a definite place shows knowledge of this part of the coast, derived from previous explorers.

110. The name in use by the

natives, says Strachey (p. 302.), who also gives the latitude  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Portland Head Light is in  $43^{\circ}, 37'$ , and the Breakwater Light in  $43^{\circ}, 39'$ , (Blunt, p. 800) and the Cape Light,  $43^{\circ}, 33'$ .

Tuesday the first of September thear Cam a Canooa unto us in the w<sup>ch</sup> was 2 greatt kettells<sup>111</sup> of brasse Som of our Company did parle w<sup>th</sup> them but they did rest very doutfull of us & wold nott Suffer mor then on att a tyme to Com near unto them So he depted The Second daye third & 4<sup>th</sup> nothinge hapened worth the wryttinge but that eatch man did his beste endeavour for the buildinge of the fort.

Satterdaye beinge the 5<sup>th</sup> of Septembr thear Cam into the entraunce of the ryver of Sagadehocke nine Canoos in the w<sup>ch</sup> was Dehanada & skidwarres w<sup>th</sup> many others in the wholl near fortye persons men women & Children they Cam & parled w<sup>th</sup> us & we aggain ussed them in all frindly maner We Could & gave them vyttails for to eatt So skidwarres & on more of them stayed w<sup>th</sup> us untill nyght the rest of them withdrew them in thear Canoos to the farther Syd of the ryver. but when nyght Cam for that skidwares woold needs go to the rest of his Company Capt Gilbert acompaned w<sup>th</sup> James Davis & Capt. ellis best took them into our bott & Caryed them to thear Company on the farther syd the ryver & thear remained amongst them all the nyght & early in the mornynge the Sallvages depted in thear Canoos for the ryver of pemaquid promysinge Capt. Gilbert

111. Noticeable because proving intercourse with Europeans.



Gilbert to accompany hem in thear Canooas to the ryver of penobskott wher the bashabe remayneth.

The 6<sup>th</sup> nothings happened the 7<sup>th</sup> our ship the Mary & John began to discharge<sup>112</sup> her vyttualls.

Tuesday beinge the 8<sup>th</sup> Septembr Capt. Gilbert accompanied wth xxij others my Selffe beinge on of them deputed from the fort to go for the ryver of penobskott takinge wth hem divers Sorts of Merchandise for to trad wth the Bashabe<sup>113</sup> who ys the Cheeffe Comander of those parts but the wind was Contrary againste hem so that he could nott Com to dehanada & skidwares at the time appointed for ytt was the xj<sup>th</sup> daye beffor he Could gett to the ryver of pemaquid Wher they do make thear abbod.

#### Frydaye

112. This indicates that by this date, buildings or shelters for their stores had been constructed.

113. The name or title of a native chief of Penobscot. The early English writers were led to believe or to infer that it was a title applied to a sachem of superior rank and authority. Others, especially the French, who were more intimately acquainted with the Indians frequently write it as if it were merely the name of a prominent chief. (*Vide* Article by Hon. J. E. Godfrey, in *Me. His. Col.*, Vol. 7.) The home of the Bashaba, which has been ordinarily assigned to the Penobscot region but never

definitely, is quite clearly located by the Jesuit Biard in the account of his visit in 1611. (Carayon.) "Therefore having gone up the current of the river three leagues at most, we fell in with a fine river called Chiboctous which flows from the northeast and falls into the great Pentagoet. At the confluence of the two rivers was the finest community of savages I had yet seen. There were eighty canoes and one shallop, eighteen cabins and as many as three hundred souls. The principal sagamore was called Betsabes, a man discreet and very sedate."

Frydaye beinge the xj<sup>th</sup> in the mornynge early we Cam into the ryver of pemaquyd thear to Call nahanada & skidwarres as we had promyste them but beinge thear aryved we found no Lyvinge Creatuer they all wear gon from thence the wch we perseavinge presently depted towards the ryver of penobskott Saillinge all this daye & the xij<sup>th</sup> & xiiij<sup>th</sup> the Lyke yett by no means Could we fynd ytt<sup>14</sup> So our vitall beinge spent we hasted to return So the wynd Cam faier for us & we Sailed all the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> dayes in retornynge the Wind blowinge very hard att north & this mornynge the 15<sup>th</sup> daye we pseaved a blassing star<sup>15</sup> in the northest of vs.

The 16<sup>th</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 2j<sup>th</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> nothings hap- ened but all Labored hard about the fort & the store house for to Land our wyttails.

The 23<sup>th</sup> beinge Wensdaye Capt. Gilbert acompanied wth 19 others my Selffe on of them depted from the fort to go for the head of the ryver of Sagadehock<sup>16</sup>

we

114. Their failure to find the Penobscot may have been due to the extensive bay with its arms and coves.

115. A meteor, doubtless unusually brilliant.

116. An attempt to explore the Kennebec as far as possible. Sailing two days and a part of a third, the party reached an island. The English editor of Strachey (p. 304) sug-

gests Swan island, which is just above Merrymeeting Bay, only some 25 miles from the mouth of the river. But their previous trip must have taken them beyond this place; also to reach only this in two days and a half would show exceeding slow progress; nor does the downfall of water exist; nor is the island low and flat. Indeed, Mr. Major's ignorance of the features of the river

we Sailed all this daye So did we the Lyke the 24<sup>th</sup> untill the evenynge then we Landed thear to remain that Nyght hear we found a gallant Champion Land & exceedinge fertill So hear we remayned all nyght.

The 25<sup>th</sup> beinge frydaye early in the mornynge we deputed from hence & sailed up the ryver about eyght Leags farther untill we Cam unto an Illand beinge Lo Land & flatt att this Illand ys a great down Fall of wattr  
the

made his query but a mere guess, and wholly worthless. No other island is found agreeing with the conditions below Augusta, the head of the tide. But at this point, before the building of the dam, and just above it, was formerly known a low flat island now covered by the flowage of the dam. It was called "Cushnoc Island" in the survey of the Plymouth Co., 1750. (*Vide* Map and S. Goodwin's Deposition.) By it formerly ran a rapid current so that boats were accustomed to warp through unless favored with a strong wind. (*Vide* Rev. Mr. Bartlett's notes to Strachey, Me. His. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 304.) The island lay near the eastern bank; towards the west was a large rock known as "Old Coon," about which the current whirled, boiled and roared fiercely. (*Vide* North's Hist. Augusta, p. 451.)

This island precisely meets the requirements, and discloses beyond

question the place reached by the party. Through this swift current by Cushnoc island and near the present locks, they pulled their shallop. Augusta is by the course of the river about 42 statute miles from Fort Popham. Gilbert must have advanced much further this time than on the former trip, so that the estimate "fourteen leagues" must have been much exaggerated. The suggestions of Dr. John McKeen, (Me. His. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 322), that Gilbert at this time went up the Androscoggin as far as Little River Falls, will not probably now meet with the least favor. He seems also to regard it possible that Capt. Popham on the previous trip, and Capt. Waymouth likewise reached these falls. But more surprising is his further opinion, (p. 310) in support of these shadowy theories, "that boats might have been towed over the rapids" of Pejepscot, i. e., Brunswick Falls!

the wch runeth by both Sydes of this Illand very swyfte & shallow in this Illand we found greatt store of grapes exceedinge good and sweett of to Sorts both red butt the on of them ys a mervellous deepe red. by both the syds of this ryver the grapes grow in aboundance & also very good Hoppes<sup>117</sup> & also Chebolls<sup>118</sup> & garleck. and for the goodnesse of the Land ytt doth so far abound that I Cannott allmost expresse the Sam hear we all went ashore & wth a stronge Rope made fast to our bott & on man in her to gyde her aggainst the Swyfte stream we pluckt her up throwe ytt pforce after we had past this down-Fall we all went into our bott again & rowed near a Leage farther up into the ryver & nyght beinge att hand we hear stayed all nyght. & in the fryst of the night about ten of the Cloke thear Cam on the farther syd of the ryver sartain Salvages Callinge unto us in broken inglyshe<sup>119</sup> we answered them aggain So for this time they depted.<sup>120</sup>

The

117. The Hop vine (*Humulus lupulus*), which is regarded as indigenous, though now usually found under cultivation.

118. Chebolls, to which the French word *ciboule* gives the key, means an onion. This and garlic plainly refer to plants of the genus *Allium*, which are natives of Maine.

119. A fragmentary acquaintance with the language by these savages

is proof of considerable intercourse with Englishmen already, although we have no knowledge that any had frequented this river before Pring's visit of the previous year. It must be held quite certain that English fishermen for some years had pursued their vocation at and near Sagadahoc.

120. This word, frequently occurring, is an evident contraction for

The 26<sup>th</sup> beinge Satterdaye thear Cam a Canooa unto us & in hear fower salvages those that had spoken unto us in the nyght beffore his name that Came unto us ys Sabenoa<sup>121</sup> he macks hemselffe unto us to be Lord of the ryver of Sagadehock.<sup>122</sup>

End: The relation of Whole Voyage to Virginia,  
New England,  
1607.<sup>123</sup>

"departed." This and a few others bear in the MS. a circumflex indicating the contraction, which cannot be exhibited in type.

121. In view of the diverse forms of aboriginal names, as the English spoke or wrote them, this name may be regarded as the same as Sabino, the territory about the Sagadahoc. Champlain shows that the Indians of the interior were accustomed to migrate to the mouth of the river for fishing in the summer, and his map shows their huts along the beach. This fact will suggest connection between this tribe, whose chief was "Sebenoa, Lord of the Sagadahoc," and the peninsula bearing the name at the mouth of the river. In their summer residence here, they had been conversant with fishermen or traders so as to learn the broken English they now employed.

122. At this point the MS. ends

abruptly at the bottom of the page. The loss of a portion,—perhaps a single leaf only,—can be quite confidently claimed. This opinion gains strong support from the narrative of Strachey. That the Lambeth MS.,—or the original of which that may have been a copy,—was his chief source of information respecting the expedition, seems very certain. The personal journal is simply rewritten, with omissions and condensation, into a narrative form for his history. (*Vide* Introduction, p. 16.) The portion which succeeds the termination of our MS. is precisely similar in style to what precedes, and is so evidently a part of the same narrative, that it must have been drawn from the same source. The missing portion therefore would have carried the journal forward some ten days or more.

123. This subscription must have

[*The remainder of the narration is taken from Chap. X. of the "Historie of Travaile into Virginia," by Wm. Strachey, as reprinted in the Collections of Me. Hist. Soc., Vol. 3, pp. 304-9.*]

They entertayned him friendly, and tooke him into their boat and presented him with some trifling things, which he accepted; howbeyt, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoa as a pawne of his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoa rowed away from them with all the speed they could make up the river.<sup>124</sup> They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leape overboard. The canoa quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their howses, being neere a league on the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop making good waye, at length came to another downefall,<sup>125</sup> which was so shallowe and soe swift, that by noe means

been added at the end of the MS. by a later hand, doubtless by Griffith, who wrote the title. (*Vide* Note 32.)

124. This adventure with the Indians indicates a degree of friendliness on their part, but also duplicity and treachery. It required nerve and courage for Gilbert and a few men to follow those savages to their houses. The distance is not indicated, but as

they advanced beyond the second fall—Bacon's Rips—a fair conjecture will place this Indian village at some point upon Seven Mile Brook in the town of Vassalboro.

125. Five miles above Cushnoc are "Bacon's Rips," now well known, but nearly obliterated by the flowage of the dam. Before its erection there was a descent at this point of nearly

meanes they could passe any further,<sup>126</sup> for which, Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and tooke their fare, the salvadge Sagamo, with them, and went in search after those other salvages, whose howses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not farr off; and after a good tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those salvages' howses wheere found neere fifty able men very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seene; all newly painted and armed with their bowes and arrowes. Howbeyt, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who shewed them their comodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond; and by way of trade, made shew that they would come downe to the boat and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. Soe Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an howre

after

three feet in a short distance. (*History of Augusta*, by J. W. North, Esq., p. 450-454.)

126. A keel boat could not have been forced through these rapids, and here manifestly the boat's progress ended, and the tedious march was made into the woods to the Indian settlement.

Nothing in the narrative hints upon which side of the river were the

cabins of the natives, but probably on the east. For in this vicinity forty years later was built the rude chapel in which the Jesuit Father Gabriel Dreuillets ministered. (*Shea's Cath. Missions*, p. 137. *Parkman's Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 323.) Here, or near Cushnoc, was a graveyard, also cleared land, proof of a center of population.

after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoas down unto them, and in them some sixteen salvages, and brought with them some tobacco and certayne small skynes, which where of no value; which Captain Gilbert perceaving, and that they had nothing ells wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come abourd, and as he would have putt from the shore; the salvages perceiving so much, subtilely devised how they might put out the fier in the shallop, by which meanes they sawe they should be free from the danger of our men's pieces,<sup>127</sup> and to performe the same, one of the salvages came into the shallop and taking the fier brand which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as sone as he had gotten yt into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leapt out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their musketts and the targettiers too, from the head of the boat, and bad one of the men before, with his targett on his arme, to stepp on the shore

127. Guns at that time were ponderous affairs and fired by a match or fuse, which must in some way be kept burning. These Indians had already been so far conversant with Europeans, as to learn the nature of firearms and the manner of their use. It was a bold and cun-

ning exploit for this agile savage to spike the Englishman's guns, as we might say, by throwing overboard the firebrand. The party was put in no small jeopardy; a hasty or injudicious act would have brought on a fatal encounter.



shore for more fier; the salvages resisted him and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat roap that the shallop could not pott off. Captain Gilbert caused the musquettiers to present their peeces, the which, the salvages seeing, presently let go the boatroap and betooke them to their bowes and arrowes, and ran into the bushes, nocking their arrowes, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the river, where one of the canoas came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made shew as if he were still friends, and enter-tayned them kindlye and soe left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the river standeth in 45 degrees and odd mynutts.<sup>128</sup> Upon the continent they found aboundance of spruse trees such as are able to maast the greatest ship his majestie hath, and many other trees, oke, walnutt, pineaple;<sup>129</sup> fish, aboundance; great store of grapes, hopps, chiballs, also they found certaine coddss<sup>130</sup> in which they supposed the cotton wooll to grow, and also upon the bancks many shells of pearle.

27. Here they sett up a crosse and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by river of some note called

called Sasanoa.<sup>131</sup> This daye and the next they sought yt, when the weather turned fowle and full of fog and raine, they made all hast to the fort before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30. and 1 and 2 of October, all busye about the fort.

3. There came a canoa unto some of the people of the fort as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who badd them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Bashabaes brother, and others, were  
on the

128. Capt. Gilbert's purpose in this trip was "to go for the head of the river," or, as we should understand, to find its source. They may indeed have regarded this termination of boat navigation at the rapids, as the head. DeLaet so understands it. If so, this erroneous latitude,—for Augusta is in about 44° 15',—may have been derived by calculation from the estimated distance they had advanced inland from their fort whose latitude they knew. Moosehead Lake does indeed lie between 45° 28' and 45° 55', which would certify the statement, but it does not seem that they could have learned its location.

129. The designation of a variety of pine, and doubtless equivalent to *Pinaster*, the name of a European species, called also the cluster-pine, from the clusters of cones. Our

native pitchpine (*Pinus rigida*) is probably intended.

130. Pods. (*Vide* Rosier's True Relation, p. 142, note, by the editor, Rev. H. S. Burrage.) A number of native plants have seed vessels lined with soft or silken fibres similar to cotton. The *Asclepias*, or silkweed, is an example.

131. On Aug. 22, in their trip to Pejepscoot, they had met natives, evidently a party of Pemaquid Indians, with Skidwarres or Nahanada, who told of the previous fight. This party may have described to them how they came into the Kennebec by the cross route from Boothbay Harbor, without entering its mouth near their fort. The term here used "by-river," accurately applies to this tidal river, and to no other. Clearly, it must have been the one they sought; yet they seem to have sup-

on the further side of the river,<sup>132</sup> and the next daie would come and visitt him.

4. There came two canoas to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Bassha-baes brother, and one other called Amenquin,<sup>133</sup> a Sagamo; all whome the president feasted and entertayned with all kindnes, both that day and the next, which being Sondaye, the president carried them with him to the place of publike prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending yt with great reverence and silence.

6. The salvadges departed all except Amenquin the Sagamo, who would needes stayer amongst our people a longer tyme. Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto every one of them copper beades, or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered

posed the entrance to it was much higher up the Kennebec than in fact. By the time they reached Arrowsic Gut, now opposite the city of Bath, the foul weather prevented their noticing or turning into this narrow strait to explore it. This is the chief statement locating the Sasanoa River. In the work of Purchas (Pilgrimes, Vol. 1, p. 755,) is mention that "in the Tarratine's country, the savages tell of a rock of alum near the River Sasnowa," which has been conjecturally assigned to a huge boulder in the

marsh on the Woolwich shore, a half mile above Hockamock Point, and near the ancient ferry. (*Vide* Rev. Dr. Ballard in *Hist. Magazine*, Vol. 3, p. 164.) To this rock has been attached the marvellous legend that it turns around when the cock crows.

132. Stage Island, or Indian Point, frequented by the natives.

133. The only reference to this Indian, save what appears in Purchas, who says that he stripped off his beaver dress to give it to the president.

delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the river of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodities with him.<sup>134</sup>

You maie please to understand how, whilst this busines was thus followed here, soone after their first arrivall, that had dispatch't away Capt. Robert Davies, in the *Mary* and *John*,<sup>135</sup> to advertize of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantacion within this river of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, ymportuninge a supply for the most necessary wants to the subsisting of a colony, to be sent unto them betymes the next year.<sup>136</sup>

After

134. End of daily journal as copied by Strachey. The subjoined portion is his general summary of chief events till the breaking up of the colony. The change of style is manifest.

135. A letter of Sir F. Gorges, now obtained, shows that one ship had sailed early in October. (*Vide Literature, post.*) In all probability this was the departure here mentioned, and not of the second vessel, which, according to Gorges, (*Brief Narration, Me. Hist. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 21*) sailed on the 15th of Dec., carrying the letter of President Popham to the King, dated Dec. 13, 1607. (*Vide copy of letter in Literature, post.*) Of this letter Hon. Wm. Willis said,

(*Me. Hist. Coll., Vol. 5, p. 352.*) "In barbarous Latin, and greatly exaggerated in its description of the products of the country and in its sickening adulation of the pedant king." See also Appendix,—Movements of the ships.

136. If Strachey's knowledge of the facts was accurate, why such a request was made of the patrons is not clear, unless to suggest to them that the colony could not be self-supporting, and an increase of numbers as originally proposed, would require large supplies. His statement, below, in regard to Davies' arrival, implies that no colonists were sent.

After Capt. Davies' departure they fully finished the fort, trencht and fortified yt with twelve pieces of ordinaunce,<sup>137</sup> and built fifty howses,<sup>138</sup> therein, besides a church<sup>139</sup> and a storehowse; and the carpenters framed a pretty Pynnace of about some thirty tonne, which they called the Virginia; the chief ship wright beinge one Digby of London.

Many discoveries likewise had been made both to the mayne and unto the neighbour rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Capt. Gilbert, had not the wynter proved soe extreame unseasonable and frosty;<sup>140</sup> for yt being in the yeare 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, yt was here likewise as vehement, by which

noe

137. "Demi-culverins of nine pounds, or sakers of six pounds, twelve in all." (Hon. W. Willis, Popham Memorial Vol., p. 47.) The saker was a gun, eight to ten feet long, of three to four inches in bore. The culverin was a long slender gun, generally an eighteen-pounder. One still is preserved at Dover Castle, and bears the name of Queen Elizabeth's Pocket Pistol.

138. Some clerical error must have crept in; "fifty houses" is a number wholly absurd, representing accommodations for several hundred

people. (*Vide* Appendix, for description, in Location of Colony.)

139. It appears as an evident purpose of the administration of the colony to maintain religious worship, for which a small separate structure would be provided.

140. Gorges, in the Brief Narration, mentions the inclement season, "the great and unseasonable cold;" "that extremity as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built boats upon it." (*Me. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. 2, p. 22.)

noe boat could stir upon any busines. Howbeyt, as tyme and occasyon gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefitt or knowledg of the planters, for which when Capt. Davies arrived there in the yeare following<sup>141</sup> (sett out from Topsam, the port towne of Exciter, with a shipp laden full of vittuals, armes, instruments and tooles, etc.,) albeyt, he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in good forwardness, and many kinds of furrs obteyned from the Indians by way of trade; good store of sarsaparilla<sup>142</sup> gathered, and the new pynnace all finished. But by reason that Capt. Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead,<sup>143</sup> and a faire portion of land fallen unto his share, which required his repaier home, and noe mynes discovered, nor hope thereof, being the mayne intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantacion, and the feare that all other wynters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especyally Capt. Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all ymbarqued in this new arrived shipp, and in the new pynnace,

141. *Vide* Appendix,—Movements of the ships.

142. Held in high repute in England for its medicinal virtues.

143. Sir John Gilbert died July 8, 1608. The ship bearing supplies, sailed soon after.

pynnace, the Virginia, and sett saile for England.<sup>144</sup> And this was the end of that northerne colony uppon the river Sachadehoc.

144. "At Sagadahoc, disappointed hopes of gain, and unmanly fear, lowered the red cross flag of St.

George." (J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., Congl. Quarterly, 1863, p. 146.)



And  
the

erton,  
p. 146.)







## LITERATURE.

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**T**HE Sagadahoc Colony necessarily enters the annals of North America. It has been noticed by nearly all writers upon general history, and finds place in all outlines of beginnings in the New World. A few sources of information, however, comprise all the original facts, while only repetitions appear elsewhere.

A survey of all that is important in its literature will exhibit the successive stages by which our present knowledge has been obtained.

1614.

1. "Purchas, his Pilgrimes," by Saml. Purchas, London, 1614, 2d Ed., enlarged, p. 756.

An. 1607, was settled a plantation in the river Sagadahoc; the ships called the "Gift" and the "Mary and

a. James Davies. John,"<sup>a</sup> being sent hither by that famous English Justicer, Sir John Popham, and others. They found

found this coast of Virginia full of islands, but safe. They chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of the Sagadahoc in a westerly peninsula: there heard a sermon, read their patent and laws and built a fort. They sailed up to discover the river and country, and encountered with an island where was a great fall of water, over which they hauled their boat with a rope, and came to another fall, shallow, swift, and impassable. They found the country stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlic, oaks, walnuts, the soil good. The head of the river is in forty-five and odde minutes. Cape Sinieamis is in  $43^{\circ} 30'$ , a good place to fortify.

b. Jo. Elliot. G.  
Pop. Let. to S. I. Gilbert and E. S.

Their fort bare name of Saint George. Forty-five remained there,<sup>b</sup> Captain George Popham being President, Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral. The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say, King James is a good king, his God a good God and Tanto naught. So they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of their Sagamos children, saying he had power and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in December.

c. Ral. Gilbert.  
d. These seem to be the deformed Armouchiquois, made in the telling more dreadful.

The people<sup>c</sup> told our men of cannibals<sup>d</sup> near Sagadahoc with teeth three inches long, but they saw them not. In the river of Tamescot they found oysters nine inches in length, and were told that on the other side there were twice as great. On the 18th of January they had in seven hours space, thunder, lightning, rain, frost, snow, all in abundance, the last continuing. On February 5 the president died. The savages remove their dwellings in winter nearest the deer. They have a kind of shoes a yard long, fourteen

fourteen inches broad, made like a racket, with strong twine or sinews of a deer; in the midst is a hole wherein they put their foot buckling it fast. When a Sagamos dieth they black themselves and at the same time yearly renew their mourning with great howling; as they then did for Kashurakeny, who died the year before. They report that the cannibals have a sea behind them. They found a bath two miles about so hot that they could not drink it.

Mr. Patteson was slain by the savages of Nanhoc,  
 e. Edward Harley. a river of the Tarentines. Their short commons<sup>e</sup> caused fear of mutiny. One of the savages called Aminquin for a straw hat and knife given him stripped himself of his clothing of beavers' skins worth in England fifty shillings or three pounds to present them to the president, leaving only a flap to cover his privities. He would also have come with them for England. In the winter they are poor<sup>f</sup> and weak and do not then company with their wives but in summer when they are fat and lusty. But

f. Other notes ap.  
 Hak.

your eyes wearied with this Northern view, which in that winter communicated with us in extremity of cold, look now for greater hopes in the Southern Plantation as the right arm of this Virginian body, with greater costs and numbers furnished from hence.

In subsequent editions of Purchas's work there is no enlargement of this sketch. In that of 1624, Vol. 4, p. 1837, there is mention of some sources of his information. He says:

I had the voyage of Capt. Thos. Hanham written by himself unto Sagadahoc; also the journals of Master Rawley Gilbert who fortified there in the unseasonable winter (fit to freeze the heart of a Plantation),

a Plantation), of James Davies, John Eliot, &c. I have the voyage of Master Edward Harlie one of the first who went with Popham and Nicholas Hobson to those parts in 1611, with divers letters from Capt. Popham and others.

1616.

In this year, Capt. John Smith printed in London a sketch of his discoveries, and his observations, entitled, "A Description of New England." This contains two brief references to our subject.

Describing his anchorage at Monhegan, Smith adds:<sup>145</sup>

Right against us in the main was a ship of Sir Francis Popham that had there such an acquaintance, having many years used only that porte, that the most part<sup>146</sup> was had by him.

Northward six or seven degrees,<sup>147</sup> is the river Sagadahoc where was planted the western colony by that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England.<sup>148</sup>

1622.

A small pamphlet was published this year in London, the title of which shows its source and purpose: "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantations of  
New

145. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3 Ser., Vol. VI, p. 103.

146. *i. e.* of the trade with the natives.

147. Of the Southern or Jamestown Colony.

148. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3 Ser., Vol. VI. p. 103.

New England, by the President and Council." It briefly sketches events from 1607 to date 1622, being put forth as an authorized statement in behalf of the Council,—the superintending board of affairs under the charter. It narrates the steps leading to the charter of 1606; the preparatory but disappointing voyage of Challons, then that of Hanham who returned with so favorable report that the parties previously interested were now "willing to join in the charge for sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."

It continues :<sup>149</sup>

Hereupon Captain Popham, Captain Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships and an hundred landmen, ordnance and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence, until other supply might be sent. In the meanwhile, before they could return, it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, as some grew cold and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, certain of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next year, (holding on our first resolution,) to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed. But the ships arriving there did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the Lord Chief Justice together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert who at that time

149. Purchas, Vol. 5, p. 1828; Mass. Hist. Coll., 2 S., V. 9, pp. 3-5.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Times. J. P. Baxter, Esq.

time was president of that council, but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead: who was the only man, indeed, that died there that winter wherein they endured the greater extremities: for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt and they thereby were wondrously distressed.

This calamity and evil news together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return (in that he was to succeed his brother in the inheritance of his lands in England), made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had) built a pretty bark of their own, which served them to good purpose as easing them in their returning.

The arrival of these here in England was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, insomuch as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after; only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing, of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account.

Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you have heard, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits.

1624.

Capt. John Smith published at London in 1624 his "General History of New England." Into this he introduced

roduced a brief but valuable account of the Sagadahoc enterprise. He mentions the letters-patent for the two colonies, and their limits, then of the second or northern colony assigned to adventurers from Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and towns in the west of England; he writes:<sup>3</sup>

Now this part of America hath formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuskoncus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky and full of isles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it, and sent Captain George Popham for President; Captain Rawley Gilbert for Admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant Major; Captain Elis Best, Marshal; Master Seaman, Secretary; Captain James Davis to be Captain of the Fort; Master Gome Carew, Chief Searcher. All those were of the Council, who, with some hundred more, were to stay in the country. They set sail from Plymouth the last of May, and fell with Monahigan the 11th of August. At Sagadahock nine or ten leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a fair navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky; that extreme frozen winter was so cold they could not range nor search the country, and their provision so small, they were glad to send all but forty-five of their company back again. Their noble president, Captain Popham, died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessaries to supply

150. The General Historie of Virginia, New England, &c. Fr. London Ed. 1629, Richmond, Va., 1819, Vol. 2, pp. 173-74.



ply them, and some small time after another, by whom understanding of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, whose lands there the president, Rawley Gilbert, was to possess, according to the adventurers directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the year 1608, and thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert.

The "Encouragement to Colonies," written by Sir Wm. Alexander, appeared in 1624, and is a chief witness respecting the moral weakness of the colony which contributed to its failure.

That which is now called New England was first comprehended within the patent of Virginia, being the northeast part thereof. It was undertaken in a patent by a company of gentlemen in the west of England, one of whom was Sir John Popham, then chief justice, who sent the first company that went of purpose to inhabit there near to Sagadahoc; but those that went thither, being pressed to that enterprise, as endangered by the law, or by their own necessities (no enforced thing proving pleasant, discontented persons suffering, while as they act can seldom have good success and never satisfaction), they after a winter stay, dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home, returned back with the first occasion, and to justify the suddenness of their return, they did coin many excuses, burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersions that possibly could devise, seeking by that means to discourage all others, whose provident forwardness importuning a good success, might  
make

make their base sluggishness for abandoning the beginning of a good work to be the more condemned.

1630.

In this year, Capt. John Smith put forth his "True Travels," discoursing upon his endeavors and failures, while he made attempts to prosecute trade and fishing, and to lay foundations for colonies. A few sentences alone in this sketch have value.<sup>151</sup>

When I first went to the north part of Virginia, where the western colony had been planted, it had dissolved itself within a year and there was not a Christian in all the land. \* \* \* \*

The country was regarded "a most rocky, barren, desolate desert." \* \* \* \* \* Nothing could be done for a plantation till about some hundreds of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam and Leyden went to New Plymouth.

1633.

The first sketch of the Sagadahoc Colony appearing in a general history is found in the "Novus Orbis" of Joannes DeLaet, published (in Latin) at Leyden in 1633. A new edition, translated into French, was put forth in 1640. The main facts were presented in brief, and

151. *Vide* Aber's Reprint of Smith's Works : Chap. 23.

and were condensed from Purchas, and from the Relation of President and Council.

Henry Chalons, having been sent first to the northern part, was taken by the Spaniards: and at about the same time, at the expense of John Popham, the chief justice of all England, Thomas Haman [Hanham] who was sent to the river Sagadahock as aid to Chalons. When he did not find him, satisfied to have examined the coast, he returned to England. Then in the year 1607 under the auspices of the same Popham, one hundred husbandmen, having been carried over to the Sagadahock for a colony, fixed their habitations in a peninsula, which is situated at the mouth of that river and built a fort to withstand hostile attacks, by the name of Saint George: George Popham presided over the colony: Raleigh Gilbert over the maritime affairs. On advancing to explore the river itself, they encountered a waterfall near a certain island in the river, which, however, they overcame with no great difficulty and soon another, where the water ran with such violence that they could in no way proceed any farther. The place was distant from the equator forty-five degrees and thirty minutes. Both banks of the river rose gradually in sandy hills: there was no land at all suitable for cultivation, but however it was wooded and well covered with oaks.

The natives follow the customs of other barbarians and are miserably vexed in nearly every month by an evil spirit whom they call Tanto and fear much more than they worship. While the English dwelt here they seemed somewhat moved by the religious rites of the christians. They said James was a good king and confessed that his God was good and truly their own Tanto was evil. Then indeed when the President of the colony died in the month of February 1608, and a short time afterwards the Chief-Justice, who

up

up to this time had borne most of the expense, the colonists with their vessels, which had been sent as aid to them, deserting the colony returned to England, and their patrons were so indignant at their unexpected return, that they desisted from the undertaking. The French, meanwhile, (availing themselves of the opportunity or by a purpose of their own) laid the foundations of colonies in various places.<sup>152</sup>

1658.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges wrote a lengthy sketch respecting the early steps in New England colonization, detailing difficulties which attended those projects, and especially his own misfortunes. It is entitled, "A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, especially showing the Beginning, Progress and Continuance of that of New England." It was printed in London in 1658, eleven years after Gorges' death. It was likewise introduced by his grandson, Sir Ferdinando, into a volume published the following year, bearing the title, "America Painted to Life." Gorges' personal acquaintance with the affairs of which he writes, and in which he bore a conspicuous part, gives the Narration great value. It was, however, evidently written in his advanced years, when his memory had lost its freshness, making the perspective

152. "Novus Orbis," p. 67.

spective of events dim or confused, so that definiteness of detail and dates are lacking. He gives a general view of the Sagadahoc enterprise, and includes but few facts not found elsewhere. The following extracts are taken from the reprint by the Maine Historical Society.<sup>153</sup>

By the same authority all things fully agreed upon between both the colonies, the Lord Chief Justice, his friends and associates of the West country, sent from Plymouth Captain Popham as President for that employment, with Captain Rawley Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen of note, in three sail of ships,<sup>154</sup> with one hundred landmen, for the seizing such a place as they were directed unto by the Council of that colony; who departed from the coast of England the one-and-thirtieth day of May, anno 1607, and arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August following. As soon as the President had taken notice of the place, and given order for landing the provisions, he despatched away Captain Gilbert, with Skitwarres his guide, for the thorough discovery of the rivers and habitations of the natives; by whom he was brought to several of them, where he found civil entertainment and kind respects, far from brutish or savage natures, so as they suddenly became familiar friends; especially by the means of Dehamda, and Skitwarres, who had been in England, Dehamda being sent by the Lord Chief Justice with Captain Prin, and Skitwarres by me in company; so as the President was earnestly entreated by Sassenow, Aberemet, and others the principal sagamores (as they call their great lords) to go to the Bashabas, who it seems was their king, and held a state agreeable,

153. Maine Hist. Collections, Vol. 2, pp. 20-23.

154. *Vide* Introduction, *ante* p. 13.

able, expecting that all strangers should have their address to him, not he to them.

To whom the President would have gone after several invitations, but was hindered by cross winds and foul weather, so as he was forced to return back without making good what he had promised, much to the grief of those sagamores that were to attend him. The Bashabas notwithstanding, hearing of his misfortune, sent his own son to visit him, and to beat a trade with him for furs. How it succeeded, I could not understand, for that the ships were to be despatched away for England, the winter being already come, for it was the 15th day of December before they set sail to return;<sup>155</sup> who brought with them the success of what had passed in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice's hands, he gave out order to the Council for sending them back with supplies necessary.

The supplies being furnished and all things ready, only attending for a fair wind, which happened not before the news of the Chief Justice's death was posted to them to be transported to the discomfort of the poor planters; but the ships arriving there in good time, was a great refreshing to those that had had their storehouse and most of their provisions burnt the winter before.

Besides that, they were strangely perplexed with the great and unseasonable cold they suffered, with that extremity as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built their boats upon it, and sold provisions of several sorts to those that delighted in the novelties of the times. But the miseries they had passed were nothing to that they suffered by the disastrous news they received of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, that suddenly followed

155. *Vide* Appendix ; Movements of the ships.

followed the death of their President; but the latter was not so strange, in that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country. But that of the death of the Chief Justice was such a corrosive to all, as struck them with despair of future remedy, and it was the more augmented, when they heard of the death of Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Rawley Gilbert that was then their President, a man worthy to be beloved of them all for his industry and care for their well-being. The President was to return to settle the state his brother had left him; upon which all resolved to quit the place, and with one consent to away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death; though Sir Francis Popham could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone.

Although I were interested in all these misfortunes, and found it wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design, as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the Plantation, as being over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by our nation.

Besides, they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake, though the country itself, the rivers, havens, harbors upon that coast might in time prove profitable to us.

1660.

Henry Gardiner's "New England's Vindication" was a brief tract written in 1660. It has recently been reprinted

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reprinted by the Gorges Society, with critical notes by Chas. E. Banks, M. D.

He wrote, (p. 19):

Then my Lord Popham and others sent to inhabite New-England, and settled a Colony at Saquadahock, the Ruins and fruit Trees remain to this day; but he dying, all fell. Then divers Fishermen went onely to fish.

1670-1678.

Peter Heylin, (*Cosmographie*, London, 1670) has a brief statement (p. 1627):

St. Georges Fort was the first plantation of the English, and was built at the mouth of the river Sagadahock, in a demy-island in 1607, by Popham and Gorges; but the colonists returned home. It was successfully attempted again in 1614 when the undertakers were resolved to make further trial, and in 1616 sent out eight more ships but it never settled into form till 1620 by the building of New Plimouth.

John Ogilby, [*America; or Description of the New World*, London 1671,] translates and transfers almost without change the paragraph of DeLaet. Richard Blome [*Description of Jamaica, with other Isles and Territories to which the English are Related*, 1678] has a brief reference.

The



The first was a colony of English about 1605, granted by patent from King James to certain proprietors, but divers years were spun out, with great expense and casualties before it came to anything.

1700—1800.

In this century no real advance was made in the history of the Sagadahoc colony. Writers do not appear to have made attempts at original investigation, but only recited, in a sentence or brief paragraph, the mere facts of the undertaking. Reference may be made to Oldmixon [British Empire in America, London, 1708]; to Neal, [History of New England, London, 1720]; to ——— [Hist. of British Dominions in North America, London, 1773]; to William Russell, [History of America, London, 1778.]

Rev. Thomas Prince, [Chronol. History of New England in the form of Annals, 1736], drew his statement from the history of Capt. John Smith. William Douglass, [Summary of British Settlements in North America, 1749,] not a careful writer, mentions (Vol. 1, p. 204,) that persons

Sometimes wintered ashore as for instance at Sagadahoc, anno 1608, but no formal lasting settlement was made till 1620; but he misconceives the *personnel* of the colony in writing (p. 345)—

George

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George Popham with Capt. Gilbert came over in two ships with families and stores, anno 1607. Some families wintered at Sagadahoc near the mouth of Quenebec River (here many good rivers meet and discharge themselves into a bay called Merrymeeting bay), anno 1608, but soon left.

Burke's Settlements in America, [1757], and Wynne's British Empire in N. America, [1770] include no mention of the Popham colony. Chalmers, [Political Annals, 1780] has a brief sentence.

Charlevoix [Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 3 Vols., Paris, 1744], has a single statement which must refer to this colony and its relations with the Indians, and adds a new fact, which hints at the French account, latterly published.

A short time before, some English had attempted to make a settlement on their river, but so bad had been their conduct towards the savages that the latter had forced them to withdraw.

1795.

In the last decade of this century, Hon. James Sullivan published his History of the District of Maine. Whatever might have been expected from a historian of the state, who had been a student of the facts and the localities, Judge Sullivan added very little to our knowledge

edge of the colony. He introduced errors in matters of fact, attempted no detailed account, and made conclusions faulty and misleading, so that one will be curious respecting the sources of his information. These quotations show his brief treatment of the subject. His view of localities will be discussed later.

The next movement towards a settlement in the northern part of the continent by the English, was in the year 1607. Sir John Gilbert, who was brother to Sir Humphrey, and inherited his estate and title, was persuaded, at a very advanced age, to revive his brother's claim. In pursuance of this idea, he engaged with Sir John Popham and several others, to fit out a fleet for the continent. Perhaps a jealousy arising from a Frenchman's having in the year 1604, been into, and taken possession of the river Kenebeck, and the country to the eastward of it, under the King of France, urged the English to revive a claim which had begun to be considered as obsolete. Be their motive what it might, they revived the old knight's claim, which he had begun to establish, under the patent of Queen Elizabeth, and sent out ships to assert their title, and to regain possession. They arrived at the mouth of Sagadahock, on Kenebeck river; where they spent a miserable winter, principally on an island since called Stage Island. Their intention was to begin a colony on the west side of the river, at what is now called Small Point.<sup>156</sup> Sir John Gilbert died that winter. The spirit of colonizing became faint. The encouragement was withdrawn, and the

156. In Sullivan's time, the name, Small Point, was applied to the whole peninsula west of the river, now the town of Phippsburg, and not

as now restricted to the southwestern point of the town. Thus Sullivan himself defines Small Point on p. 169.

the adventurers returned to England the following year. The suffering of this party, and the disagreeable account they were obliged to give, in order to excuse their own conduct, discouraged any further attempts by the English, until the year 1619, and the year 1620, when the first settlement was made at Plymouth. [Pages 52, 53.]

On an island already spoken of, called Stage Island, was the landing place of Popham's party, in 1607. Governor Winthrop says they came in 1609. Ogilby, in his collection, which he made in the year 1671, says, that they landed on the west side of the river, on a peninsula, and there began a plantation. Hubbard says, that a party came from England, and settled at Kenebeck, in the year 1619. Soon after Popham's party left the river, in 1608, the French took possession of it. \* \* On the island are the remains of a fort, several wells of water, and several cellars; the remains also of brick chimneys have been found there, and it is very clear that the bricks which were used in the buildings must have been brought from Europe. On the west side of the river is the remains of a fort, made of stone and earth; there are also eight old walls now to be seen, and the ruins of several houses. Whether these buildings were erected by the English, or by the French, is uncertain; but the probability is that the former were the erectors of the works. [Pages, 169, 170.]

The colony of Plymouth had a fort and trading house at Kenebeck River in the year 1642. Where their fort was, does not now appear with certainty; but it may be believed, that it was on what is now called Small Point, on the west side of the river, and near the sea. Tradition assures us, that Popham's party made their landing on the island now called Stage Island; and as there are the remains of an ancient fort on Small Point, and wells of water of long standing,

standing, with remains of ancient dwelling houses there, which have been mentioned, it may be concluded that the Plymouth Fort was at that place. [Page, 174.]

Gov. Sullivan wrote another account of the colony, and the two should be compared, for his divergent opinions respecting the facts. This earlier statement was comprised in a sketch entitled, "A Topographical Description of Georgetown," his contribution,—though without hint of authorship,—to the first volume published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The volume was put forth in 1792, and reprinted in 1806.

The sketch contained quite as much history as topography, and shows his characteristic method of interspersing sage reflections to adorn his narrations.

Treating of Parker's Island,<sup>157</sup> he writes, p. 251 :

Upon this island, the Europeans, who first colonised to New England, made their landing. Virginia was planted in the year 1606; and has therefore assumed the dignified title of *the Ancient Dominion*; but the Colony of Parker's Island, which has since been called Sagadahoc, was but one year behind her. In the year 1607,  
\* \* \* (Popham, &c.) \* \* \* landed and took possession of Parker's Island. \* \* \* \* Had the leaders of this colony survived the severity of the winter next after their landing,  
Plymouth

157. Its aboriginal name was Rascohegan (in a variety of forms.) By successive separations of former territory, it has since 1841, been left to bear alone as a town the ancient name, Georgetown.

Plymouth might have been deprived of the honor of being the mother of New England. \* \* \* \* \* George Popham, the brother of an English Baronet, was the President and leader of this band of adventurers. He was no doubt a man equal to the undertaking, and expected the support of his brother, and other powerful men, who according to the rage for colonising which then prevailed, had associated for that purpose. Unfortunately for the little number of emigrants, their leader died in the winter next after they had landed. Many of their friends were taken away in England at the same period. The spirits of adventurers are at once depressed upon the defect or death of their leaders; but yet there is a natural pride in the human heart, which urges mankind to ascribe the causes of a retreat to something besides their own weakness or cowardice. The death of Mr. Popham might have been a sufficient cause for these people giving over their enterprise, and taking leave of Georgetown, but they ascribed it to a prevailing sickness, occasioned by the severity of the winter.

There was a tradition amongst the Norridgwalk Indians, that these planters invited a number of the natives, who had come to trade with them, to draw a small cannon by a rope, and that when they were arranged on a line in this process, the white people discharged the piece, and thereby killed and wounded several of them.

\* \* \* \* \* The story is that the resentment of the natives, consequent on this treacherous murder, obliged the English to re-embark the next summer.

It is possible that Sullivan himself obtained this tradition directly from the Indians of that tribe, with whom he was conversant, which fact would strengthen the  
the

the value of the story. Its origin, and continuance for more than a century, is a fact to be accounted for.

Another tradition, respecting the relations of the colonists and Indians, may be most appropriately introduced here. It was obtained by the New England historian, Rev. William Hubbard, "minister at Ipswich," and written into his narrative of the "Indian Wars." Yet the portion in which it was comprised, failed to be printed in early editions, but appears in that edited by Mr. Samuel G. Drake, 1865, (Woodward's Historical Series.) Hubbard wrote out the story as early as 1680, and shows that it was told by the Indians previous to 1660. It will be found in Vol. 2, p. 251.

It is reported by an Ancient Marriner yet living in these parts, a person of good Credit, that above twenty years since being in the Eastern Parts about Kennebeck, he heard an old Indian tell this story; that when he was a Youth, there was a Fort built about Saga-de-hock (the ruines of which were then shown this Relater, supposed to be that called St. Georges Fort in honor of Capt. George Popham, the President of the company sent over Anno 1607.) and possessed for some time by the English: But afterward upon some Quarrel that fell out betwixt the Indians and them, the English were some of them killed by the said Indians and the rest all driven out of the Fort, where there was left much of their Provisions and Ammunition; amongst which there was some barrels of Powder; but after they had opened them not knowing what to do therewith, they left the Barrels carelessly open, and scattered the  
Powder

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Powder about, so as accidently it took Fire; and blew up all that was within the Fort, burnt and destroyed many of the Indians, upon which they conceived their God was angry with them for doing hurt to the English.

1800—1890.

In the present century patient research has enriched our historical literature. The story of the Sagadahoc colony has been often rewritten. A few authors may be mentioned whose digest, or fuller narrative, can be consulted. Jeremy Belknap, D. D., had offered in 1794, "The Biographies of the Discoverers of America." "Annals of America," by Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., appeared in 1805. Rev. Wm. Hubbard's "General History of New England," written previously to 1682, was first printed in 1815, by the Massachusetts Historical Society. James Graham's "History of the United States of North America" appeared in 1827. Baylie's "History of New Plymouth," (1830,) offers in the appendix a sketch of the Popham colony. Hon. George Bancroft's work, "The Colonization of the United States," in 3 vols., was published in 1834-40. In his revised and complete work, "The History of the United States," Centenary Ed., the Popham enterprise is succinctly narrated. The histories of Hildreth, (1840,) and of Palfrey,



frey, (1859,) likewise can be examined. Rev. J. S. C. Abbott, in the latest History of Maine, (1875,) wretchedly misleads, in most erratic movements of Popham's ships, and confessing inability to "extricate the details from some entanglement," is himself responsible for the puzzle that confronts him. "The Popular History of America," (Bryant and Gay) (1881,) gives a free narration of the colony affairs, embellished by wood cuts of the meeting of Nahanada and Skidwarres, and of Indians beset by dogs at Popham's fort. Reference may also be had to "The Narrative and Critical History of America," (1884,) edited by Justin Winsor, LL. D., and especially to his critical notes, and his statements respecting the Popham controversy.

From these more prominent historians, our survey of the literature turns to those writers and recent sources of information which have made definite and rich accessions to our knowledge of the colony.

1832.

A new history, the fruit of diligent investigation in the then offered materials of history, was given to the public, by Hon. Wm. D. Williamson in 1832, entitled, "The History of the State of Maine, from its first Discovery,

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covery, A. D. 1602, to the Separation, A. D. 1820." This discerning and judicious author, besides study of previous writers, manifestly sought information from local sources in respect to the Popham enterprise. His full recital of the story is not needful, involving fruitless repetitions, but such extracts are here made as shall show his views of the facts, not altogether accurate, and his conclusions respecting obscure points in that early occupation of the soil of Maine.

It was intended to have taken into employment three ships.  
\* \* But through disappointment in procuring one, the expedition was retarded, and two only were equipped, and despatched on the interesting expedition. \* \* \* \*

Although according to some accounts, they first went ashore upon Erascohegan [Parker's island], or the western peninsula; yet it is believed they finally disembarked upon an Island 200 rods eastward, called Stage Island; supposed by them to be better situated for all the conveniences of trade with the natives, and of navigation through the year. They probably landed on the north part of the Island which is level and easy of access—the southerly end being high, bleak and rocky. \* \* \* \*

These adventurous planters erected on the Island some slight habitations, or cottages; sunk two or three wells; and commenced an intercourse with the Indians. But they were soon convinced, that the wells, owing to their contiguity to the sea, would never yield sweet water; that the Island containing only 8 or 10 acres, was too small for the permanent foundation of a colony; and that  
it was

it was situated too far from other lands to form a free intercourse with the country. Therefore they concluded to change their situation; and passing across the river, to the western bank, they selected a pleasant and convenient site on the southeast side of a creek, near what is now called Atkin's bay; which stretches west into the land half a league, and forms a peninsula at the southerly corner of the present Phipsburg. To this place they themselves removed, and during the autumn, located and established a settlement; which was subsequently denominated the Sagadahoc Colony. A commodious house and barn, and a few slender cabins were built, and a fortification erected, which they named fort St. George, from the Christian name of the President; but it was afterwards called Popham's Fort. A blockhouse likewise with a store-room, was erected and roughly finished; where the people kept their provisions and might in case of danger find protection. \* \* \* \* \* The winter months were fraught with various trials. The season was extremely severe in England as well as in this country; their habitations were poor; and they before spring suffered much from cold. \* \* \* \* \* Still they might have enjoyed security and peace in their fortification, and lived comfortably upon the provisions brought from home, together with the fish and game taken by themselves or purchased of the Indians, had they met with no misfortune and been guided, at all times by the maxims of prudence and economy. \* \* \*

The author here introduces versions of the "traditional stories, related and transmitted to us, as coming from the old Indians," of the quarrel and the gunpowder, and the discharged cannon, which have been previously given, with this statement: Whether

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Whether these stories have any connection or foundation in truth, we cannot at this distance of time ascertain with certainty ; and we might especially wish the latter one for the credit of the colonists to be a fable ; yet both were believed true, by the ancient and well-informed inhabitants on Sagadahock river. Vol. 1, pp. 197-201.

Regarding the return of the colony he mentions the plan of Justice Popham to send back the ships from England with supplies, and adds besides the well-known facts, enlargement of the narrative of Gorges :

But while waiting for a wind, the mariners of one ship heard of his Lordship's sudden death ; and the master of the other, before he sailed was informed that Sir John, the brother of Raleigh Gilbert, was likewise dead ; and thus became the bearers of these melancholy tidings to the plantation. \* \* \* The deaths of the two Pophams and Gilbert \* \* \* together with some additional disappointments, proved fatal to the colony. \* \* Probably the Indians had become again unfriendly. Nay, one account represents, that in consequence of the resentments of the natives, occasioned by the gun powder plot, or some ill treatment, the emigrants were induced to re-embark, for the sake of their own safety, and durst not return. Pages 201-2.

Of the location of the colony, Gov. Williamson speaks in his description of Phipsburg and Cape Small Point :

A mile above the southeast corner or projection of this peninsula.

sula, on what is called Hill's point, is the plat of ground where the Sagadahoc colony passed the winter, 1608-9. The United States fort is near the same spot, though a little further east. The fort built by those ancient colonists was called fort St. George, but gradually acquired the name of Popham's fort. The remains of it and of several houses or habitations built there, and afterwards revived and increased in number to 10 or 12 by the New Plymouth settlers, are yet seen. The colony at first landed on Stage island. \* \* They erected a fortification and dug a well, which was walled and parted by a partition still apparent. But because they could not get good water, they removed across the river, and settled on the peninsula, westward. Vol. 1. pp. 52-3.

1849.

"The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania" was written about 1618, by William Strachey, who had been secretary of the southern colony.<sup>158</sup> But it remained in manuscript, almost unknown to the world, until its publication in 1849 by the Hakluyt Society of London. It comprised a sketch of the northern colony, and made valuable accessions to public knowledge of events at Sagadahoc, in giving particulars of the voyage, the settlement, the location and progress of the colony. A portion was reprinted in this country by the Mass. Historical Society in 1852;<sup>159</sup> and also by the Maine Historical

158. Maine Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 283.

159. Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th Ser., Vol. 1, p. 219.

Historical Society in 1853.<sup>160</sup> From the close relation which these chapters of Strachey's work bear to the Lambeth MS., as already shown,<sup>161</sup> they require no further notice as a part of the literature of the subject.

1857.

In this year there came into the possession of the Maine Historical Society a document specially noteworthy, yet a curiosity, rather than historically valuable for its facts,—a copy of a letter written at Sagadahoc by President Popham, four months after arrival, addressed to the King. Hon. Wm. Willis has properly characterized the letter as “unique,”—“possessing a peculiar interest,”—though written “in barbarous Latin,”—“greatly exaggerated in its description of the products of the country, and its sickening adulation of the pedant King.”

This letter, discovered by Hon. George Bancroft in his research in the State Paper Office, London, was by him kindly donated to the Society. A translation was made by Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., President of Bowdoin College, which, with the original Latin, was given to the public in the fifth volume of the Society's Collections, (1857). Derived from this source, they are introduced

160. Maine Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 286-309.

161. *Vide* Introduction, p. 16, *ante*.

introduced here as a part of the Popham Literature. It is hoped that a fac-simile of the original letter may be obtained for this work.

In regard to some of the surprising statements of this rose-colored report, it may be remarked, that the colonists found all things new and strange, and allowed their ardent hopefulness to magnify slight resemblances into desired realities,—so that a bewildered fancy easily created nutmegs, cochineal, and ambergris, out of very ordinary natural products. Yet must we regard President Popham as very credulous of stories told by his exploring parties, and culpably careless of the facts, or else we must charge him with insincerity and willingness to join clever story-telling with servile flattery in order to win the royal favor to a problematic enterprise.

GEORGE POPHAM TO KING JAMES I.

13 Dec., 1607.

Ad pedes serenissimi regis sui humillime se projecti Georgius Pophamus præsidents secundæ coloniæ Virginiae. Si divinæ majestatis tuæ placuerit patientiæ a servo observantissimo ac devotissimo quamvis indigno pauca recipere ab altitudinis tuæ claritate vel minimum aliænare arbitror. Quoniam in dei gloriam sublimitatis vestræ amplitudinem et Brittanorum utilitatem redundare videantur peræquum igitur judicavi magestati tuæ notum fieri quod apud Virginios, et moassones nullus in orbe terrarum magis admiratur quam Dominus Jacobus Brittanorum imperatur propter admirabilem justitiam

*Ad pedes serenissimi regis sui humillimo se prostrat Georgius Pophamus praesidens*  
*Secundae coloniae Virginiae. Si diuinae maiestatis tuae placuerit patientia a seruo*  
*obseruantissimo ac deuotissimo quamvis indigno pauca recipere, ab Altitudinis tuae*  
*claritate vel minimè alia naxe arbitror. Quonia in dei gloria sublimitatis vestrae*  
*amplitudine et Britannorum utilitatem reatundare videantur. pezaqu igitur*  
*iudicanti maiestati tuae notu fieri quod apud Virginios et moaffores nullus*  
*in orbe terrarum magis admiratus quàm Dominus Iacobus Britannorum imperator*  
*propter admirabilem iustitia ac incredibilem constantia qua istarum opinciaru*  
*natiuis non mediocre profecit, letitia, dicentibus in super nulla esse deu vere*  
*adorandū propter illu Domini Jacobi sub eius ditione atq; imperio libenter*  
*milli tate voluerint Sahanda vnus ex natiuis qui Britannia adfuit vestras*  
*laudes ac virtutes hic illis illustrauit. Quid et quantum in his negocijs subeundis*  
*et illoꝝ ammos confic mandis Valere, eozu sit iudiciu qui domi volutazunt*  
*seruenter agnoscent, omnes conatus meos porire cū in compatione officij debet*  
*exga principis habentur. Optima me tepet opinio, dei gloria facile in his*  
*reziombus elucescere, Vestrae maiestatis imperia amplificari, et Britannoru*  
*tempus beuante augmentari. Quod ad mercimoniū attinet, omnes mdegiue*  
*constanter affirmant his meste provincijs nucei amissicas, maciam, et*  
*smamomu: preterea Betumen, lignu Braselia, Cuchinela et Ambergrithe*  
*cū multis alijs magni momenti et Valeris atq; eaz maxma quide habundantia*  
*Insuper affirmant mecu aqunt esse mare aequod m aduersa vel occidentali*  
*huius provinciae parte non plus septem dieru iteneris spaciū a praesidio*  
*nostro Sancti Georgij in Sagadahoc amplu, latu et profundu, cuius*  
*terminos prorsus ignorant, quod aliud esse non potest nisi australe,*  
*tendens ad regiones Chinae qua longe ab his partibus procul dubio est.*  
*non possunt Si igitur placuerit dilectis habere oculos tuos apertos m*  
*subiecto certificationis mea, non dubito quin Celsitudo Vestra absoluet opus*  
*deo gratissimu, magnificencia Vestra honorificu, et reipub. tuae maxime*  
*conducibile, quod ardentissimis precibus vehementer exopto et a deo*  
*optimo maximo contendudo vi regis mei Domi Jacobi maiestatem qua*  
*diutissime seruat gloriosam a praesidio Sancti Georgij in Sagadahoc de*  
*Virginia 13<sup>o</sup> Decembris 1607*

*Seruus vestrae maiestatis omnimodis deuotissimus*  
*Georgius Pophamus*





titiam ac incredibilem constantiam quæ istarum provinciarum nativis non mediocrem perfert, letitiam, dicentibus insuper nullum esse deum vere adorandum preter illum Domini Jacobi, sub cujus ditione atque imperio libenter militare voluerit. Tahanida unus ex nativis qui Britannia adfuit vestras laudes ac virtutes hic illis illustravit. Quid et quantum in his negociis sub eundis et illorum animis confirmandis. Valerem eorum sit judicium qui domi voluerunt scienter agnoscens, omnes conatus meos sperire, cum incompatione officii debiti erga principem habeantur. Optima me tenet opinio dei gloriam facile in his regionibus elucescere, vestrae magestatis imperium amplificare et Brittanorum rem publicam: breviter augmentari quod ad mercimonium attinet, omnes indeginæ constanter affirmant his in esse provinciis naves amitticas maciam et sinamomum preterea Betumen lignum Brasiliae Cuchinelam et Ambergetie cum multis aliis magni momenti et valeris eaque maxima quidem abundantia. In super affirmative mecum agunt, esse mare aliquod in adversa vel occidentali hujus provinciae patriae non plus septem dierum itineris spacium a presidio nostro Sancti Georgii in Sagadahoc amplum latum et profundum, cujus terminos prorsus ignorant quod aliud esse non protest nisi australe, tendens ad regiones Chinæ, quæ longe ab his patribus procul dubio esse non possunt. Si igitur placuerit divinos habere oculos tuos apertos in subjecto certificacionis meæ, non dubito quin Celsitudo Vestra absolvat opus deo gratissimum magnificentiae honorificum, et reipublicae tuæ maxime conducibile, quod ardentissimis precibus vehementer exopto: et a deo optimo maximo contendo ut regis mei Domini Jacobi magestatem quam diutissime servat gloriosam. Il presidio Santi Georgii in Sagadahoc de Virginia 13th Decembris 1607.

Servus vestrae magestratis omni modis devotissimus

GEORGIUS POPHAMUS.

“To

“To the most heigh and mightie my gracious Sovereaigne Lord  
“James of Great Brittain, France and Ireland Virginia and Moas-  
“son, Kinge.” [Indorsed].

[Translation.]

GEORGE POPHAM TO KING JAMES I.

13 December, 1607.

At the feet of his Most Serene King humbly prostrates himself George Popham, President of the Second Colony of Virginia. If it may please the patience of your divine Majesty—to receive a few things from your most observant and devoted, though unworthy servant, I trust it will derogate nothing from the lustre of your Highness, since they seem to redound to the glory of God, the greatness of your Majesty, and the utility of Great Brittain, I have thought it therefore very just that it should be made known to your Majesty, that among the Virginians and Moassons there is none in the world more admired than King James, Sovereign Lord of Great Brittain, on account of his admirable justice and incredible constancy, which gives no small pleasure to the natives of these regions, who say moreover that there is no God to be truly worshipped but the God of King James, under whose rule and reign they would gladly fight. Tahanida, one of the natives who was in Great Brittain has here proclaimed to them your praises and virtues. What and how much I may avail in transacting these affairs and in confirming their minds, let those judge who are well versed in these matters at home, while I, wittingly avow, that all my endeavors are as nothing when considered in comparison with my duty towards my Prince. My well considered opinion is, that in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced, the  
empire

## THE SAGADAHOC COLONY. 119

empire of your Majesty enlarged, and the welfare of Great Britain speedily augmented. So far as relates to Commerce, there are in these parts, shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood, and Brazilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products of great value, and these in the greatest abundance.

Besides, they positively assure me, that there is a sea in the opposite or Western part of this Province, distant not more than seven days journey from our fort of St. George in Sagadahoc,—a sea large, wide and deep, the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant of. This cannot be any other than the Southern ocean, reaching to the regions of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these regions. If, therefore, it may please you to keep open your divine eyes on this matter of my report, I doubt not but your Majesty will perform a work most pleasing to God, most honorable to your greatness, and most conducive to the weal of your kingdom, which with ardent prayers I most vehemently desire. And may God Almighty grant that the majesty of my Sovereign Lord King James may remain glorious for ages to come.

At the Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc of Virginia, 13 December, 1607.

In all things your Majesty's Devoted Servant.

GEORGE POPHAM.

1858.

By the publication of the "Relations of the Jesuits,"—(Quebec, 1858,) a further contribution was made from French sources. The statements so similar to that of Charlevoix, more than a century before, suggest the same original. They

They (*i. e.* the Indians of Kennebec) showed us what they did to the English who wished to inhabit there in 1608 and 1609. They excused the deed to us and told us of the outrages they received from the aforesaid English, and flattered us, saying they loved us well, because they knew that we would not shut our doors on the savages, as the English did, and that we would not drive them away from our table with cudgels, nor set our dogs upon them to bite them.

1862.

This year introduced a new element into the literature of the subject by the evolution of the "Popham controversy." A germinal thought had been cast into the public mind by a request made to the War Department in the late autumn of 1861, that the U. S. fortification then in process of erection at the mouth of the Kennebec, should be named Fort Popham. Public attention was turned to the ancient settlement, and at least within a narrow circle a rapid growth of interest followed; a memorial celebration on the anniversary of that seizure of Maine soil was projected, and received the favor of the Historical Society of Maine, many of whose members were active in giving it success; the plan was fostered by notices of the newspaper press, and by articles showing the historical significance of the event; invitations far and near were sent to official and notable personages,

personages, especially those conversant with American history ; generous provision was made for transportation and for the wants and comfort of guests ; and as a result, on the 29th of August, an assembly estimated at several thousands, drawn by hearty interest in a historical anniversary, or attracted by the novelty and promise of the occasion, or by the opportunity for an excursion and holiday, thronged to the historic peninsula at the mouth of the ancient Sagadahoc, and convened on the government grounds about the fort. Religious worship according to ancient Anglican forms, a historical statement, an oration, the placing a stone of memorial in the walls of the fort, were the chief exercises. A banquet, to which, after Maine custom, a clam-bake and its accessories largely contributed, drew after it speeches and historical addresses on associated and pertinent topics. The able oration by Hon. John A. Poor, of Portland,—who had been a leading spirit in reviving the knowledge of the event celebrated,—treating of American Colonization, put forth far-reaching claims for the actors in those schemes whose outcome was the Sagadahoc colony, and with no hesitating utterance assigned this enterprise to a place of supereminence in its relation to the settlement of New England. The main drift of the day's exercises, as of the originating purpose and management,

agement, was of the same character, laudatory and magnifying its importance. A transcript of these proceedings—the preliminary correspondence, report of the services—letters of invited guests not present, historical papers prepared or read, the oration and appended extracts from historians, were by the diligent hand of Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D., then Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, given to the public in a volume, bearing title—“Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, Aug. 29, 1862; commemorative of the Planting of the Popham Colony on the Peninsula of Sabino, Aug. 19, O. S. 1607, establishing the Title of England to the Continent. Portland, 1863.”

A single able address by J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, not in accord with the general tone of laudation for the personages and the event celebrated, was omitted, but was elsewhere published with profuse historical citations, set forth and supported in vigorous utterances, under the title—“Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges.”<sup>162</sup>

The inception of this celebration drew public attention to the Popham colony, and gave it immediate notoriety, as if a scarred corpse,—a waif of the waters,—cast up upon the sands at Sabino. Then came searching and ungentle examination for diagnosis of the disease,

or

162. Vide Congl. Quarterly, Boston, April, 1863, Vol. 5, pp. 143-160.

or to get proofs of violence, which caused death. Also the personal traits and character of the long ago deceased made a matter of inquiry, provoked long, and even acrid, discussions. Diverse opinions obtained, and facts, theories, inferences, furnished materials for sharp controversy: knight after knight strode into the arena, with learning, logic or sarcasm equipped, to do battle for or against the asserted honor and merit of the Popham colony.

In the following years similar but less enthusiastic celebrations reinforced the purposes of the first. Oration were given, in 1863, by Hon. George Folsom; in 1864, by Hon. Edward E. Bourne; in 1865, by Prof. James W. Patterson. Elsewhere, before learned societies, in reviews, magazines and newspapers, contestants maintained the strife, among whom may be mentioned Mr. William F. Poole, Mr. Frederic Kidder, Mr. Erastus C. Benedict, Mr. S. F. Haven, Rev. William S. Perry, Rev. Edward Ballard.

A bibliography gathered showed that within six years from the opening of the controversy, ninety-eight pamphlets and separate articles had been published upon the various matters under discussion. The orations, the chief papers, and many of the briefer and lighter articles will be found preserved in public libraries.



ries. A half dozen of these most prominent papers, exhibiting the main points on both sides of the controversy, were united in a pamphlet, published in Boston, by Wiggin and Lunt, 1866,—and entitled, “The Popham Colony; A Discussion of its Historical Claims.” A few references to periodicals will help to examine various phases of the controversy: *Vide* Essex Inst. Collections, Vol. 5, p. 175; Proceedings of Am. Antiquarian Soc., April, 1865; Am. Prot. Episcopal Ch., Vol. 1, p. 126; N. American Review, October, 1868; Historical Magazine, Vol. 7, p. 1; Vol. 12, pp. 129 and 184; Do. 2d Series, Vol. 2, pp. 129 and 285; Vol. 5, p. 112.

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The leading thought in the celebration of 1862, which so agitated historical circles, is reflected by the stone of memorial. Prepared as an enduring record to be introduced conspicuously into the wall of the fort, it bears witness in behalf of the colony and its leader, by its inscription:

The First Colony  
On the Shore of New England  
was founded here  
August 19th O. S. 1607,  
under  
George Popham.

Although

Although then in the admiring gaze of thousands of spectators this stone was ceremonially laid, yet it has these many years waited, and still waits to be placed finally in position.<sup>163</sup>

The orator of the occasion, Mr. Poor, also announced that the Maine Historical Society would put in place a companion piece to the memorial stone,—a tablet in memory of George Popham. What formal action to that end had then been taken, or if it was but the orator's suggestion approved by leading associates,—does not now clearly appear. The design, however, has never been realized,—even the proposition seems almost to have faded from memory.<sup>164</sup>

1864.

163. The Memorial Volume of the celebration—(pp. 10, 13, 17, 21, 30, 48–52, 55), indicates the purpose of this stone, and reports the steps in the proceedings after the forms of the masonic ritual, and the final official announcement that it was duly laid, repeated by flourish of music and thunder of cannon. Yet this laying was but *ceremonial*, not real, the orator of the day, Mr. Poor, declaring (p. 83) that “finally the skillful hand of him who is charged with the construction of this fort, (Capt. Casey of the Engineer Corps) will place this stone in its final resting-place.” This promise waits fulfillment, for the stone—a granite block

6x4 ft.—now lies upon its side in the grounds adjacent to the fort, its face, protected by planking, turned against the wall of the government storehouse, and the inscription put almost beyond reach of the eye of the curious visitor. It is said the intention was to place the stone above the entrance to the fort. Not till the government proceeds to finish fully the work—or new action shall be taken in the case by historical societies or interested parties, is there hope that this stone of memorial shall meet its design.

164. The form of the proposed inscription, “in that sonorous Latin, which President Popham employed

1864.

From the repositories of the Society of Jesus, additional information was drawn in a selection from letters of several Jesuit missionaries, published at Paris, in 1864. (*Vide* *Lettres Inedits, par Auguste Carayon.*) The letter of Pierre Biard gives details of his visit with Biencourt to the Kennebec and vicinity in 1611. The party arrived at the mouth of the river, October 28th. Biard writes :

At once our people landed, desirous to see the fort of the English, for we had perceived by the paths that no one was there. Now as in a new thing all is fine, they began to commend and extol this enterprise of the English, and to rehearse the advantages of

the  
in his communication to the king,"  
as Mr. Poor remarks,—was set forth  
in the oration, and is worthy of introduction here :

In Memoriam  
Georgii Popham,  
Angliæ qui primus ab oris  
Coloniam collocavit in Nov. Angliæ  
terris,

Augusti mense annoque MDCVII.  
Leges literasque Anglicanas  
Et fidem ecclesiamque Christi  
In has sylvas duxit.  
Solutus ex colonis atque senex obiit  
Nonus Februariis sequentibus,  
Et juxta hunc locum est sepultus.

Societate Historica Mainensi auspiciente,

In presidio ejus nomen ferente,  
Quarto die ante calendas Septembres  
Annoque MDCCCLXII,  
Multis civibus intuentibus,  
Hic lapis positus est.

—————  
This tablet as yet is but a promise, whose fulfillment rests with another generation, which, guided by more accurate knowledge, may be inspired to ensure enduring records of all worthy and notable events in the early history of our state.

the situation ;—each one pointed out what he most esteemed in it. But after some days, there was quite a change of opinion, for it was seen that there was a fine chance to construct an opposing fort, which would have imprisoned them, and cut them off from the sea and the river. Also although they had indeed been left there, still would they not after all have enjoyed the advantages of the river [exclusively] since it has several other good entrances some distance away. [Page 63.]

\* \* \* \* \*

But as inasmuch as I have here mentioned the English, some one perhaps will wish to know of their adventure, which we learned in that place. It is then as follows ;—in the year 1608, the English began to make a settlement at one of the mouths of this river Kennebec, as we have already said.

They had then for a leader a very honorable man, and he conducted himself very kindly towards the natives of the region. It is nevertheless said, that the Armouchiquois were afraid of such neighbors, and for that reason caused the death of this commander, as I have said. These people are accustomed to kill by the use of magic.

Now in the second year 1609 the English under another commander, changed their conduct ;—they repelled the savages disgracefully ; they beat them, they abused them, they set their dogs on them with little restraint. Consequently these poor maltreated people, exasperated in the present, and presuming on still worse things in the future, determined,—as the saying is,—to kill the cub, before his teeth and claws should be stronger. An opportunity for this presented itself to them one day, when three shallops were gone away on a fishing trip. These conspirators followed them keenly and coming near, with the best show of friendship, (for  
where

where there is most treachery, there are the most caresses) they entered into them, and at a signal given, each one choose his man, and killed him with his knife. Thus were dispatched eleven of the English. The others intimidated, abandoned their enterprise that same year, and have not pursued it since, being satisfied to come in the summer for fishing at that island Emetenic, which we have mentioned as being eight leagues from the fort which they had commenced. [Page 70.]

1880.

Next in order of time came the Lambeth MS., discovered by Rev. B. F. DaCosta, of New York, in 1876, and by him given to the public in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society for May, 1880. Already examined, it requires no further mention in this place.

1885.

Recent researches, prosecuted in England, have added a fragment of no slight interest in its relation to the history of the fated enterprise. "A Description of New England" gives the observations of a person who had traveled through most of the settlements. Obtained by Mr. H. F. Waters, it was published in the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, in January, 1885. It has been very confidently assigned to Samuel Maverick, of Noddle's

dle's Island, and by internal evidence was written about 1660. Maverick came to the country in 1624, which will approximate the date of the writer's visit to the site of the colony. The value of this fragment lies in showing the speedy ruin which fell upon their constructed works.

Three leagues distant from Damerells Coue is Sagadahocke at the mouth of Kenebeth river, on which place the Lord Poham's people settled about fiftie yeares since, but soon after deserted it, and returned for England; I found Rootes and Garden hearbs and some old Walles there, when I first went over which shewed it to be the place where they had been.

1886.

In the Sloane Collection in the British Museum exists another document of which three copies are there found bearing the title, "A True Relation concerning The Estate of New England as it was presented to his Matie." It discourses upon "the country, the commodities, and the Inhabitants," but the writer's name does not appear. A copy had been printed for a private edition by John Scribner Jenness, Esq., in 1876. Later a copy was also obtained by Mr. H. F. Waters, and to give it the publicity its worth seemed to demand, it was  
printed

printed in the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, January, 1886. The careful and judicious hand of Dr. Chas. E. Banks furnished notes, and also a preface which discusses its probable date and authorship. The date is closely approximated to 1634, and the name of Capt. Walter Neale, of Piscataqua, is suggested as a possible writer. Among the statements made respecting various English settlements, occurs this paragraph :

The English are planted in the middest betwixt the Dutch and the French. \* \* \* \* This part of the countrie was manie yeares since planted by the English in the time and by the meanes of the Lord Chiefe Justice Popham and some others, and especially by Sr Ferdinando Gorges, knight, but these plantations prospered not through the ill choice made of places commodious for habitation. The present Inhabitants of New Plymouth were the first that settled a Plantation to any purpose in New England who went thither to inhabite about 15 yeares since.

In the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society for March, 1886, (*Vide* Second Series, Vol. 2, p. 244); appears a document of interest, contributed to the society by Rev. Dr. B. F. DaCosta, by him discovered in the south-west of England, in the old city of Plymouth, where Sir Ferdinando Gorges held military command. It is a letter "from ye Councill of Virginia to the Corporation of Plymouth ye xvij<sup>th</sup> of Februarie, 1608," (N. S., 1609.)

It

It was written to invite that corporation to join in the enterprise successfully inaugurated by the southern colony in Virginia, and solicits their interest and cooperation, in view of the failure of the northern colony. This fact gives the letter value as evidence of the ill success of the Popham enterprise, in which it would seem, if not the Old Plymouth corporation itself, its prominent citizens or officials had been associated.

Having understood of your good disposition towards your advancing of an intended plantation in Virginia begun by divers gentlemen and Marchaunts of the Westerne parts, weh since for want of good supplies and seconds here, and that the place weh was possessed there by you: answered not those Comodities weh meight keepe lief in your good beginnings, it hath not so well succeeded as soe worthy intentions and labours did meritt. But by the coldenes of the Clymate and other Connaturall necessities your colonie was enforced to retorne: We haue thought fitt nothing doubting that this one ill success hath quenched your affections from soe hopefull and godlye an action to acquaynt you briefly wth the Progresse of our Colonie. \* \* \*

1890.

Very gratifying enlargement of our knowledge of the colony is derived from recently discovered letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. These of rare value, obtained by  
tireless



tireless research in the repositories of English State papers and private libraries, by James P. Baxter, Esq., are taken from his work recently published by the Prince Society of Boston, entitled, "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine." They were written with direct reference to the Popham enterprise, and give important facts, and also include very frank statements of inward ills afflicting the colony, which caused him much solicitude. Gorges' avowals respecting the leaders, and the ill-assorted and factious materials comprised in the colony, give clearer grounds than heretofore for accurate conclusions respecting its affairs. Our gratification at these new disclosures is colored by regret that other similar letters of Gorges of a later date were not preserved.

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SIR F. GORGES TO SIR R. CECIL.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 154-157.]

*Right Honor<sup>ll</sup>.* This present day, heere is arived on of our shippes out of the partes of Virginia, w<sup>th</sup> greate newes of a fertill Contry, gallant Rivers, stately Harbors, and a people tractable (so discreete Courses bee taken w<sup>th</sup> them,) but no returne. to satisfy the expectation of the Adventurers, the w<sup>ch</sup> may bee an occasion, to blemish the reputacion of the designe, although in reason it could not bee otherwayes, both bycause of the shortness of theyr abroad  
there

there (wch was but two monethes) as also, theyr want of meanes to follow theyr directions, theyr number being so small, and theyr busines so great, beside in very truthe, the defect and wante of understandinge of som of those imployed, to performe what they weare directed unto, from whense, there did not only proceede confusion, but thorough pride and arrogansay, faction, and privat resolution, as more at large your Lor: shall perceave by my next, wth the particulars therof in the meane time, I have sente this inclosed, humbly beseeching, it may bee deliuered to Sr Fransis Popham, whome I doubt not, but will at large accquaynte your Lor<sup>PP</sup> what he receaveth, although I beleeve hee will not heare of all, that hath paste. For my owne opinion, I am confident, there will bee divers reasons to perswade a constant resolution, to persue this place, as firste the bouldnes of the Coaste, the easines of the navigation, the fertility of the soyle, and the severall sortes of Commodities, that they ar ashured, the contry do yealde, as namely fish in the season, in great plenty, all the Coste alonge mastidge for shipps, goodly oakes, and Ceaders, wth infinit other sortes of trees, Rasom, hempe, grapes very fayre and excellent good, wherof they have already made wine, much like to the Claret wine that comes out of France, rich Furrs if they can keepe the Frenchmen from the trade, as for mettalls they can say nothinge, but they ar confidente there is in the Contry, if they had meanes to seeke for it, neither could they go so high, as the Allom mines ar, wch the Savages doth ashure them there is great plenty of.

Thusmouch I humbly desire may satisfy your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. at this present untill I bee better able to furnish your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. wth the rest that they can say. I haue likewise sent your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. Mr Challoonnes his letter, brought mee out of Spayne, wherby it may appeare unto your Honor. what hopes hee had at the writings thereof;

thereof; howsoever for my particular I do infinitely thinke my-  
 selfe bounde to your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. in theyr behalfe, and do yealde humble  
 thanks for your Hono: favor, shewed towards them: theyr Case  
 is miserable, and the wronges profered them infinite. I know not  
 how to helpe it, but humbly to implore for theyr releases those  
 who ar beste able to do them good and to ease theyr necessities in  
 what I may, all the rest of the adventurers having given them over.  
 Even so recommending your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. to Gods protection I humbly  
 take my leave resting in all servise during my life

Your Lor<sup>PP</sup> humbly to bee Comaunded

FARD: GORGES

I should have remembred your Lor<sup>PP</sup> that the Contry doth  
 yealde Sauceparelia in a great aboundance and a certayne silke that  
 doth grow in small Codds, a sample wherof I will send this night  
 or to morrow.

Plymouth this 1 of December late at night 1607.

[Cecil Papers, 123-77.]

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SIR F. GORGES TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 158-160.]

*Right Honorall*: It seemes to bee moste certayne, that ther is  
 no enterprise (how well so ever intended) but hath his particular  
 impedimentes meeting wth many oppositions, and infinite Crosses as  
 in this small attempt, (begun by my Lo: Cheefe Justice out of a  
 noble zeale to his prince and Contry (amongst many others) it is ex-  
 perienced) for firste as hee was honorable himselfe, so he thought  
 all others weare, beleeving what they toulde him, and trustinge to  
 what

what, they promised, by wch meanes, his Lor<sup>PP</sup>. was not a litle deceived of what hee expected, for neither were his provisions answerable to his Charge bestowed, nor the persons employed such as they ought; in as much as the wantes of the on was cause of inability to performe what was hoped; & the Childish factions, ignorant timerous, and ambitious persons. (for of that nature I founde the composition to bee) hath bread an unstable resolution, and a generall confusion, in all theyr affayres. For firste the President himselfe is an honest man, but ould, and of an unwildy body, and timerously fearfull to offende, or conteste wth others that will or do oppose him, but otherwayes a discreete carefull man, Captayne Gilberte is described to mee from thense to bee desirous of supremasy, and rule, a loose life, prompte to sensuality, litle zeale in Religion, humerouse, head stronge, and of small judgment and experiense, other wayes valiant inough, but he houldes that the kinge could not give away that, by Pattent, to others wch, his Father had an Act of Parliament for, and that hee will not bee put out of it in haste wth many such like idle speeches wch (although hee bee powlesse to performe oughte) weare not unfit to bee taken notice of bycause it weare good in my opinion that all such occasion were taken away, as may hinder the publike proceedinge, and let the cause of sedicion bee plucked up by the Roote, before it do more harm; besides hee hath sent (as I am farther informed) into England for divers of his freindes to com to him, for the strengthing of his party on all occasions (as hee terms it) wth much more that I have received notis of to this effect: wch I thought it my duety to advertise your Lor<sup>PP</sup>. in time, that som course may bee taken, to prevent mischiffe. wch must bee don by immediate authority from thense, taking no farther notise heerof, than your wisdom shall think good, but the better to manifest, and to bringe all to light,  
w<sup>thout</sup>

without callinge the authors in Quaestion, your Lorpp. may be pleased to sende downe present commaunde, to intercept all letters whatsoever, and to whomsoever, and to cause them to bee sent up, (for I know in whose possession these letters ar yet, and I think I shall finde the meanes to keep them from being delivered in haste. As for the reste of the Persons employed, they are either fit for theyr Places or tolerable, But the Preacher is moste to bee commended, both for his Paynes in his place, and his honest indevors; as also is Captayne Robert Daues, and like wise Mr. Turner theyr Phisitian, who is com over, to sollicite theyr supplyes, and to informe the state of every particular. I haue sayde in my last to your Lorpp. what I think how necessary it is, this busines shoulde bee thoroughly followed, but if I should tell your Hon<sup>r</sup>. how much I am affected unto it in my owne nature, it may bee that my commendations therof would bee of the lesse credit, but I desire in my soule, that it would please God, his Mty would take it into his owne handes unto whome (of right) the conquest of kingdoms doth appertayne, and then should I think my selfe moste happy to receive such employment in it, as his highnes shoulde thinke mee fit for, and I woulde not doubt but wth a very litle charges, to bring to passe infinite thinges; I will say no more of it, at this present, only I make no quaestion but that your Lorpp. will finde it to be of greater moment than it can easily bee beleaved to bee; I have sent unto your Lorpp. the Journalls that were taken by on of the Shippes, as I receaved it from theyr going out, untill theyr returne, by wch the navigation will appeare to bee as easy as to Newfound lande but much more hopefull. Even so commending your Lorpp to Gods holy protection I will ever rest during life

Your Lorsh<sup>pps</sup> humbly to bee commaunded

FARD : GORGES

Plymouth 3 of December.

[Cecil Papers, 123-81.]

## THE SAGADAHOC COLONY. 137

SIR F. GORGES TO SIR R. CECIL.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 161-164.]

*Right Honor<sup>ll</sup>:*

Our second shipp is returned out of the partes of Virginia, but wth advertisement of nothing more, then wee receaved at the first, only the extremity of the winter, hath ben great, and hath sorely pinched our People, notwithstanding (thankes bee unto God) they have had theyr healthes exceedingly well, although theyr Cloathes were but thinne and theyr dyets poore, for they have not had on sicke from the time they came thither to the instant of theyr cominge away. Ye President, and his People, feedes us still wth hopes of wonders, that wilbee had from thence in time, but I feare mee, ther must go other manner of spiritts to settle those busines, before it wilbe brought to passe, for I finde the continuance of theyr idle proceedinges, to have mutch prejudicialld the publike good, devidinge themselves into factions, each disgracing the other, even to the Savages, the on emulatinge the others reputation amongst those brutish people; whose conversation, and familiarity they haue most frequented, w<sup>ch</sup> is on of the cheefest reasons, wee have to hope in time, to gayne that, w<sup>ch</sup> presently cannot bee had, they shew themselves exceeding subtill and conninge, concealing from us the places, wheare they haue the comodities wee seeke for, and if they finde any, that hath promised to bring us to it, those that came out of England instantly carry them away, and will not suffer them to com neere us any more.

These often returnes wthout any comodity hath much discouraged our adventurers, in espetiall in these partyes although in common reason, it bee not to bee looked for, that from a savage wilderness, any great matters of moment can presently bee gotten for  
it is

it is arte and industry that produceth those things, even from the furthest places of the worlde, and therfor I am afraid, wee shall have much a doo, to go forwards as wee ought, wherfor it weare to bee wished that som furtherance might bee had (if it weare possible) from the cheefe springe of our happines, I meane his Maty. who at the laste must reape the benefit of all our travell, as of right it belongs unto him; besides if it please your Lo<sup>PP</sup>. to looke into it, w<sup>th</sup> those eyes w<sup>th</sup> the w<sup>ch</sup> you pearce the greatest and most obscure conjectures you will finde it most necessary, it should bee so, both for many publike and private reasons as first the certaynty of the commodities that may bee had from so fertill a soyle as that is, when it shalbee peopled as well for buildinge of shippinge, havinge althinges risinge in the place, wherwith to do it, as also may other hopes therof to insew, as the increase of the Kinges Navy, the breedinge of marriners, the imployment of his People, fillinge the world w<sup>th</sup> expectation and satisfyinge his subjectes w<sup>th</sup> hopes who now ar sicke in despayre and in time will growe desperate through necessity, also hee shall sease that to himselfe, & to his posterity, thew<sup>ch</sup> hee shall no sooner quite, but his neighbors will enter into, and therby make themselves greate, as hee might have don, for at this instant, the french ar in hande w<sup>th</sup> the natives, to practise upon us, promisinge them, if they will put us out of the Contry, and not trade w<sup>th</sup> none of oures, they will com unto them and give the succors agaynst theyr Enemyes, and as our People heares, they have been this yeare w<sup>th</sup> fowre shippes to the Southwardes of them som 50 Leag: and the truth is, this place is so stored w<sup>th</sup> excellent harbors and so bould a coaste, as it is able to invite any actively minded, to indevor the possessinge therof, if it weare only to keepe it out of the handes of others. I could say much more in this, but I am loathe to bee over troublesom to your  
Lo<sup>PP</sup>.

Lor<sup>pp</sup>. and therfor I will thus conclude under your Lor<sup>pp</sup>'. Favor, that I wish his highnes would bee pleased, to adventure but on of his middle sorte of shippes, w<sup>th</sup> a small pinnace, and v<sup>th</sup>all to give his letters, and commission, to countenance and authorefy, the worthy enterpriser, and I durste my selfe, to undertake, to procure them to bee victualld by the adventurers, of these partes, for the discovery of the whole coaste alonge, from the firste to the seconde Colony, espetially to spende the moste parte of the time in the searche of those places already possessed, and for myne owne parte, I should bee proude, if I might bee thought worthy to bee the man, comaunded to the accomplishment heerof, by his Highnes and should thinke it a season well spent, wherin I should have so many hopes to serve my Contry, wherof the least would bee in this sleepy season, the inablinge of my owne judgment, and experience in these maren causes, therby, the better heerafter on all occasion, to discharge my duty to my Soverayne. Alwch I humbly recomend to your Hon: wisdom, to bee so handled as you shall vouchsafe to think good, for the reputation of him, whome you have tyed to you, by many obligations, and even so I will humbly comend your Lo<sup>pp</sup>. to Gods holy protection, restinge ever

Your Lo<sup>pp</sup>'. humbly to bee comaunded

FARD: GORGES.

Plymouth this 7 of February [1608].

[Cecil Papers, 120-66.]

Two more letters,—in point of time earlier than the foregoing,—can not well be omitted from a full history of the undertaking, beset from the first with difficulties, of which this case is an instance. It discloses the character



acter and temper of the men of Plymouth. Out of the verbiage of deference and compliments is gathered the fact that these citizens, who had agreed to a partnership in the foreign enterprise recommended by Sir John Popham, were much dissatisfied with the conditions and the officials selected to manage it, and now quite testily stood back and would have nothing to do with it, unless some changes agreeable to them were made. We have no hint of the result. These letters are dated just one month after the charter of King James had allowed an effective beginning in plans for the proposed colony.

DEPUTY MAYOR OF PLYMOUTH TO THE EARL OF  
SALISBURY.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 122-23.]

*Right Honorable:*

Our humble dutyes remembred. It hath pleased or very good Lorde, the Lo: Chiefe Justice of Englande out of an Honorable disposiçion to recomende unto us an enterprice for establishmte of a Plantaçion in the parts of America; whereunto we weare drawn to assent (uppon hope to obtayne suche free and reasonable Condiçions as had in former tymes ben graunted, by her late Matye of famous memorye, to certeine particuler Gent: But sithence, it appeares, that it hath ben thoughte more Convenyent (for respects beste knowne to yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>pp</sup>;) to assigne us to be dyrected (under his Matye:) by a Councell of dyvers, some very worthie and worp<sup>le</sup>: persons, others, of the  
same

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same rancke and quallytie orselves are, the greatest parte, strangers to us & or proceedings, wch neverthelesse, being donne wth yor Lo: prevetye, we doubt not of anie inconvenyence or discomodity wch maie growe thereby; and therefore doe whollye referre orselves to yor Honoble: Care over us. And for or further desires to yor Lo<sup>r</sup>pp: we leaue to be more largely related by Capt<sup>n</sup> Love the bearer hereof whome we haue purposely sent upp to that ende, and (amongeste the reste, to become an humble sutor, to yor Lo<sup>r</sup>pp. that it woulde please you to Vouchsafe us yor favorable protection and helpe, as one in whome, we in this behalf, as in all other things (nexte unto his Matye) doe desire to make or cheefe dependencye, and to be assisted by yor self wth suche other Honoble & worthie persons as in your wisdoms shalbe thought fitt, amongeste whome we Cannot but remember the Lord Cheefe Justice wth or humble thanks for his good affection towards us in this behalf. And for that we have had many testimonyes & apparances of yor Lo<sup>r</sup>ppes love & favor towards us herein, we are bold at this present to beseeche the Contynewance thereof, and haue promised wth orselves not to proceede further without yt, whollye relyinge upon yor favor & wisdoms, to be disposed of, both in bodye and goods, so farre forthe, as you shalbe pleased to Comaund. And in the meane tyme we will contynewallye praie for all Honor and happines to you and yors, humbly cravinge pardon for our overboldnes in beinge thus trowblesome to yor good Lo<sup>r</sup>pp<sup>e</sup>: to whome we doe reste in all dutiefull service.

Yor Lo: moste humblie to Comaund

WALTERE MATHEWE,

deputie maior and his bretherin.

From Plymouth this 10th of Maye 1606.

[Cecil Papers, 116-39.]

## SIR F. GORGES TO SIR R. CECIL.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 123-126.]

*Right Honorable :*

My humble dutie remembred : Thorough the mocon att firste of some particuler persons, and weel afected of these partes in this Idle tyme to bring to passe somethinge worthie his Mats gratious acceptance. It hath pleased my Lo : Cheife Justice out of an ho : disposition to aduance their proceedings and (as yt seemes) to be a meanes for the obteyninge of his highnes free leave and good liking as by his letters Pattents yt doth att lardg appere to severall parties graunted. But some things there are whereunto they finde them seelves tied wch hath exceedinglie cooled the heate of their afections that att firste did make profer of their adventures. As namelie they are upon all occaçons to expecte their directions. for their govermt from certeyne whome his matte hath elected to be of his Councell for those afaires in and about the Cittie, and although many of them exceeding wortheie, yet diuers Cittizens both of London, Bristow, and Exon well knowen to have noe manner of understanding what belongeth thereunto more then ordinarie. Besides for them heere to be tyed upon all occaçons to Poste yt to London, is a matter soe tedeous and chargeable as they are wholie distasted wth the ymagination thereof, and as I perceave they have written to his Lo : they utterlie refuse to proceede any farther, unles they may be soe happie, as to obteyne yor Lo : ho : favor to joyne wth his Lo : for the delivering of them from soe heavie a yoake as they ymagine this in tyme wilbè unto them. And in deed when yt was once bruted that soe many Cittizens and Tradesmen were made councillors to his highnes for the disposing of their afaires that on their private chardg undertooke the enterprize, all the gentlemen

gentlemen that before weare willing to be lardge adventurers presently withdrew themselves and by noe meanes will have to doe therein. But now the pore Townesmen of Plymouth relyeing themselves upon your lo: ho: favor doe humblie ymploye your protection hoping by your ho: meanes to finde release or otherwise they doe dispayer of any future good hereof to ensew unto them. And undoubtedlie (yf my judgmt doe not much deceave me) yt wilbe a matter of that momente and consequence both unto his matie and our whole nation as yt weare greate pittie yt should be suffered to fall to the grounde. Neyther can theare be any thinge more ho: then free Condiçons to be graunted to such as willinglie doe hazard themselves and their estats without farther chardg to his highnes, to sease him of soe lardge Territories as they promyse to doe. And for ought I perceave their desier (more then is graunted already) is principally that they may be assigned to your Lo: and my Lorde Cheife Justice with such other ho: and worthie persons as you shall thinke fitt to take unto you for your more easie execution of his highnes pleasuer as occaçon from tyme to tyme shall require, and that there may be certeyne Comysiones authorized and by you chosen out of these partes that may att all tymes be presente redelie to receive and execute those directions to the ease of all heere without their farther trouble or chardge, and that they may be exempted from having to doo with those Citizens and townesmen nomynated in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> graunte, whome they see are like heereafter to prevayle agaynste them in that they have already gotten the govermt over them, soe as they can looke for noe manner of libertie more then shall stand with their likinge, or sorte to the profitt of their severall Corporaçons, and therefore they are become humble suters to your good Lo: for obteyninge their release in that behaulfe. And that being graunted yt is doubtles that many worthie and brave  
spirites

spirites will easilie be drawn to Ingage themselves in this Designe, and the rather yf they finde they may walke under the shelter and by the direction of soe ho: a person as yor sealfe, wch I proteste I speake not to flatter, as I doubte not but the sequell will manifestlie mençon, and weare my meanes answerable I would say more then now I can, but as yt is I will for ever acknowledg yt your Lo: and my sealfe to be disposed of during liefie as,

Your Lo: in all services most humblie to be comaunded

FARD: GORGES.

From the forte bie Plimoth the 10th of Maie 1606.

[Cecil Papers, 116-40.]

Besides these letters here presented in full, it is required to append several brief incidental statements, which embody facts, or refer to the affairs, of the colony.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, writing March 13, 1607, [N. S.], to Capt. Henry Challons, at Seville, after his capture, and advising him concerning a settlement, adds:

\* \* \* \* for you knowe that the iorney hath bene noe smale Chardge unto us yt first sent to the Coast and had for our returne but the five salvadges whereof two of the principall you had with you and since wthin two monthes after your depture we sent out another shippe to come to your supply and now againe we have made a new preparaçon of divers others all wch through your misfortune is likelie to be frustrate and our time and Chardge lost. \* \*

[Vol. III, p. 139.]

This

This clearly refers first to the voyage of Waymouth, 1605, and connects Gorges, Sir John Popham and others with it as interested patrons furnishing funds. His next statement bears upon the time of the voyage of Hanham and Pring. He wrote in the Brief Narration, that "shortly after," the second vessel was despatched; but now, only a few months subsequent, when his memory should have been accurate, he says, "within two months," by which we must conclude it was at the least somewhat more than a month. Hence as Challons sailed August 12th, Pring could not have sailed till towards the end of September. Hence this preliminary exploration on the Maine coast must have occurred in November or later, according to the length of the outward voyage. Further, Gorges here shows that early in the spring of 1607, active measures were taken in fitting out ships for planting the colony on the New England coast. In writing "divers others," he seems to imply a larger number made ready than the two which sailed, and gives color to the inference respecting his assertion in the Brief Narration (p. 21) that "three sail of ships" were despatched,—that in fact so many were intended and prepared, but for unknown reasons one was surrendered. Perhaps the dissatisfaction of the Plymouth men, as indicated in the foregoing letters, may not have been healed,

healed, and thereby the patronage and material aid were diminished.

Gorges, writing to Cecil, August 7, 1607, at the time when he may have believed the expedition had reached the Maine coast, manifests his ardent hopefulness of successful results, in this way :

I cannot as yet giue any asurance to your Lor<sup>PP</sup> of the particulars of the estate of the Contry where wee have sent our Colony, But (if I bee not much deceaued) it will prove it selfe to bee such. as there wilbee great reason to induce som noble nature to undertake throughly the protection for the accomplishment therof: it beinge a designe for the æternizinge of an honorable memory.

[Page 150.]

He further indicates his own interest in the hopeful scheme, and professes, that he shall be ready and most happy if choice should fall upon him, to go thither, in any capacity as he shall be esteemed fit, by which he can serve his Majesty and his country. Already his fancy is constructing a grand scheme of colonization and government with its honors and material rewards, such as he afterwards so vainly strove to realize.

Valuable facts concerning communication with the colony are furnished in a letter to Secretary Cecil, bearing date, March 20, 1607, [N. S. 1608.]

As

\* \* \* \* As concerninge our Plantation, we have found the meanes to encowrage our selves a newe, and have sent two shippes from Topsome for the supplies of those that be there, with victualles, & other necessaryes, havinge sett downe the meanes how we shalbe able, by Maye next, to send one more of 200 tunnes. We frame unto our selves many reasons of infinite good, that is likely to befall our countrie, if our meanes fayle us not to accomplish it. But we hope, before Sumer be past, to give such satisfaction to the worlde here of, as none that are lovers of their Nation, but will, (for one cause or other) be willinge to wish it well at the least, what crosses soever we have received heretofore. Yet I am verely perswaded, that ye end will make amendes for all; For it is sure, it is a very excellent countrie both in respecte of the clyme, as also the multitude of goodlye Rivers & harboures it doth abound with all; besides the severall comodities that a fertile soyle will yeelde; when arte, and industrye shalbe used for the ease of Nature, the wh seems to shewe her selfe exceedinge bountifull in that place. \* \* \*

[Page 165.]

The letters of the previous December and February, already given, complete the story of the colony so far as anything from the pen of Gorges enables us to follow it.

One other letter, drawn from the papers of Secretary Cecil (Earl of Salisbury), was written by Capt. Popham on the very day of departure from England, which he should never see again, and has little worth except to disclose to us the man as he looks towards the enterprise to which he has heartily committed himself; and also

as



as he generously commends a person to succeed him in the revenue service.

CAPTAIN GEORGE POPHAM TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine, Vol. III, pp. 143-144.]

Remembringe my self in all humble dutifulnes unto my righte honorable good lord, doe by theis make bolde to advertize, that I directed my late lres unto yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>PP</sup> concerninge a commaunde I had from my Lo: Cheife Justice of England, to appointe my self unto the discoverye and populaçon of the western Colony in Virginia. I wishe my desire mighte goe accompanied w<sup>th</sup> any of the leaste acceptable service therein, yet durste I promise by due endeavors to give my beste addiçon unto the same. I sente alsoe a lre in that of myne enclosed, concerninge the passage of our merchantes aboute their occasions in Spaine, & Portugall, whereof I thoughte fytt to acquainte yo<sup>r</sup> honor. I am induced nowe againe in this my second to offer boldnes, w<sup>ch</sup> goeth in the due commendaçon of this bearer Mr Rowland Jones Collector of his Mats Customes w<sup>th</sup>in the porte of Bridgwater, whoe intendeth to be a suter unto yo<sup>r</sup> ho: upon some occasions throughe w<sup>ch</sup> he maie obtaine a settled determinaçon to contynewe in Somerset, by many desired there, beinge of credicte, by meanes of his honeste, discrete, & respective carriage. May it please yo<sup>r</sup> good L<sup>P</sup> to yelde him your favourable furtherance, either by yo<sup>r</sup> lres or otherwise upon allowable grounds of his reasonable suts, the w<sup>ch</sup> he shall make manifeste, doubtles he will not onlie highlie holde him self bound to yo<sup>r</sup> honor, but also my self will rest most thankfull in his behalf. He is w<sup>el</sup> knowne to the Lls of Northampton and Suffolk as I was tolde in London, in regard of his true

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true and faithfull services done to the lord vicount Byndon of whome he was long time a follower. Even soe referringe bothe my self, and him unto yor moste hoble and gracious favours doe commytt the same w<sup>th</sup> my many praiera unto the preservaçon of the Highest, and moste humblie take my leave. From Plymouth this Laste of Maye 1607.

Yor honors moste humble to commaund

GEORGE POPHM.

[Cecil Papers, 121-65.]

His recommendation was received favorably, as another document shows:

“Whereas Mr George Popham his Mats Customer of the Porte of Bridgewater and the members thereof being by my good liking and consente gonn in the late voyage to Virginia,” appoints Rowland Jones as Deputy during his absence. 1607.

[Cecil Papers, 124-115.]

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Near the close of this year was issued from the press an important and serviceable work relating to the opening period of settlement into which the Popham enterprise falls. “The Genesis of the United States,” by Mr. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, the results of years of eager research, mining for materials in the very sources

sources of history, is mainly a series of original manuscripts, numbering 365, pertaining to the years 1605-1616, in which the English nation secured a firm foothold on the American coast by colonies which laid foundations for these United States. To show these beginnings, weak, harrassed, tottering, beset by hitherto unrecognized difficulties, is the purpose of Mr. Brown's rich volumes. He has drawn from well known early histories, from rare books, tracts, and various issues of the press in the period studied, but more largely from records and documents never yet published. The copies of official papers obtained from the Spanish archives are exceedingly interesting and valuable. Notes, memoranda, outlines, from the author's hand, help the documents to tell the story, or make references to subsidiary materials for the historian's study of details. The greater part of these documents concern the settlements on the James river and the Chesapeake; small portions bear directly upon operations on the coast of Maine.

Chief in importance among the treasures Mr. Brown has collected, and of great value in aid of our present study, is the "Plan of St. George's Fort," (p. 190.) It gives clear and conclusive evidence on several points, and is very serviceable in respect to the finer details. In anticipation of these volumes of Mr. Brown, somewhat

what of delay in bringing out this work seemed reasonable and necessary, to gain the benefit of his valuable materials.

This carefully drawn plan, unless somewhat exaggerated on paper, gives evidence of the elaborate character of the fort, which was the home and the defence of the colony, and as well the token of permanent seizure of the soil of Maine. It heightens in a measure our conception of the original purpose and vigor of the enterprise. It will be further considered in the Appendix under Location of the Fort, etc.

It is, however, a curious fact that this plan of Popham's Fort should come to us from the Spanish archives alone. Were a copy in existence anywhere in England, it seems it would by this time have been brought to light. Hence these questions: Were copies of the plan drawn, or engraved, and freely distributed, or did the Spanish ambassador, by his friends, his tools, his spies, obtain a copy, or even pirate the single original? It must be regarded fortunate in the extreme that a copy was by the ambassador transmitted as an official paper to his master, Philip III, and thereby preserved, and now, after 280 years, brought out to bear witness to students of history respecting the transient colony at Sagadahoc.

Other

Other contributions to our knowledge of the enterprise, from this collection of manuscripts, are but few and fragmentary and have no pronounced value; indeed, being rumors and reports gotten by the Spanish ambassador or his agents, they became questionable for historical reliance, but must be introduced here.

A letter of the ambassador at London, Don Pedro de Zuniga, to Philip, of January, 1607, informs him of the preparation of armed vessels for Virginia, and the intention to send two each month till they have 2,000 men there; then further adds: "And they will do the same from Plymouth, so that there also two vessels are ready to sail." (Page 88.) This indicates that the adventurers of the north colony had made seasonable progress; still, these vessels reported "ready to sail,"—undoubtedly the *Gift* and the *Mary* and *John*—did not sail till the end of May, unless, as is most improbable, they were vessels of which we have no trace elsewhere.

In a letter of July 30, 1607, referring to his previous report of the movement towards Virginia, Zuniga finds nothing to add, "except that the Chief Justice has died, who was the man who most desired it, and was best able to aid it." (Page 104.)

In these despatches to the Spanish court, he employs the name Virginia, without distinction of north and south

south colonies. But he evidently makes special reference to the former in a letter of the 8th of October, reporting: "I hear that from Plymouth they have settled another district near the other. I shall be careful to find out about what is going on, and I shall report to Y. M. [Your Majesty]; but I should consider it very desirable that an end should be now made of the few who are there, for that would be digging up the Root, so that it could put out no more." (Page 122.) In more vigorous terms does he express his opinions in hostility to English colonies fastening upon territory Spain would claim, and urges active and severe measures, in a letter to the King of October 16th, after receiving through the Earl of Salisbury King James' reply expressing unwillingness to order the return of colonies, as that would be acknowledging the Spanish claim. Zuniga writes:

"Those who are urging the colonization of Virginia, become every day more eager to send people, because it looked to them as if this business was falling to sleep after all that has been done for it, and before Nativity there will sail from here and from Plymouth five or six ships. It will be serving God and Y. M. to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose." [Page 124.]

The Spanish Council repeats this plea, and Nov. 10, advises the king that to take possession of Virginia will

dispossess the English, and therefore, though proceeding cautiously,

“It will be well to issue orders that the small fleet stationed to the Windward, which for so many years has been in a state of preparation, should be instantly made ready, and forthwith proceed to drive out all who are now in Virginia, since their small number will make this an easy task, and this will suffice to prevent them from again coming to that place.”

And Philip endorsed his council's report with—

“Royal Decree: Let such measures be taken in this business as may now and hereafter appear proper.” [Pages 126-7.]

But no fleet reached the Sagadahoc, nor the James river, for postponement of the project became necessary on account of the long delay to ensure readiness for the task.

Similar warlike counsel, vigorous purpose, then delay, indecision and inaction are disclosed by Spanish documents during subsequent years till action could be of little avail, also reports of the weakness of the colonies, that they would die of themselves, or be withdrawn, aided the dallying attitude of Spain.

On the 15th of January, 1609, Zuniga writes his master:

The

“The colony which the Chief Justice sent out to Virginia has returned in a sad plight. Still there sails now a good ship and tender, to be somewhere in the neighborhood of the Havana, (i. e., to go by a route passing somewhere near Havana, Cuba.) From the best information that I can obtain they say that they carry news of having probably found some mines; this is not certain. They will proceed to the aforesaid Virginia, where they will endeavor to make themselves very strong.” [Pages 197-8.]

Two days later he writes again :

“They are likewise negotiating with the Baron of Arundel \* \* that he shall engage to go with 500 Englishmen, and with as many Irishmen, to settle in Virginia, to fortify themselves there, and to take the necessary supplies, so as to put it in the best state of defense.” [Page 198.]

Another letter of March 5, 1609, which he sends to Philip, says :

“On Dec. 12, I wrote Y. M. how two vessels left here [London] for Virginia, and afterwards I heard that they carried up to 150 men, most of whom were men of distinction.” [Page 243.]

Zuniga then treats of propositions made to Arundel, his conditions and demands,—the rejection of them, and his exclusion,—which the ambassador thinks was really on the grounds that he was suspected of being a Catholic.  
lic.



lic. Zuniga plainly exhibits Arundel currying the favor of Philip, and ready with duplicity to subserve his purposes.

Philip, in a letter in May, directs to be cautious in dealing with Arundel, "for he may be a traitor."

His long letter closes with this sentence :

"I have also been told that two vessels are leaving Plymouth with men to people that country which they have taken which is farther of." [Page 247.]





## APPENDIX.

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### VOYAGE OF CAPT. HENRY CHALLONS.

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**T**HIS preliminary voyage (*Vide* Introduction, p. 11) bore so vital a relation to the whole enterprise, that all known details of the misfortunes of the company are properly required in this work. Gorges had given a brief statement in the "Brief Narration;" the narrative by the escaped pilot, John Stoneman, (*Purchas*, Vol. 4, p. 1832,) covers events for more than a year, Aug., 1606, to Oct., 1607. These recent most valuable works, Mr. Baxter's "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine," and Mr. Brown's "Genesis of the United States," previously noticed, make quite complete our information of this disastrous undertaking. From these four sources the materials for this sketch are obtained.

Gorges seems to imply (*Brief Narration*, p. 18) that he sent out this ship as his own adventure. Others give to Sir John Popham an equal or larger share in it, for Stoneman writes, "Victualled for eleven or twelve months, at the charges of the Honourable Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges,

Gorges, Knight, Captaine of the Fort of Plimouth, together with divers other Worshipful Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Country." Nevill Davis writes from Seville to Justice Popham, addressing him as "one of the chiefest adventurers." A quantity of merchandise was shipped in charge of a factor, Daniel Tucker, indicating a plan for foreign trade as well as examination of the country. Indeed Stoneman stated that if any good occasion offered they were to leave in the country as many men as could be spared. In respect to the destination of the ship, Tucker writes, "bound for Floredae;" Davis writes, "in a pretended voyage, beinge for a new discovery in norweast parts, lat. 41°-42°." These statements may indicate that secrecy or dissimulation was employed to cover their purpose. But Stoneman, when certainly there was little need of pretence, wrote clearly, "for the North Plantation of Virginia," and discovery of the coasts about Lat. 43° 30'. Gorges likewise shows, that it was intended for those parts whence the savages had been taken by Waymouth. He also in his Narration, written long after, and liable to errors by the dim memory of an old man, avers that he ordered Challons and company to take a northerly course, rather than the customary one, or be charged with any miscarriage of the voyage, and that his orders were violated. Stoneman makes no admission of the fact of departing from instructions, but states that after they had passed the Canaries, contrary winds drove them to a more southerly course than intended. No one of Gorges' letters of the time, which we have as yet, hints at any violation of instructions; indeed, his letter to Challons has not a word of blame, but rather a commendation, "I rest satisfied for your part of the proceeding of the voyage," calling it his "misfortune." Nor does Stoneman support Gorges in his statement of the sickness of Challons, and misspent time at Porto Rico. He says they  
generously,

generously put ashore there a Franciscan friar, whom in pitiable plight they had taken from Dominica. From thence they made in their northward course 180 leagues, then were assailed by a furious storm of two days, and evidently in the clearing of the rain and fog, Nov. 10, they found themselves in the midst of a Spanish fleet, and were forced to submit to capture and harsh and brutal treatment. The vessel was plundered, and the company distributed into five ships of the fleet, which were ordered to Seville. Stoneman and six others were put into one of 180 tons, the Peter, of Seville, and after many days in the proved incompetency of the pilot, he yielded to solicitation and took charge, and was the first to bring his ship to port, reaching the bar of St. Lucas Christmas eve. Their examination before the Duke of Medina, by the aid of an interpreter, David Nevill, an Englishman, of St. Lucas, told in their favor, but they were sent to Seville, and there without examination were thrust into prison. Others from the several ships, including the Captain, within a month came to share their misery. Stoneman and several associates had been examined by the President of the Contractation, and no just cause of offence found, but attempts were still made to elicit information respecting Virginia. It seems that these men were detained as prisoners for this one chief purpose, but also the whole matter was used as a means to warn off the English from the American coast, to which Spain laid claim. Capt. Challons, by the favor of the Duke of Medina, was at his coming given his freedom, but generously remained to succor his distressed crew, and shared their imprisonment, soon, however, gaining a degree of liberty under bonds given by two English merchants. The master, Nicholas Hine, likewise at his coming released by the Duke, but fearful of the future, hastened away from the city and reached England. It is supposed he arrived early in March, (1607) for on the  
13th

13th, Gorges wrote to Challons, acknowledging the letters Hine, (or Hines) had brought.<sup>165</sup>

One ship, to which the merchant Tucker and three others had been assigned, by mischance of the seas, put into the harbor of Bordeaux. Here the French authorities liberated them, and Tucker libelled and seized the ship for losses by capture. The losses of ship's stores and merchandise were estimated at nearly 15,000 francs. The ship was owned in St. Malo, and was commanded by Alphonse Camache. The case was continued for two years, and finally Tucker was non-suited on some legal technicality, of deficient security.

165. The remainder of this letter, a part of which has been given on p. 144, is appended here, as it relates to this voyage.

Mr. Chalinge.—I received your l're sent me by the Mr. Nicholas Hines by whom I rest satisfied for your pte of the proceedinge of the voyadge and I doubt not but you wilbe able to aunswer the expectaçon of all your freinds. I hoope you shall receive verie shortlie if alreadie you haue not, an attestation out of the highe Courte of Admiraltie to giue satisfaccon of the truth of our intents, yt sett you out let me advise you to take heede that you be not ourshott in acceptinge reconpence for our wrongs received \* \* \* [as on p. 144] \* \* \* therefore your demands must be Aunswerable hereunto, and accordinglie seeke for satisfaccon which cannot be lesse than fivie thousande poundes and therefore before you conclude for

losse attende to receive for resolution from hence if they Aunswere you not thereafter for if their condiçon be not such as shalbe reasonable we do know how to right ourselves, for rather than we will be loosers a penny by them we will attende a fitter time to gett us our Content and in the meane time leave all in their handes therefore be you careful herein, and remember yt it is not the business of Merchants or rovers, but as you knowe of men of another ranke and such as will not pferre manie Complayntes nor exhibite diuers petitions for that they understande a shorter way to the woode so Commendinge you to God and Continuinge My selfe

Your most assured and lovinge

Freinde

FERDINANDO GORGES.

Plimouth 13th of Marche 1606.

curity. He had hastened from Bordeaux to England, and made the first report of the disaster, about the first of February (1607). Gorges, under date of February 4th, advises Cecil of the fact, and asks that the Secretary take means to obtain satisfaction for losses by a demand on Spain. He enclosed a statement by Tucker of the facts in the case. Gorges writes:

“Our great expectaçon for the discoverie of our newe fownd Countrey hath unhappelic bin Crost by our good frinds the spaniards whoe thinking much that wee should inheirit the libertie of Land or Seas, hath seased upon our shipp and men (as by the relation here inclosed yt may more att leardg appeere) wch by storme and tempest weere put in to Burdeox in Fraunce in one of the spanishe ships, against whome wee must humbly intreate yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>pp</sup>s favoure to farther our proceedings for recoverie of satisfaction not onelie for our shipp & goods, but our henderances and damages, that they may knowe wee are not so slavishe that wee will indure their insolences, nor so base that wee will not seeke a juste revenge, yf they right us not according to reason & equetie.”

[Vol. III, p. 126.]

A paper is subjoined, briefly discussing the legal aspects of the case. First it suggests that it may be urged against the claim that the ship voyaged into Spanish seas at its own peril, and hence, in view of probable disputes and complications, it might be better to leave the prisoners to their fortune, than to stir up greater inconveniences by inquiry into legal rights. Secondly, it adverts to the question of right to trade in any part of the [W.] Indies not possessed by Spain, and takes the ground that these prisoners had not yet offended,—since navigation should be free,—in only sailing towards a place, possibly allowable under the treaty, and therefore they should not be rigorously punished, imprisoned and lose their goods. Hence the case might be thus presented in their behalf to the king of Spain, and justice demanded against the Spanish ship committing this robbery as would a pirate. It

It appears that after this misadventure, Tucker went to Virginia, his name appearing in the second charter, May 23, 1609. A letter from Jamestown July, 1610, shows that he had been nominated as a "clarke of the store." In 1612, he had permit to visit England; and in 1616, Feb. 15th, received a commission to be governor of the Bermudas.

Nevill Davis's letter of Feb. 4, 1607, to Chief Justice Popham adverts to "the misserye of dyvers poore men heere pryssoners that were taken in a small shippe of Plymouth called the Richard." He mentions eighteen men and two savages, the captain and one officer being released on bonds, and believes they have committed no offence, rather had their humanity to the Jesuit been the cause of their capture; he promises to aid them so far as he is able. He thinks the Spanish intend to prevent the English from going into those parts if they can, and advises any making the attempt to be very circumspect lest they be intercepted.

The letter of Gorges advises Challons to be cautious in effecting a settlement, as he estimates that by frustration of plans, and consequent heavy expenditures, likely by the mishap to be of no avail, they cannot be less than £5,000. Gorges also with spirit and pardonable assumption of loftiness and power on the part of himself and associates, endeavors to strengthen Challons' courage to demand full satisfaction, by the fact that he will be supported by those who "doe knowe how to right our selves," and suggests that he remember that the business in hand is not that of merchants and rovers, but of men of rank who have a shorter way to their purpose than by presenting petitions and complaints. He urges to have the savages and the company sent over speedily, and that Challons should also come if there be likelihood of long delay.

Again, in a letter to Secretary Cecil, of April 7, he beseeches continued

tinued effort "in advanceinge the relief of those pore wretches that we sent for the discovery of Virginia."

Gorges' injunctions had little worth to aid Challons in effecting a settlement, for the latter writes June 26, to Sir John Popham, that after all solicitations no answer was gained till June 5, and that in a haughty and threatening tone from the president of the council, who said that rather than the captured men should lack an executioner he himself would serve as hangman. Challons likewise is told that the prisoners are forgotten and disregarded, for no one cares to speak a word in their behalf, or they might long ago have been freed. Further details show one man dead, another stabbed fatally, the Indians taken away and made slaves, the ship sunk in the river and not likely to be recovered.

Again, July 3, he writes charging the English ambassador with carelessness, indifference, and even insincerity as well, really with double dealing, serving the interests of Spain. He now reports three men very sick, several dead, their bodies inhumanly and shamefully treated, himself under severe penalties not to speak with the Indians, whom they are striving to convert to their religion even by processes of starvation. He implores speedy relief, or it will be too late.

Under date of Aug. 7, Gorges writes to Cecil, acknowledging his lordship's honorable care to gain the release of the poor men, prisoners in Spain; for without his favor their case were desperate.

On Oct. 3, he forwards letters received from Challons, and with tender commiseration refers to "those poore afflicted creatures, whose miseryes ar made the greater, by how much our nation is helde in contempte and disdayne." He adds as one consideration which might appeal to the King, for his aid in the matters that "theyr employments had a good intente and was drawn on by his highnes



highnes gratiouse allowance thereof." He pleads that effective means be used for their release, though satisfaction for the loss of ship and goods be deferred to future opportunity. He writes in a similar strain, on Dec. 1, as he sends reports to Cecil, of the first news from the Sagadahoc Colony, but remarks that "all the rest of the adventurers have given them over." On March 20, 1607, [N. S. 1608] Gorges forwards information received, that Cecil might see with what success he had "soe worthily endeavored the libertie of those poore distressed soules that have this longe indured affliccion contrary to comon reason." He regards the facts as proof of the contempt in which Spain holds the English people, and believes the king should allow individuals to redress their unsupportable wrongs. Finally he advises Cecil, in a letter of May 2, 1608, that Challons had made his escape, forfeiting his bail as his case was so desperate, and had arrived in England in great want. He had left the rest "in greate extreimity."

They had now been some fifteen months in durance vile, and how many lives were miserably worn out by disease, hardship and cruelty, can not be known. Nor do any facts disclose after how much longer time in prison the remnant were released, but as of the two Indians,—whose names Stoneman gives as Mannido and Assacomoit, the latter was recovered by Gorges, perhaps a number of these wretched Englishmen were returned with him.

There was possibly greater eagerness and effort to obtain the release of the enslaved natives, than these sailors, for Indians could not be had in England every day. Capt. John Barlee wrote August, 1607, to the Secretary of Cecil, enclosing a list of the prisoners in Seville,—(not found), and entreated him to use influence with Cecil, in "recovery of two salvages, Manedo and Sasacomett, for that the adventures [adventurers] do hold them of great prize and to be used

used to their great avail for many purposes." Gorges sent Sassacomett (Assacomoit) to America with Capt. Hobson in 1614.

Nearly half of the company can be accounted for,—as liberated or escaping to England, or dying,—the superior in command Challons, his subordinates Hine and Stoneman, Tucker the factor, and five others. Humfrie the boatswain, and Cooke, and some others had died, and some were very sick in the previous July. In ten or more months subsequent, others must have succumbed under ill-treatment and privations, and but a fraction ever saw England again. Gorges, in his Narration, recalls the trouble and expense laid on himself and Popham in seeking the liberation of these prisoners, which he says "was not suddenly obtained." He implies such recovery, but in a general statement may not sharply distinguish between restoration by demands on Spanish government, and the return of such as at length escaped.

In Aug. 1608, the king of Spain sent to his ambassador in London, a report of his council, giving reasons for sending to the galleys "the English who in 1606 were taken in the West Indies." This most suitably applies to a few of the crew of Capt. John Legat's ship, taken near Cuba. Fourteen out of eighteen were hanged, and two were taken to the prison at Seville before Stoneman escaped. If these were the men condemned to the galleys, some of Challon's crew may have been joined with them, but it must be regarded a matter of doubt. By such indignities and cruelty, while the pusillanimous James and his officials seemed to care not,—Spain was warning the English from her alleged possessions, and was making an instance like this tell upon her purpose to expel them from the whole American coast. For several years it was a main aim of Spanish diplomacy, by her ambassadors in London, her seamen and her spies everywhere to ferret out sufficient  
facts

facts to warrant the attempt to drive out the Virginian colonists. The Spanish ambassador reports, and the council repeats it to the king in Nov. 1607, that as five or six ships were expected soon to sail from London and Plymouth, it was "important to drive these people out from there, at once, hanging them in time which is short enough for all that has to be done." A similar tone prevailed in dispatches for successive years. But there was dallying with the question, and delay from ignorance of the facts, and hesitation to take a step assuring war, and also from the hope that the colonies would die of themselves.







POINT POPHAM.

1891

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## LOCATION OF THE COLONY.

**F**OR obvious reasons, inquiry will be directed to the locality made historic by the Sagadahoc colony. A general determination is assured by ample evidence. "The westerly peninsula," as Purchas wrote; or as Strachey, "at the mouth or entry of the ryver on the west side, being almost an island, of a good bignes"; and likewise the original authority, the foregoing Lambeth MS. (*Vide antea*, p. 66) clearly point to the peninsula at Sagadahoc, formed by the sea, the river, and Atkins' bay, and long known as Hunnewell's neck. Since historical attention has been turned to it, the name Sabino has been applied, which Strachey regarded as the aboriginal name of the province in which it is included. The name Sabino Head now appears on the U. S. coast survey charts. The early writers, DeLaet, Heylin, Ogilby, likewise assign the colony to the peninsula at the mouth of the river.

But Maine's first historian, Hon. James Sullivan, put forth novel and diverse opinions. (*Vide antea*, pp. 104-7). He first assigns the colony to Parker's island, which is east of the river. Next, he as confidently makes Stage island, south of the former, the place of landing and chief residence. He indeed mentions Ogilby's statement, that they began on a peninsula on the west of the river, but gives no heed to it as an authority, though it may have led him to remark as if he had knowledge of their purpose,  
that

that they intended to begin on the west side. He makes tradition his authority for the Stage island landing, and probably it had in like manner certified to him that of Parker's island previously. The same facts without doubt obtained in his day as in recent years; persons having a mere smattering of local history, have taken traces of ancient occupation as evidence of the site of Popham's settlements, that being the one fact best known in the antiquities of that region. We may confidently assume that traces of former occupation and existing remains of old structures were the real basis of Sullivan's opinion in this matter.

With equal confidence we may assume that Gov. Williamson deferred to Sullivan's views and to those prevailing among the people of the vicinity in accepting the Stage island landing. But by a wider range of historical reading than may have been possible for his predecessor, he was forced to transfer the colony for its permanent location to the peninsula west of the river. Those traces of ancient occupation on Stage and Parker's islands can now be quite well explained, yet had they helped dim traditions to locate the colony. Such conclusions of early writers, history can now wholly reject.

The evidence which points to the peninsula of Sabino is beyond question. But research must be carried still further, and must, if possible, find the very spot where fort walls were raised, houses built, and culverins planted for defence.

The peninsula may be described as a huge misshapen triangle, having the sea at its base on the south, the river and river's mouth on the east, while making in upon the north from the Kennebec, having cut away the acute angle, is Atkins' bay, extending southwest a mile and a half. Between the head of the bay and the sea is spread out the sandy, marshy neck which unites with the main land.

land. Here evidently in the long ago ages, the ocean had free entrance, but at length cast up a barrier of sand against itself.

Situate at the left of the entrance to the Kennebec, this tract rises into a bold promontory, some 100 to 150 feet in elevation. Gneiss and granitic ledges, wooded heights, rough, craggy, precipitous towards the sea, extend northward along the center, but slope towards the east and west, affording portions of arable soil. It is fringed on the east and south by a noted beach and sand dunes; and within these on the southeast, imprisoned near the cliffs, is a small fresh water pond. This peninsula forms the southeasterly extreme of the town of Phipsburg. It is earliest known in the possession of the family of the elder John Parker, doubtless by him obtained from the Indians. It was next held by the Boston merchants Clarke and Luke, who sold it in 1671 to Ambrose Hunnewell, from whose occupation it gained its best known name, Hunnewell's neck, remaining in his family some sixty years. It was formerly estimated to comprise 250 acres.

Upon this peninsula search for the desired site will be guided in measure by the purpose of the colony. As it came to seize and hold the soil for the British crown and also to engage in commerce in the products of the country, its fort would be placed by navigable waters for the convenience of shipping, and in fair proximity to the channel of the river. Those rocky heights did not attract the colonists to an impregnable nesting-place; rather did they require a home by the affluent tides. This presumption greatly restricts the field of inquiry. Only about the northern part of the peninsula do these conditions obtain. Ships could lie safely at anchor only in the river channel or in the entrance to the bay, since further down the bay the tide's ebb lays bare the flats. A site formerly examined (*Ancient Dominions*, p. 227), well down on the



the eastern side of the bay, and assigned to the ancient fort, and elsewhere approved, (Popham Memorial Vol., pp. V. and 354), would not now be regarded as entitled to any favor. At this point stood Hunnewell's house, and here also later was that of the next owner, Job Lewis, Esq., of Boston. Mr. John Marr built his house at this place some forty years ago, and dug out tools and various relics.

At the Popham celebration of 1862, (Memorial Vol., pp. 47, 87) twice did remarks allude to the ancient fort, as if it had been situated where the present fort was then in construction. Nor does it appear that at that time very definite opinions had been reached by persons versed in history, as indeed very little general attention had been bestowed upon the matter.

In 1807, Rev. Dr. William Jenks, of Bath, with a few friends, made a visit, and reaching conclusions on the probable site gave the name Point Popham to the locality determined. But the name gained no anchorage, and no record nor memoranda were preserved to show the basis of opinions, nor the spot on which they bestowed a name. (Popham Mem. Vol., p. 226; Me. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 285.)

Our historian, Williamson, gives his conclusions clearly and confidently, designating a locality then known as Hill's point as the site of the Popham settlement. He shows that this point lay to the west of the U. S. fort. He also believed that remains of the ancient fort could then be seen. It is quite certain that he received his information, if he did not also visit the place, from Hon. Mark L. Hill, who was for a time the owner of the peninsula. The latter at an earlier date, 1819, had expressed his opinions (*Vide* Bath Times, June 3, 1878): "They landed first on Stage island, and then on Hill's point, a farm I now own in Phippsburg on the western extremity of the entrance of Kennebec river, near the present fort erected

erected by the United States." Mr. Hill's views were quite possibly derived chiefly from Sullivan's history, to which he refers, as also from local traditions and existing remains. Sullivan had written of the remains of a fort, walls, and houses. He does not show precisely at what place, but leaves for us a plain inference that they were on the peninsula opposite Stage island.

We may not doubt that Hill's point, mentioned by the owner and by Williamson, and Point Popham named by Dr. Jenks' party, and the site of the old structures known to Sullivan, all refer to one and the same place. Williamson defines it as situated a short distance west of the U. S. fort. Reference to the map comprised in this work will exhibit the localities.

From the northern angle of the Sabino peninsula, there is thrust out still northward along the Kennebec channel a narrow spit of ledge and coarse sand. At its extreme stands the U. S. fortification, on the site of the earlier work of defence, constructed 1809-1812. Westward from this spur of ledge, two other points of land push out their graceful curves upon the bay. The western is narrow and much the smaller,—Horse-catch point,—an ancient name of evident meaning. The eastern, distant from the present fort 400 yards, across a cove, is in form nearly a semicircle, lying at the base of the ledges which form an irregular wall in the background, and rise in steep grades towards the height on the south now named Sabino Head. A line drawn from side to side across the point at the base of the ledge, cutting off this large segment of a circle, measures 625 feet; while one at right angles to this, bearing almost precisely towards the magnetic north, shows the longest distance in that direction to the bay to be 275 feet. This irregular segment, which without precision may be termed a plateau, slopes gently towards the north, and has by generous estimate an area of  
two

two acres. To this point lead all the dim and broken lines of evidence thus far discovered and followed. Here beyond question were the remains of ancient structures. This must have been Hill's point, and this also failed to retain the offered name, Point Popham, which should now be again given it. It presents an unbroken surface, which cultivation has cleared and enriched, and prepared for the dwellings and gardens which are now upon it. Here relics,—a copper kettle and various articles, were formerly exhumed. Traces of a covered way or a deep ditch to the tide were once very plain. A spring in the bank, just above the tide flow, furnishes fine water. Not an acre on the whole peninsula can compare with this plat in claims for ancient occupancy.

Persons of the past generation, and a few now living, had clear knowledge of the remains of an earth-work or embankment, in the best report of memory estimated at sixty to seventy-five feet square, and portions of it five feet high. Cultivation leveled it nearly fifty years ago. By reference to the engraving, its precise location will be indicated by the stable attached to the house (Mr. Nath'l Perkins') in the center of the picture.

This ruined earthwork was believed by many to be the remains of Popham's fort; so Williamson or his informants regarded it. Its history, however, traced back a century and a half, is very dim, and evidence for its origin very unsatisfactory. Forty years before Sullivan wrote of it, the survey in 1750, by the company of the Kennebec Purchase,—or Plymouth company, as ordinarily termed,—had noted an old fort at this place. Anterior to this date, to maps, documents, statements, giving direct evidence in respect to it, we cannot go. In the controversy soon after, of that company with other landholders, there was a proposition to make inquiry of aged Indians regarding the old earthwork at the mouth of the Kennebec.

nebec. No report, however, of any such investigation appears, but the proposition seems proof that then little or nothing was known respecting it. It was an "old fort," or ruined work in 1750, and accepting the apparent fact of the lack of knowledge of it on the part of the older residents along the river, it will be manifest that it could not have been built for defence in the previous Indian wars of that century. Indeed, we are quite well assured where all such structures then stood. In the wars of the previous century,—1675-6 and 1688-9,—all evidence and probabilities make against a fort at this place, since one garrisoned in 1688, on Stage island, was sufficient for the district at the mouth of the river. But it must not be too confidently asserted there was none, for one may have been begun and abandoned. Still every probability carries back this structure regarded as a fort, to the first half of that first century of settlement.

Indeed, its origin in this period has been accounted for. Several historical writers have averred that the new Plymouth colonists in their enterprise on the Kennebec, 1628-1660, had a fort or trading post at the mouth of the river. In an examination of the matter, details must be omitted, but these points will appear: 1. Uncertainty and diverse opinions regarding the situation of the Plymouth fort. 2. An impression, if no more, or a quite definite opinion prevailed, as our historians show, that three such stations for trade were occupied. 3. The insufficient historical basis of opinion is clearly indicated by Williamson's expression, "*It is understood*, that the stations selected for local traffic were at Popham's fort, at Richmond's landing, and at Cushnoc." His sense of the lack of proof did not hinder others from accepting the statement as fact. 4. The alleged trading-post at Richmond is known to have been occupied by other parties. Similar error may have been made in respect to  
an

an alleged trading-house at the mouth of the river. 5. One trading-house is fully proved,—established beyond question at Cushnoc,—a short distance below the present Augusta dam. 6. There is no historical evidence, explicit and decisive, for more than this one station. 7. Early Pilgrim writers themselves mention but one such post,—never writing the plural, “houses.” They clearly imply the location at Cushnoc. 8. The recent valuable and exhaustive study of their history (*The Pilgrim Republic*, by Mr. John A. Goodwin; 1888) neither by a word direct nor the least implication, permits the thought that there could have been more than a single post,—that at Cushnoc. It seemed hardly possible but that some incidental expression or reference would have been employed by Bradford, Winthrop and others, hinting at several stations if such had been the fact. The writer’s search to that end has been vain. (For the principal historical references, *Vide* Prince’s *Annals*, p. 169; Sullivan, *District of Me.*, pp. 170, 174, 294; Williamson’s *Hist. Me.*, Vol. I, pp. 52–3, 233, 236–7, 252–3, 370, Vol. II, p. 90; *Coll. Me. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 2, pp. 200, 275; Hanson, *Hist. Pittston*, p. 31; North, *Hist. Augusta*, pp. 3, 4, 7, 78; Bradford, *Hist. Plymouth*, p. 317; Baylie’s *Hist. New Plymouth*, Vol. I. pp. 151–8, 206.)

The ruined fort and buildings observed a century ago cannot, therefore, on good historical basis, be assigned to the Plymouth colony. Such an opinion did indeed gain foothold, and entered history, but evidence now adduced discredits it, though not able to speak positively in the negative. Nor has history as yet any adequate explanation of those ruins, but may offer reasonable theories, equal at the least to that which regards them as the work of the men of Plymouth. An old tradition has held that the immigrant John Parker came to the Sagadahoc as early as 1629, and engaged in

in fishery, though later turning to husbandry. We know that this, or another John Parker, was thus engaged in this vicinity, being a master fisherman at Damariscove, in 1645. (Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., Vol. 1, p. 383.) We first find the Sabino peninsula in the possession of John Parker, probably so held previous to his purchase of Salter's island, and his (Parker's) island, in 1648 and 1650. These structures on point Popham are in entire agreement with the operations of some early fishing company in which Parker may have had an interest.

Again, Clarke and Luke were the next owners, and it is an allowable supposition that they first began their business by a location here at the mouth of the river previous to their larger enterprises undertaken at Arrowsic and Teconnet. A rude stockade, and adjacent log houses for workmen, will agree with the requirements of their business, or of an earlier fishing company.

The report by Maverick (*Vide antea*, p. 129) of a visit in 1624, is conclusive that the old buildings known a century ago could not have been relics of the Popham occupation. The "old walls" do not comport well with the presumed original of the old fort, whose remains have recently disappeared. It seems if such a structure, —even embankments forming an enclosure of some sixty feet square,—was then existing he would have described it in other terms. His form of statement compels the inference that nothing indicating a fortified building or dwellings remained, and the presumption arises that some malign agency, as if mocking at the purpose of the builders, had swept away all their works.

It is then assured that the ruined structures observed in 1750 and subsequently can give no direct evidence for the site of Popham's fort. But indirectly they do have a value, because of the probability that the site first taken and subjected by civilizing agencies

agencies would be re-occupied by a subsequent party. Local traditions likewise have not been lacking, and these, in part, have supported the location now examined, but their value is slight, because they have never been sifted to determine what is real tradition, and what may be a new opinion constructed in recent times.

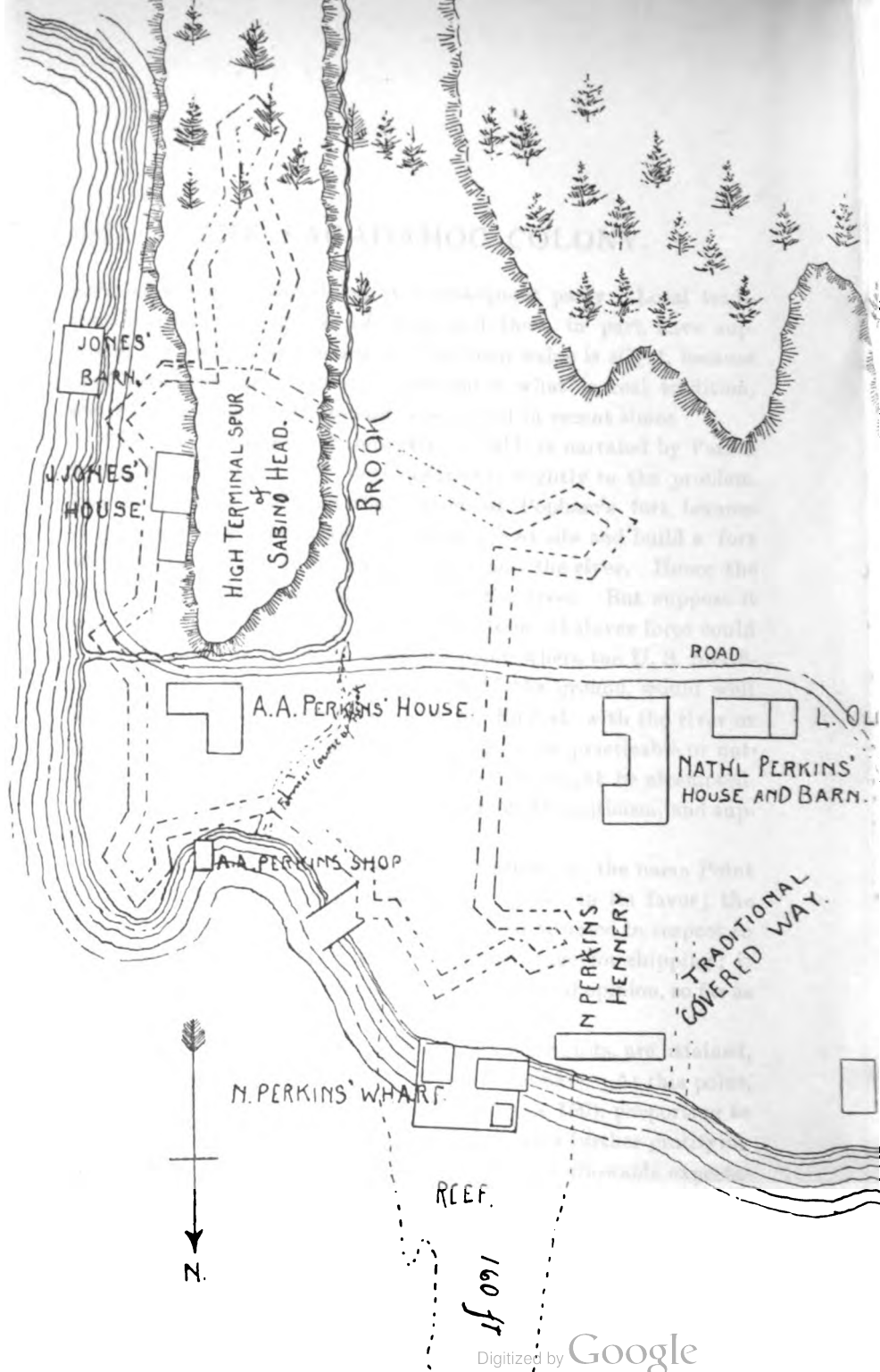
The visit of the French, however, in 1611, as narrated by Father Biard (*Vide antea*, p. 127), does contribute slightly to the problem. The Frenchmen criticised the location of Popham's fort, because they judged an enemy might seize an adjacent site and build a fort which would cut them off from the sea and the river. Hence the fort could not have been directly upon the river. But suppose it was within, on the shore of Atkins' bay, then whatever force could stealthily seize, as by night, upon the point where the U. S. fortification stands, there plant guns and hold the ground, would well command all water communication of the English with the river or the sea. Whether such a piece of strategy were practicable or not, the Frenchmen did see conditions in which it might be attempted. The relation of these two points precisely fits the criticism, and supports the location alleged.

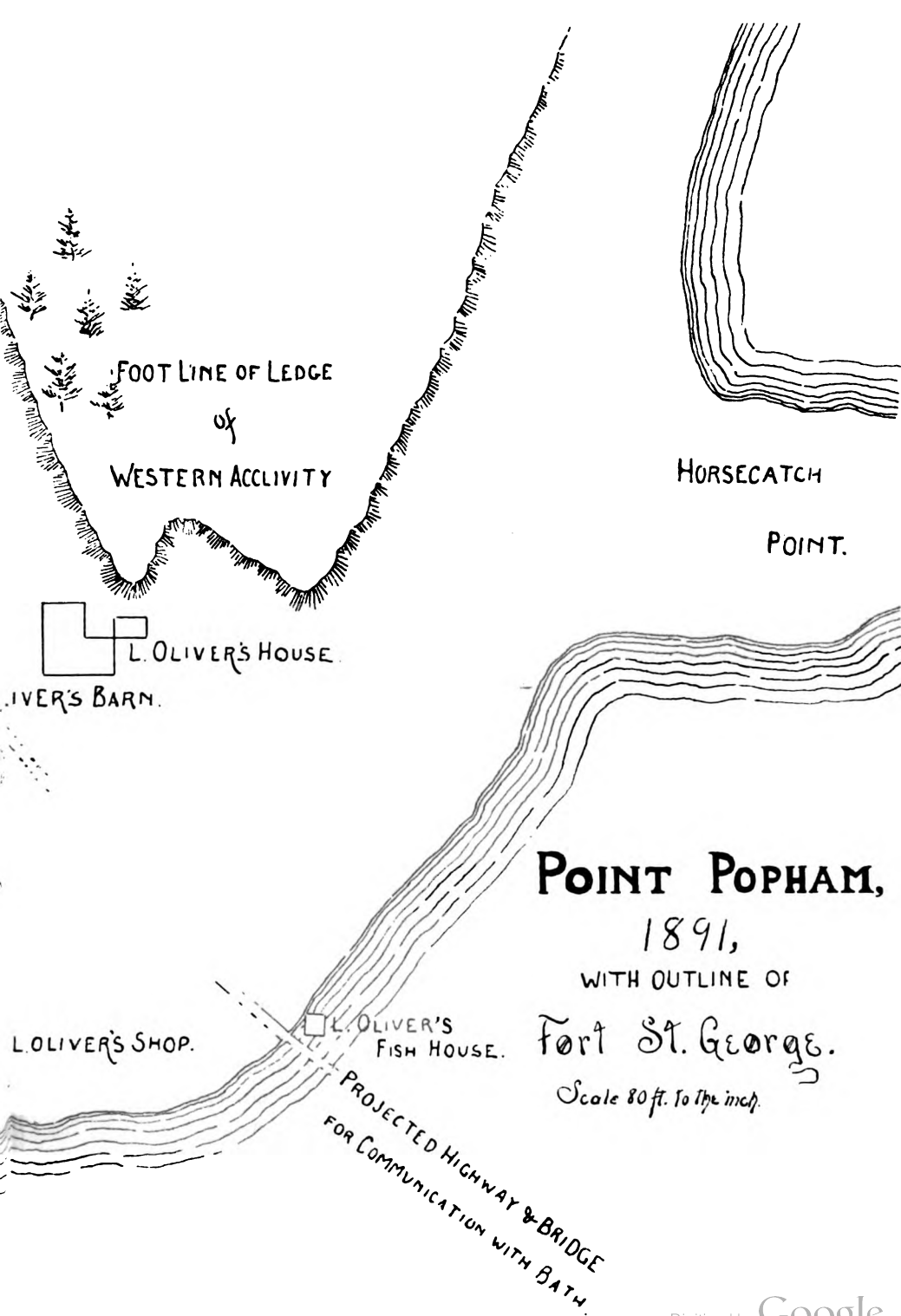
This plat of ground on Atkins' bay, entitled to the name Point Popham, may therefore claim so much evidence in its favor; the most available portion of the peninsula; best situated in respect to water supply, to soil for cultivation, to anchorage for shipping; it has also the main drift of tradition and of historical opinion, so far as these can be followed.

Thus far no conclusive, but only probable results, are attained, and the problem is in a measure still indeterminate. At this point, the discovery of an ancient plan (*Vide antea*, p. 150), purporting to be "The Draught of St. Georges Fort," furnishes further gratifying proof. It is a veritable surprise, almost beyond allowable expectation,











tion, and is a rich morsel of documentary history. If hesitation should arise in any quarter to accept its testimony to the extent and nature of the works exhibited, there can be none with respect to its evidence for the geographical locality of the colony. It has lain unnoticed and its value unsuspected, among the Spanish state papers deposited at Simancas. It is gratifying to obtain for the illustration of this work a faithful copy, exactly reproducing, in size and details, the original.

First of all, this plan makes conspicuous the fact that Fort St. George was so situated as to have navigable waters on the north and east, and land on the south and west. Point Popham will precisely meet these requirements. (*Vide* Map.) The entrenched enclosure, according to the scale of measurement, would comprise more than one-third of it. It would also closely agree with the shore outline on the east and north. The north-east bastion, the salient angle in the northern front, and the inward curve of the fort wall between the two, correspond very nearly with the present topography. The remainder of the plateau on the west would offer an acre of good soil for their incipient husbandry, as the garden and tillage grounds of the plan require.

Again, the plan shows a narrow extension of the fortified enclosure at the south-east, above one hundred feet in length and forty to sixty in width. The draughtsman also intended to show that this arm lay upon elevated ground which extends into the south-east corner of the fort. Here the plan is accurately verified by the topography. One of the buttressing spurs of Sabino Head pushes out northward, and in a moderate declivity drops down to enter and to lose itself in the plateau within the south-east corner. It is now a bare ledge some three hundred feet long, fifty to eighty feet in width, a huge convex ridge, of level areas, slopes and broken lines.

It is

It is clearly outlined in the left of the engraving of Point Popham.

The word "clyffe" upon the larger part of the fort outline evidently points at a natural wall of rock. We do find a rugged face of gneiss bounding Point Popham on the water front. It is a very marked feature of the high arm of the fort, rising from the tide level, in broken slopes seventy feet at the southern extreme, but diminishing with the declivity towards the north. On the western side of the arm, it is a solid wall in part perpendicular, in part sloping, ten to twenty-five feet high. This cliff of Sabino, an immense sea wall in prehistoric ages before the marshy sands and sand-dunes had been piled in between its foot and the river channel, is broken where the ridge drops down to the plateau, and the salient angle furnishes egress. A roadway built up from nature's favoring foundations leads down with the cliff on the right, and then turns to the east, and extends along the present limit of ordinary tides to the hotels and stores at Popham Beach. The sea-wall at the angle where the road issues is a dozen feet in height above the tide, but diminishes in advance towards the north and along the re-entrant curve of the cove upon that side, until but a narrow line of ledge is washed by the tide. Though the word "clyffe" is rather an exaggeration in the fort outline at the northerly curve on the bay, it is precisely verified in all the remainder of the shore and the high arm of the fort, and is the strongest proof of the exact location. These rugged walls are natural features, unchanging through many centuries. As the engineer of the colony adapted his defensive works to them, they remain mute but faithful witnesses.

Upon the north side is shown an extension or secondary point projected into the bay, and near this a ship at anchor. We now find a broken ridge of ledge covered at high water, extending from  
Point

Point Popham 160 feet. An equal distance further reaches the channel, and an area of soundings of nine to sixteen feet at low water. Here alone could vessels of much draught approach the plateau, or ride at anchor. The appreciable increase of the flats within the knowledge of older residents indicates that three centuries ago this reef of ledge was far more prominent, and that vessels, at least at high water, could have been laid near it. These existing features interpret the drawing, and suggest a project of Popham's men to utilize this ledge as foundation for a wharf.

The fort on the west and south was protected by trenches. These likewise are fully provided for in the central part of the plateau through which, in favorable soil, the lines of fortification would be run.

The plan also shows a stream of water flowing northward to the bay. The fact now verifies the plan. A rill comes down from the height, draining quite a tract, and flows close along the western face of the elevation. Not many years since it ran directly to the cove as shown in the plan, but for convenience of cultivation, the lower part was diverted into the ditch of the road, leaving in its bed an underground drain, while the stream is poured over the sea-wall on the east.

There is a depression or saddle in the high arm, which would offer a natural limit to the fortified work. The distance from this place to the point on the bay where the north-east bastion is represented, closely corresponds with the length of the fortification on the eastern side, according to the scale of the plan. This agreement in measurement is decisive evidence for the southerly limit of the work and a verification of the entire location. Fixing the limits on the eastern side by these natural features of shore and cliff

cliff, measurement will determine the remaining lines of the fortification, and it becomes an easy task to reproduce Fort St. George.

The site and the extent are now put beyond doubt. Evidence from two sources compels belief, and gives assured results. The sea-wall, the high cliff, the definite contours cut in the rock, and unchanged for ages, the brook, the cove, the adjacent area, are present conspicuous facts in the topography: then the plan, drawn on the spot at the time of construction, curiously secreted and preserved, and now disclosed, gives accurate and unimpeachable testimony. The plan, moreover, laid down upon the topography fits it as a glove the hand to which it belongs, when spread out upon it. The verification is complete under the thorough illumination of this ancient document.

Two minor points may be noticed. The fort was not an exact rectangle, as the course of the southern wall shows. Indeed, this wall being a continuation nearly of the cross wall over the height, if laid out at a right angle to the eastern side, would have carried the south-west bastion nearly to or upon the foot ledges of the acclivity. The divergence from a right angle avoids them, and strengthens that fortified line. Likewise, on the northern side the rectangular form would not have carried the lines of the salient angle west of the water-gate, near to the "clyffe," as the plan demands. Indeed, the shore at the wharf lies further to the north than that at the north-east corner. Here the rectangle must be re-shaped into a parallelogram to bring the north-west bastion near enough to the shore. In the fort outline in the accompanying map, a slightly larger divergence is made than in the original. Presumably the engineer's working type was a square fort. Natural features, however, forced a change, and it seems as if the divergence was even  
greater

greater than the plan exhibited. There would be less questions or cavil by military critics in England.

We may notice that the "draught" does not carry the declivity of the ledge so far into the main fort as the actual fact. Hence there appears a larger open area in the north-easterly section than existed in fact, and some of the buildings must have been set close about or upon the lower part of the ledge.

The fortification was in two parts; the main fort being a modified square, of 240 feet from angle to opposite angle; and the small extension carried out along the high ridge, 120 feet. The dividing wall across the spur has an open portal, in which was planted a saker to defend the upper and rake the lower work. Natural features determine the entrances; the land gate on the west led to their *farm* and garden; the water-gate opened upon the cove, and to it boats could come at high water, and possibly quite near at all stages of the tide, if there has been since much deposit in the cove. The postern-gate was situated at the south-east corner between the cliff and the tide, where now the only road goes up to the plateau. Measurement would locate it near the barn on the right. Probably portions of the foundations of this traveled way were laid by George Popham's men. The plan shows the positions of the guns; the demi-culverin on the extreme height could send warning shot to the river channel on the east, some 500 yards away. Two guns, falcons, are shown in the north-east bastion; two minions in the north-west, and one in the south-west, nine in all exhibited in the plan. The positions of the other three to make the twelve of the historian's report may not have been determined at the date of the plan.

The fort in fact may have been quite unlike the fort on paper, in elaborate design and construction. The plan can be regarded as a witness to little more than the form, and to the place of the walls,  
trenches



trenches and angles. The design is apparent to show the less elevation of the wall along the "clyffe" or sea-front, where the natural defences are strong, than against the land approaches. Nor will the plan tell us of the materials of which the walls were constructed. Those carefully drawn lines might suggest masonry, blocks of granite firmly laid, or even bricks for the inner face; but the supposition is at once rejected. No theory seems tenable, but that it was an earth-work, embankments faced and supported by wood. The spade and the axe are the only implements hinted at by the historian, though others are not ruled out. The journalist writes of the hard labor in the trenches, and the getting of "fagetts." The word does not hint at fuel, but it is an equivalent for "fascines," whose use in military engineering is well known. Bundles of rods or small poles, secured by withes, were the chief materials. No other supposition is allowable. These, filled in and built up with earth, and strengthened by an embankment, made the protecting walls of the fortification. Their aggregate length was above 450 yards. They were probably slender and weak at first, then carried higher and made firmer as time allowed, but we may conclude were never of much size. Maverick, less than twenty years later, found garden herbs, and "some old walles," as the only witnesses to the colony worth mention. The time employed in construction is not shown. On the 2d of October, still were they "all busy about the fort," but whether upon the fortification or upon the buildings is not hinted. We must presume that the several parts of the common work were pushed forward together, the defences, the houses, the ship. Strachey's summary says that after the departure of the ship they fully finished the fort, built houses and a church; this however has no value to indicate dates, but does lead to infer that all construction was finished before winter.

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The structures within the entrenchments will attract the curious and may evoke variety of opinion. Were they built, or only prospectively laid down on the plan? Strachey gives explicit testimony, which in the main must be accepted, in favor of the construction of as much as is here seen. A colony of a hundred men was set down in the wilderness. There were requisites for colony life, and such would be provided. A defensible enclosure of some kind, larger or smaller, must be had when they left the ships. A store-house, powder-house, bakery, public kitchen, smith's and cooper's shops were early required. Rude lodgings for laborers must be provided, before cold weather came or at once. It may seem that separate houses would not be needed for these subordinate officials, but military etiquette and customs of camp life would make demands and prevail. All of these buildings would be required some time; would they not be put up as fast as their force of laborers would permit? The question will be of ability to perform all this in a hundred days or less. How constructed, will make part of the answer. If small and rude, of logs chiefly, merely comfortable shelters for pioneers, no long time would be needed. Probabilities favor the historian's accuracy. The fort walls would have been built, though those on the cliff may have waited or have been slight; the chapel could have been postponed, and the quarters of some of the officers.

The whole number shown is eighteen. If we deduct chapel, storehouse, and another of the less important, we shall have fifteen, a number the most reasonable interpretation of Strachey's "fifty," for a letter or two would ensure the error. That number can now with assurance be effectually set aside which so long has been repeated almost unchallenged; yet how absurd, a village of fifty houses for six score men! The number exhibited is not unreasonable, indicates

indicates requisites, and has authority. We must hold that the fort and appurtenances in the main, as represented, were begun and made available for use before winter, though rudely and partially built. The variety of shape in the buildings would far more easily arise in copying the real, than in constructing from fancy. This "Draught" therefore is a transcript of intentions, and in the main of completions, but may be held as an exaggeration of the strength and nicety of the actual work. As flattering an exhibition as possible of their operations would be transmitted to England, for such was the tenor of Popham's reports. We note the storehouse near the water-gate, through which the lading of the ships must go in and out. It was begun on the last day of August, and as one ship began to discharge provisions. September 6th, shelter must have been prepared, which indicates how construction was pushed forward. The President's house was situated alone on the cliff, a place of watchful authority, as of eminent honor, and of amplest security, since culverin to the right of him and sakers to the left of him could have volleyed and thundered,—a spot most enjoyable for a summer cottage, but dismal and frozen amid the wrathful winds of winter. A house for him was built somewhere, it is assigned here; then here he lived and exercised his authority; and unless the rigors of excessive winter drove him down to warmer quarters, here he died. The chapel just below in the area can be nearly located, and according to English custom it had its churchyard about it, where the dead would have burial, for some there must die: then by this plan we can approximate the limits where the dust of George Popham has its resting-place.

South of the fort is a structure whose location might verify it, evidently a windmill. It stands upon a higher stage of the cliff, and would swing its arms more than a hundred feet above sea level.

Did

## THE SAGADAHOC COLONY. 185

Did they bring grain, and also equipment for a mill to grind it as need required? or would they raise it soon themselves, or barter for corn with the natives, and so must grind it? It is perhaps an embellishment of the drawing, only a prospective adjunct to be some time realized, yet not a plaything, but a device to help to prepare their food. Subsequent pioneer settlers a few miles up river had windmills for grain and lumber; why not Popham's men?

Attention may be called to the descriptive references of the plan, of which No. 17 seems to read "The Lake." Another copy, by change of the obscure letter, has "Labe." The true word undoubtedly was "Lade," a term in common use in that period, (also *lode, leat,*) applied to a reach of water, the mouth of a river, or to a ditch, a water-way, natural or artificial. This stream from the height would also ensure drainage from the trench, and the adjacent moist land on the south of the fort.

A short distance beyond the western limits of the fort, as now determined, a depression at the shore line exists. This formerly was deep and conspicuous and extended back many yards into the area. Opinions of older men, and traditions of an uncertain date, regarded it as the remains of a covered way of a fort, which ensured communication with the water. (Popham Mem. Vol. p. 354.) It is now made clear that if built for such a purpose, it could not have been an adjunct of Popham's fort. The position and the lines of the bastion and trenches seem fully to forbid. Nor did their work need a covered way at that point, since the watergate gave far more convenient egress. If it was such a way, it may be best referred to that unexplained "old fort," which must have succeeded Fort St. George. Its situation and apparent course would lead directly to that unknown earthwork.

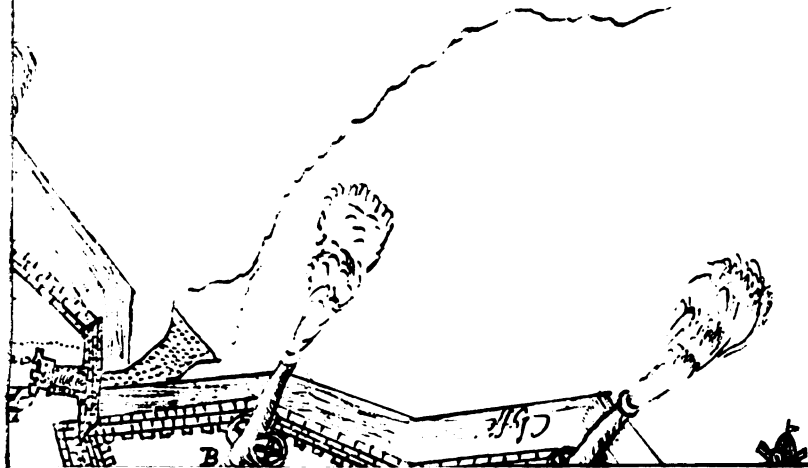
At many points the "Draught" gives testimony, and aids fancy  
to

to reconstruct the home of the colony, and to deliueate more discerningly the colony life. A work of such proportions enhances our view of the breadth and energy of purpose which dominated the enterprise. So much as is here shown, allowing a degree of exaggeration in details, does still speak of permanency; they built for the future, whose success and ample revenues they and their patrons hoped to secure.

The tourist or historical student can now set foot on Sabino with heightened zest that his steps need no longer to be aimless, for the light of recent knowledge has dispelled shadows, furnished verifications, and provided for the colony a local habitation. Vague theory or uncertain tradition are guides no longer, but evidences winning confidence.

The ancient seizure of Sagadahoc has historical significance, but no worth to be blazoned as a notable event of American history nor of chief distinction in the annals of Maine. It was one of the steps well aimed and vigorous in the inception, but in the end halting and frustrated, of England's occupation and supremacy in America.

If monuments are desirable to mark first steps or stages of advance in building this great nation, then does Sagadahoc reasonably invite attention. A stone of memorial has lain disregarded among materials of fort construction for almost thirty years. One main purpose, now withered and almost forgotten, of the celebration on the Sabino peninsular in 1862, may be reanimated and nourished into vigorous life. Let that stone, regained from the custody of the government, re-shaped or further inscribed, be set up on the spot where the colony was planted. Or some other monument or device with desirable accessories, some tablet, or an inscription carved in the solid cliff,—let it become an enduring witness, not simply





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simply to President George Popham, the man, nor to his associates and assistants, for they all were but agents, but to the purposes of Englishmen, who employed them, and to English aims and enterprise to extend English institutions and governments, as well as to reap commercial advantage in this western land.





## BUILDING THE "VIRGINIA."

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**T**O suggest a spot where their vessel was built will be entirely gratuitous. The conditions of the shore, convenience for launching, proximity of timber, would be determining circumstances. Other things equal, a place near the fortification would be expected.

A vessel constructed out of the timber of the country, and by the labor of the colonists, was a mark of wise policy in the company, and would facilitate its business. To this end, the required iron to be wrought in the smith's shop, the cordage and sails were brought out, and ship carpenters included in their force of workmen. A master in the art, one Digby, of London, directed the work, begun August 21st, the day after they broke ground for the fortification. The journal contains no reference to the progress of construction, and the historian simply states that a pinnace was built, leaving the date wholly indefinite.

A tradition, long existing in Phippsburg, avers that a vessel belonging to the colony wintered in Porterfield's cove, across the bay on the nothwest—moored, and by spars fended off from the shore, and frozen in the ice. Such a story, circumstantial and held as very ancient, has peculiar worth. Sailors serving in any of the ships afterwards coming to the river, or John Parker and other early

early fishermen, could gain and transmit the fact. Still a vessel so wintered one or two score years subsequently might be assigned to this earlier colony. If we accept, however, the waif of local tradition, it gives points in the history of the Virginia, for such it seems to have been. The opening of winter then saw the craft so far advanced as to permit launching, if not nearer completion. However used previously, it is said to have "served them to good purpose as easing them in returning." In the following year, it was in the fleet that sailed to the Southern Colony, as a letter from Jamestown, August 31, 1609, shows:—"In the boat of Sir George Somers, called the Virginia, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captain Davies and one Master Davies."

The historian's statement of the tonnage, "about some thirty tonne," reveals all we can know of her size. She was termed a pinnace or shallop, evidently suited by light draught for coast traffic in entering shallow harbor and rivers. The pinnace of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was only ten tons, as was also that in the Jamestown fleet of 1606. Capt. John Davis, in a voyage in 1586, had a pinnace of ten tons, and again two years later one of twenty. Sir George Somers, to escape from Bermuda, built one of thirty tons.

Some data respecting the size of ships in that period may have value in this connection.

1519. The largest of Magellan's was 120 tons; the average of five, 96 tons. 1525. The exploring vessel of Gomez, 60 tons. 1583. Humphrey Gilbert's largest was 120; two others were 40 each. 1586. Capt. John Davis piloted to the East Indies three vessels, of 120, 60, 35, and a pinnace of 10 tons; in a voyage in 1588, a ship of 60, and pinnace of 20; in 1598, two, the Lion, and the Lioness, of 400, and 250 tons. 1588. R. Hawkins' Swallow was 360 tons. 1594. Two vessels of the Earl of Cumberland were each 250.

250. 1592. Foreign ships were captured; the Spanish carrack *Madre de Dios*, 1,600 tons; a Biscayan, of 600, and in 1593, another of 500. 1595. A Spanish ship sunk by Sir F. Drake was rated 700 tons.

In 1601, two ships from St. Malo for the Indies were 400 and 200 tons. The Earl of Cumberland's *Red Dragon* was 600. 1602. Cecil writes of a Spanish fleet at Lisbon, in which were two of 1,000 tons and twelve of 200 and under. 1603. The two vessels in Pring's voyage were 50 and 26, and in 1606, that of Challons, 55. Newport's Jamestown fleet, in the same year, comprised one of 100, one of 40, a shallop of 10. 1609. Gates' vessel, the *Sea Venture*, was 300 tons. 1612-13. In Baffin's voyages, of nine vessels the largest was 260, five others were from 140 to 200. But in 1617 he sailed in the *Anne Royal*, 1,057 tons. 1613. Argall's Treasurer was 130. Sausaye's ship from Honfleur, at Mt. Desert, was 100. 1616. Brawnde's ship, the *Nacheen* of 200 tons, and the *David* of 140, were on the coast of Maine. 1600-1618. In a list of the East Indian Co.'s ships, three were respectively, 1,083, 1,000, 978; two smallest, 90 and 115, while the average of twelve show 564 tons. 1619. Of ships sent out to Virginia, three largest were 350, 300, 240; one of 25 was the smallest and the average was 170 tons. 1615-20. Capt. John Smith reports various vessels on our coast of 60 to 300 tons; an average of ten gives 176 each. 1620. The Pilgrim ships were 160 and 55 tons. In the same year is mentioned the *Vanguard* of 660. 1622. Gorges' ship, the *Katherine*, was 180 tons.

It is seen that vessels in the East India trade were the larger: those for exploration and the fisheries the smaller, some very small, but others reaching 200 and 300 tons. Dutch sea-going vessels were called "hulks," (really, *hourques*). These were likewise termed

termed fly-boats, and were built on the model of the Holland canal boat, broad, flat-bottomed, stem and stern alike. When of considerable tonnage, they had three masts, and carried one lateen and six square sails. "Hourques" ranged from 50 tons up to 200 and 300. The Gift of God was of this pattern, a fly-boat. Judging by the tonnage in the lists above adduced, and by the requirements of cargo and equipment to be carried out for the colony, we may safely conclude that their two ships were at the least 100 tons each. Gorges' particular mention of a ship of 200 tons to be sent out in May, seems to indicate a larger craft than previously employed; if so, the maximum limit for their fly-boat might be 150 tons.



## MOVEMENTS OF THE SHIPS.



COMMUNICATION between England and the colony has been very meagerly disclosed, but now approximate results can be attained. A former common opinion directly derived from Strachey has represented that the ship which returned to England in the winter came back in the spring, and in this and the Virginia the colony soon retired. But there were even then other data showing that Strachey's epitomizing did not represent the facts. "The Relation of the Council," though an abridged and general view, had mentioned "ships arriving;" Smith likewise had written definitely, "two ships arrived and some small time after, another." Gorges also wrote "ships arriving," and also quite clearly separates the announcements of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert. The "Relation" likewise indicates similar separate reports. These older authorities therefore warranted the opinion that more than one ship, and probably three at the least, as Smith wrote, were despatched to the colony. New information, especially that drawn from the letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, gives definite points in the movements of the ships, and aids in constructing a calendar in a fair degree accurate.

The suspension of the journal on the 6th of October, (*Vide antea*, pp. 16, 83) as Strachey's narrative forces to infer, and the conclusion

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sion that James Davies, an officer of the *Mary and John*, was its author, and the fact that the first vessel reaching England brought a journal of events to the time of sailing, create a probability that this vessel sailed from Sagadahoc about that date. Now we find the plan of Fort St. George inscribed, "taken out on the 8th of October, 1607,"—a fact which joined with the former seems conclusive proof of the date of sailing. Gorges reports the first arrival on December 1st, which beyond doubt was the above ship, after a voyage of about fifty-three days. The former outward voyage from England, including time consumed at the Azores, had been sixty-seven days. Gorges, writing in after years, lost from memory this first return voyage, and gave the 15th of December as the date of sailing,—in fact of the second ship. President Popham's letter of December 13th confirmed this date. Gorges' letter of February 7, 1608, notes the arrival of a second ship, evidently this one, the *Gift of God*, after a voyage of fifty-four days. Later than this we have no precise dates, nor does anything show that a ship had yet been sent over to the colony. But in a letter of the 20th of March, Gorges writes, we "have sent two shippes from Topsome for the supplies of those that be there." The time is wholly indefinite, but one would infer that it was not long previous. If between the first and middle of the month, their arrival at Sagadahoc cannot be assigned earlier than the first week of May. Gorges, (*Brief Narration*, p. 22) though we may not trust his memory for the order of events, says that upon the arrival of the ship which left the colony December 15th, orders were given to send back supplies, and that "the ships arriving in good time was a great refreshing to those that had had their store-house and most of their provisions burnt the winter before." These events well correspond and lead to believe that these supply ships which relieved the colonists, were the two despatched  
in

in the weeks previous to the 20th of March. Also there is no hint that one had been sent earlier, as the details of the Council's Relation seem to prove;—saying, that though Justice Popham had died, his son and others “omitted not *the next year*, (holding on our first resolution), to join in sending a new supply.” If so, no despatches nor supplies reached the colony for eleven months after departure from England. The delay of provisions till May, after they had lost so much by fire, might really threaten them with famine, and would help to interpret the fact stated by the historian that “short commons caused fear of mutiny.” Indeed, a letter of Gorges shows that the provisions in their outfit were not “answerable” to the intent and contract, and he also reports of the colonists that “theyr dyets were poore,” further evidence of scanty or unsuitable food. In the first ship their physician, Mr. Turner, had returned with information, and “to sollicite theyr supplies.” At his departure they had been more than four months away, and so the quality and the quantity of their provisions had been fully ascertained. Even if their foreseen requirements voiced by Mr. Turner, were not urgent, still delay till March does not indicate vigorous activity of the company. It also detained the physician, an important personage, from them some five months.

But such delay, from whatever cause, is most consistent with threatened famine, and with the report made by Gorges, of the departure of the two vessels. Though by him mentioned together, one may have sailed in February, and the other two or three weeks later. No facts, however, yet disclosed will permit belief that any communications reached the colony much earlier than the month of May—an apparent neglect.

In the letter of March 20th, Georges reports preparations and the intention to send out in May a third ship, of 200 tons. If the project

project was realized in that month, then a fourth ship must have sailed subsequently. But slow progress may have again prevailed, delaying that vessel till July. For we know that Sir John Gilbert died July 5, 1608, and this intelligence must have been carried out by the last ship. If Capt. John Smith's knowledge was accurate,—and he had opportunity to be well informed,—that two ships arrived, and subsequently a third, leaving the inference that these were all, it will verify the number given by Gorges. Hence the third, intended for May, probably did not sail till after July 5th, and was the one to inform the colony of the death of a prominent patron. If it sailed within ten days after Gilbert's death it would not have reached Sagadahoc before the first of September, and the middle of the month is quite as probable. Then if Rawley Gilbert's decision to return was immediate, and the consequent forced dissolution of the colony soon determined, two weeks or more might be required to transfer stores and equipments, dismantle the fort, and make complete the abandonment. The embarkation, therefore, could not have taken place till about the first of October, and the last week of November would have brought them to Plymouth. The will of President Popham was proved Dec. 2, 1608, which indicates arrival in the previous month.

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#### CALENDAR OF EVENTS IN THE COLONY.

1607.

1. May 31. Sailed from Plymouth: June 1, took departure from the Lizard.
2. June 25—July 1. At and near the Azores; ships separated.
3. July



3. July 31–Aug. 4. The *Mary* and *John* on the coast of Nova Scotia.
  4. August 5. Sighted the Camden Mts., and on the evening of the 6th anchored by the St. George islands.
  5. Aug. 7. The *Gift of God* arrived; both ships anchored in St. George's harbor.
  6. Aug. 12. Sailed for Sagadahoc; The *Gift* made it that night; The *Mary* and *John* sailed beyond; as-sailed by a fierce tempest, barely escaped wreck; on the 16th gained the river.
  7. Aug. 19, 20. Chose site of plantation and began to fortify.
  8. Aug. 17 and Sept. 23. Expeditions up the river; Aug. 28, to Casco Bay; Sept. 8, to Pemaquid and Penobscot.
  9. Oct. 8. The *Mary* and *John* sailed for England.
  10. Dec. 1. Arrival at Plymouth.
  11. Dec. 15. The *Gift* sailed from Sagadahoc.
- 1608.
12. Feb. 7. Arrival at Plymouth just previous to this date.
  13. March 20. Not long previous to this date, two ships sailed for Sagadahoc, carrying report of Sir John Popham's death, eight months previous.
  14. May. Probable arrival; return voyages unknown.
  15. July (10–20). Last ship sailed from England, bearing intelligence of Sir John Gilbert's death.
  16. Sept. Arrival at Fort St. George.
  17. Oct. Embarkation of all for England and arrival near the end of November.

## COLONISTS SENT BACK.

**T**HE return of a portion to England rests on the most explicit testimony. Purchas,—the first to sketch events,—writes simply, “forty-five remained there,” and adduces his authority, letters of Pres. Popham and others. Smith’s History is equally clear; “they were glad to send all but forty-five of their company back again.” But other writers of the period, from whom we should expect a statement or allusion, have not a word; still negative evidence cannot overrule the former, though the omission is remarkable. It is a fair presumption in the case of several of these interested writers, that matters prejudicial to the good name of the enterprise were passed over.

First among the causes of return was the cold winter. It set in early and seemed severe, and contrary to their expectations forced suspension of their plans. They could not explore the country, prospect for mines, or carry forward industries proposed. But also it had now become apparent that their supplies were scanty. Admissions made lead towards the opinion that portions had proved unfit for use. There was likewise the main fact that the heavy work to establish the colony had been done, for we can presume that three months labor by the company had made the entrenchments sufficiently strong, and provided comfortable lodgings. The winter season suspended prosecution of other work, and as  
idle

idle men must still eat, prudent administration would reduce the number to a living basis. It is also manifest that there were inferior or intractable elements in the colony; these could be spared, and sound policy would send them back.

The time of return must reasonably be set for December 15th, in the homeward voyage of the Gift. They could not have been spared in October, and if our conclusions are correct that the third departure could not have been earlier than May, that date will not agree well with representations of causes in the weather and the scanty supplies. Yet Gorges writes concerning the second ship and has not a word of returning colonists, though he discusses the unsatisfactory state of their affairs quite freely. This is inexplicable, except on the ground that he would not mention a fact which might be construed to prove error in original plans, or to forebode the early failure of the scheme, for he was writing to Secretary Cecil, whose favorable regard he endeavored to enlist, that he in turn might persuade the king to render assistance.

The return of half of the company would probably be kept secret so far as possible, or excused privately on the score of the terrible winter, that it might not discourage the patrons and largely weaken support. No evidence whatever shows subsequent accessions to the depleted company. If there is any force in the assumption of intentional omissions of reports prejudicial to the colony, there will be equal force against silence in matters which would show progress and increase. The several writers make references to a new supply furnished, necessaries to supply them, ships sent back with supplies, ships sent in March for the supplies of those that be there, but there is joined no word respecting men also, whether laborers, mechanics, planters, or persons for special duty. Gorges, doubting the sanguine representations of the president and anxious over "theyr idle proceedings,"

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ceedings," thinks there must "go, other manner of spirits," for full success, but he has not a hint of plans to infuse such new elements, nor to re-inforce the colony by the ship of 200 tons to be despatched in May, nor when he avows hopes of something satisfactory to be accomplished before the summer is over. After the death of the Chief Justice many patrons were discouraged, so that the enterprise was weakened, and, until some proofs of success, some return of commodities to meet heavy expenses, we could not expect attempts to enlarge the colony.



## RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.



HE friendly acquaintance at once begun at Pemaquid was continued so long as the journal makes report. No similar introduction by a Skidwares or Nahanada could be made to the Kennebec and Androscoggin tribes. The first meeting with some of them, on the exploring trip of September 23d, revealed the Indians suspicious and inclined to treachery. Subsequently their information or misleading stories respecting alum mines higher up the river suggest the existence of a degree of friendly intercourse. But reports of enmity, treachery, murder, of scandalous treatment on the part of the English, have gotten a place in history. Whether facts, distortions, or entire myths, none can with authority affirm, for they have come through sources of uncertain reliability. According to the credit given these will diverse opinions prevail, but the stories must neither be accepted nor rejected by *a priori* assumptions of honorable character or the lack of it on the part of the colonists. That they have come through Indian and French channels does not make them worthless, but the omission by early English writers is a fact to be noticed.

The historian Purchas wrote more particulars than any other, but he inclines to tell of the wonderful, and of native customs, rather than facts regarding the colony. It is evident that he drew  
his

his information from letters and reports sent over, and he probably includes no details of much more than half of the period of the colony's stay. He omits the ship-building, the burning of the storehouse, ships arriving or departing, and has not a word of the final dissolution.

In the Relation of the Council, in Smith's History, in Gorges' Narration, the aims of discourse lie wholly aside from details and incidents of colony life. In the two former, all affairs pertaining to the natives are passed over, and in the latter, mention alone is made of acquaintance and trade with those at Pemaquid and Penobscot. Such of these writers as were interested in the success of this colony, or were urging colonization, would incline to withhold what would prejudice the English people, whose patronage was so desirable. And those from whom Purchas drew his account, would not be likely to transmit for public use, tales of native hostility, nor their own misconduct. All details of the last months of colony life are lacking. Hence silence of the writers, omissions of various events, have no conclusive force against the occurrence of those events.

On the other hand are the French and native narrations and traditions. We cannot reasonably deny to the Jesuits a truthful report of the stories told them. Sufficient motives for the Indians to concoct such falsehoods about the English are not easily assigned, though flattery and lies are indeed associates. This motive might exist; to caution the French by hinting what they might expect, should they fail in kind and fair treatment. We cannot doubt that the Indians accurately represented the diverse spirit of the administrations of the timid, gentle Popham and the headstrong Gilbert. There must be less suspicion of falsity, because the changed conduct of the natives seems a direct sequence from the change in the Presidents. The desire of the Armouchiquois to expel such neighbors,  
fears

fears lest a tender cub would grow to a fierce wolf, are perfectly natural. The cunning plan, the murder,—what a circumstantial story if only contrived for French ears. The precise number, eleven, how unlikely in a made up story. The attempt to reduce the eleven to *one*, by a misapprehension in using the numerals *onze* and *un*, is a weak failure. It makes a poor story, a cheap falsehood,—so fine a plan cunningly devised and executed, and only one Englishman killed! Charlevoix seems to have given credence to the Jesuit narratives, that acts of intimidation drove out the English. The colony did withdraw, and the natives held that their hostile acts were the cause.

The traditions derived from the Kennebec Indians supplement the accounts given by the French. Aboriginal traditions have always been regarded as entitled to a good degree of respect. The historian Hubbard seems to certify the veracity of the “ancient marriner,” who heard from an old Indian the story of the quarrel in the fort. It was written only about seventy years after the alleged event. A very aged Indian could have been both witness and narrator. It does not seem reasonable to regard this as wholly a concocted story. In the later traditions of the Norridgewock tribe, Sullivan obtained the cannon story. Williamson shows that early residents upon the river believed the stories true. The first settlers, 1630-60, had good opportunity to obtain them and to judge of their worth as coming directly from Indians who must have known the facts. In that period of peace and friendliness, motives for falsification on the natives' part were few.

So much can be urged for the belief that there were roots of fact from which these stories grew; that there were hostile acts towards the colonists for which their own ill-conduct had given occasion. Exaggerations and distortions could easily change the originals,

originals, and we have no means to remove the accretions and get real kernels of truth.

The change of policy, the harsh treatment by the second leader of the colony, as the Indians reported to Biard, are but reflections from the faithful portraiture drawn by Gorges of the ambitious, loose, injudicious Gilbert. That he could write of factions disgracing each other, even in the eyes of the savages, hints at a posture of affairs, and of relations with them, which would invite or ensure breaches of honorable dealing. These slight disclosures of an ill-assorted colony will warrant expectation of abuses towards the natives which cudgels and dogs, or worse treatment, represent. Gorges shows that even then the French were inciting the natives to expel the English from the country. This was the general policy persisted in for a century and a half, and the Indians of the Kennebec at that time may have felt the baleful influence. Such incitement would bear speedy fruit in native retaliation for injuries and rebuffs. The killing of a number of the colonists becomes very probable. Doubtless this was the particular "deed" they disclosed to the French priest, and excused it by showing the outrages which had been the provocation. It must have been quite another affair than the slaying of Mr. Patterson by the savages of Nanhoc,<sup>166</sup> which the historian mentions.

As the colony was reduced to forty-five, then if a dozen were cut off by the savages, if factious, disgracing conduct weakened discipline and watchfulness, it would not be difficult for cunning, wheedling

166. Query:—Was not this "river of the Tarratines," the St. George? The name Nanhoc can be an elided form of which there are so frequent instances in English transfer of aboriginal terms, and it bears close re-

resemblance to the "Tahannock," which appears in the place of the St. George, on the map of 1610, comprised in Mr. Alex'r Brown's "Genesis of United States.."



wheeling Indians to get entrance to the fort and temporary possession of it. Yet this story and that of the discharged cannon, if containing a portion of fact, have mythical elements undoubtedly incorporated. If the latter did occur, it could best be assigned to the final disruption, and to the time of the transfer of guns to the ships. Then a loaded piece might have been discharged by malicious, reckless men, settling the score of grudges or revenge, originated in past collisions, or gratifying the white man's often unreasoning spite against the Indian, and in leaving the detested shore, not in the least anxious about consequences.

The conclusions are submitted.

These various stories can not be fairly treated as unhistorical. Elements of truth existed to originate and shape them, though to separate the true and the false is impossible. Disturbed friendly relations with the natives might have been expected from the *morale* of the colony. These events would likewise have fallen into the last months of the colony's life, of which no details exist. The silence of English writers can be reasonably explained, and far more easily than the origin of these various reports without a basis of fact. The long infamous record of injustice and unkindness towards the Indian, provoking his terrible retaliations, may have had some of its shaming and bloody lines written at Sagadahoc, as the kidnapping processes of that period bear proof.

## CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.



THE men employed in this scheme of Justice Popham and associates, what were they? Rogues and transported convicts, or free emigrants having full privileges of Englishmen, were divergent views in former temperate or acrid controversy. Not without warrant has opinion been formed adverse to the fair character of the colonists.

Alexander, (*antea*, p. 94), 1625, had written of them: "Pressed to the enterprise as endangered by the law or their own necessities." Aubrey, 1627-97, (*Letters*, II: 495) did not hesitate to say of Justice Popham: "He stockt or planted Virginia out of all the gaoles of England." Wood, likewise, 1674, (*Athenæ*, II: 22) "He was the first person who invented the plan of sending convicts to the plantations." Lloyd, 1635-91, (*State Worthies*, II: 46) reiterates the opinion: "He first set up the discovery of New England to maintain and employ those that could not live honestly in the old."

By these writers the Sagadahoc colony is directly assailed. But others have made general averments of similar tenor.

Bacon, 1625,— "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scumme of People and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you plant."

Fuller, 1642, (*Worthies*, II: 284.) "If the planters be such as  
 leap

leap thither from the gallows, can any hope for cream out of scum?"—Again: "It is rather bitterly than falsely spoken concerning one of our Western plantations consisting of most dissolute people \* \* \*." The Planter's Plea, 1630, testifies: "It seemes to be a common and grosse errour, that colonies ought to be Emunctories, or sinckes of states; to drayne away their filth, \* \* this fundamental errour hath been the occasion of the miscarriage of most of our colonies."

These statements have entered our literature, and no fair treatment can neutralize their force. They cannot wholly be error, nor evil detraction. Some basis in fact must have existed. Disreputable or criminal persons must have been employed in foreign plantations. Further evidence of the fact appears. The Jamestown colony has not a clear record. Our historian Bancroft mildly concludes that so far as criminal classes entered it, they were chiefly political offenders, and therefore not to be classed with ordinary felons. But Parkman has drawn a picture more intensely dark (*Pioneers of France*, p. 275): "From tavern, gaming-house and brothel, was drawn the staple of the colony, ruined gentlemen, prodigal sons, disreputable retainers, debauched tradesmen,—yet the founders of Virginia were not all of this stamp." Lord Delaware sustains this charge, in a letter from the colony, July, 1610: "Men of such distempered bodies and infected minds, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodness or punishment, can deter from their habitual impieties." Some ten years later, Capt. Smith declares that "the honorable company have been humble suitors to his Majesty to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither." We know that in 1619, the king gave command "to send a hundred dissolute persons to Virginia."

Sir Josiah Child, treating of plantations, 1668, asserts that "Virginia

ginia and Barbadoes were first peopled by a sort of loose vagrant people \* \* \* had it not been for our plantations they must have come to be hanged, or starved, or sold for soldiers." The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, writes to his king in 1614, of the departure of some hundreds, "most of them lost people or put in jail as vagabonds, and thus now they send them out to help in Bermuda." Cartier and De La Roche had swept together men for their expeditions from the prisons; and England may have profited by the example. Indeed, twenty years previous to the Popham colony, the earnest Hakluyt, arguing in behalf of schemes of "Westerne Planting," had urged the necessities of the wretched classes of England, and discussed the relief which would be afforded them by removal abroad, and the diminished strain upon society and government at home.

Conditions in England then and in subsequent years, would create expectations that worthless or criminal persons would be drawn into foreign enterprises. Such schemes have always attracted the debauched and reckless, as our California emigration proved. England was swarming with the vagrant and dissolute, with beggars and bankrupts, with idle soldiers released from foreign wars; their necessities were pushing them continually towards crime. There were criminals who had served their terms, suspected law-breakers, the wretched and despairing, who could lose nothing and might gain by change. A writer in 1609, adverts to the "swarms of idle persons, which having no means of labor to relieve their misery, do likewise swarm in lewd and naughty practices, so that if we seek not some ways for their foreign employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad condition, \* \* most profitable for our state, to rid our multitudes of such as lie at home, pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting

fecting one another with vice and villainy, worse than the plague itself." Hakluyt's plea was repeated by the Dean of St. Paul's in a sermon to the Virginia company in November, 1622, wherein he hopefully cheers them: "the Plantation shall redeeme many a wretch from the Lawes of death, from the hands of the executioner. \* \* \* To force idle persons to work it had a good use: but it is alreadie not only a spleene, to drayne the ill humors of the body politic." [Quoted in Thornton's Colonial Schemes.]

These popular views of the uses of colonies are reflected in laws of that period. A law of 1598 provided for the banishment of incorrigible rogues beyond the seas, and Justice Popham had a leading part in framing it. But it is held that expiring by limitation it was not in force in 1606-8. A new statute in 1609, requiring increased efficiency in punishing rogues, seems to have been the legal basis on which vagabonds were despatched to Bermuda, and a dissolute class shipped to Virginia. By the poor laws of 1597 and 1601, vagabonds and sturdy beggars were whipped and passed on from parish to parish. Would it be difficult to push them on board ships in order to make them serviceable in some colony beyond the seas? These various classes of indigent and lawless persons offered candidates whom slight hopes or fair promises would induce to try life in the colonies. Even in behalf of the Popham colony, the reiterated plea of a "voluntary emigration," by the terms of the charter, will not debar vagabonds and felons from the colony. Some actions may be voluntary, although sorely against one's will. Many have chosen and taken a wretched path, because other paths were more wretched or abhorrent. Many a poor fellow, in that period of the sway of the "hanging judge," stepped out of his dungeon into the light to have a knot tied under his ear, who would have rejoiced in a voluntary emigration to some foreign land. In no age of judicial  
process

process has there failed to be some winking at, or compromise with, the law-breaker. Nor can we put such confidence in Justice Popham's honor, nor so estimate his known severity towards criminals, as to doubt that persons endangered by law, under surveillance or arrest, would be treated with a *nol pros.* if, when enlistments for Sagadahoc went hard, they would enter the company. Actual sentence of transportation we may deny. Other methods would put a sufficient number of vile or criminal characters into the colony, to furnish basis for the accusations against it.

These views are adduced, not as proof of these opprobrious charges against this colony, but as proof that conditions of England's vagrant and criminal classes, prevailing opinion, public policy and act, created a probability that disreputable elements would be infused into it. We do not need to discuss the virtues or vices of Sir John Popham, nor to take the darker lines in his character as samples of the color of his colony. Though Gorges sets a portion of the colonists in a bad light, that does not prove that they were, before emigration, profligate and criminal. Yet there may have been such, and at the best some were undesirable and a menace to its peace and stability. Still we are now debarred from declaring it was by Sir John's agency. For Gorges avows that Popham was deceived by his agents, and men "not such as they ought" were enlisted in the enterprise. Hence he, as many another of stained integrity, may have been held guilty when innocent. Poor materials did enter the colony, but not certainly by his policy,—perhaps without his knowledge. There was, however, enough to put an ill name upon it, and writers ready to cast odium upon Sir John made him responsible. But not all those averments quoted can be applied to Sagadahoc, for subsequent enterprises were greatly defiled with "the scumme" of England. Wise and good men looked

looked with alarm upon the menacing swarms of the vagabond and indigent. Justice Popham may have likewise advocated plans to provide them homes and work abroad, or laws to send them there. When after his death malefactors and the dissolute were sent off to Bermuda or Virginia, detractors or incautious writers made him the head and front of the scheme, the inventor and active promoter of colonization of criminals. But when every reasonable allowance is made, there remains in these historical statements something to the prejudice of the Sagadahoc colony.

Gorges gives no clear views of the personal character of the company, but does indicate a large percentage of worthless, unintelligent, inefficient men, so that "impediments and infinite crosses" hindered the enterprise. He felt that "there must go other manner of spirits" to secure success. Truly in these hints he does not point out the solid yeomanry of England, not the respectable, diligent laborer, but the stolid, untrusty, debauched. By "theyr idle proceedings," he may mean a great deal; is it lawlessness? is it selfish contempt for the work in hand? Plainly their conduct was inimical to the public welfare. Factions, which he reports, must have tended to contempt of authority; but factions disgracing each other in the eyes of the natives must mean insubordination, license, and reckless behavior. 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. The strata of English life from which, according to every probability, very many were taken, seems to verify the opinion. Still, while these admissions of Gorges are adverse and cannot be gainsaid as to some extent may be the strictures  
of

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of Alexander, Aubrey and Lloyd, we cannot know whether he chiefly intended the official and leading members of the colony, or their subordinates. He freely expresses his opinion of the president and the admiral, commends the preacher and the physician, and regards the rest of those employed as fit for their places or tolerable, a remark more reasonably applied to the officers than to the working class. After reports by the second ship, the factions and ill conduct which awake his fears, seem to involve the leading minds as much as the laborers. An impression is gained of a preponderance throughout of untrusty, unprincipled men.





## THE SURRENDER AND RETURN.



UNFORTUNE attended the enterprise from its inception, —where an equal list of the luckless and adverse? Death knocked away main props,—the Chief Justice, the President, Sir John Gilbert; then the compelled departure of Raleigh Gilbert, removing a strong hand, however ambitious or injudicious, added another seeming calamity to a long series; these, stroke upon stroke, cut away zeal and courage; resolution corroded by new fears, crumbled at the increased strain, bringing sudden and final collapse.

A few strong hearts had remained steadfast. Gorges, foremost and persistent, gave no sign of weakened faith in final success, though disorder was imperiling the colony. Yet we cannot know his anxiety, when death transferred the presidency to one whose ability wisely to guide affairs he must distrust. His vigorous action no doubt forestalled Raleigh Gilbert's revolutionary scheme to revive the old patent to his father. When Gilbert learned the scheme was baseless, and was dispossessed of his ambitious project, he may have made an able officer for the colony, and accomplished as much in the season of 1608 as his means and men would allow. It seems that in July, when the last ship sailed, the patrons stood firm and were giving ample support. But the ship carried intelligence of Sir John Gilbert's death, which became an effective wedge driven  
hard

hard into an offered gap, to disable the main prop of the structure. Raleigh Gilbert's heirship enforced his return. The colony was weak in numbers, for no fact hints at reinforcements; weak by the sense that it must be harried by misfortune; weak in men of force and resolution having faith in the enterprise and sturdiness to endure. Here was an exigency unprovided for; and probably no one was found willing or fit to take the helm, or the designated officer to command may have paled at the thought of adverse winds past, and fiercer ones to blow. Hence if Gilbert must go, all would go, and the order was given to dismantle the fort. Commodities, tools, provisions, the armament,—all were put on board the ships, and when the red cross of St. George was lowered finally, in the fort to which it had given a name, few or none felt regret.

The wreck was hopeless, and was abandoned; it became a broken, stranded hulk on the shore behind as they all set sail for England. Politic, or feeble, or cowardly, the surrender of the enterprise undertaken on the coast of Maine was absolute and final.

The fact becomes conspicuous in a condensed summary drawn from the foregoing literature. "The calamity and evil news \* \* \* made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again." "The arrival of these was a wonderful discouragement, \* \* \* no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after." "Our people abandoning the plantation \* \* \* The Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits." (Relation.) "They all returned to England in the year 1608, and thus the plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert." "It (the colony) had dissolved itself within a year, and there was not a Christian in all the land." (Smith.)  
 "They,

"They, after a winter stay, \* \* \* returned back with the first occasion." (Alexander.) "Soon after deserted it and returned for England." (Maverick.) "The colonists \* \* \* deserting the colony returned to England." (De Laet.) "All resolved to quit the place and with one consent to away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death." "Country itself was branded by the return of the plantation, as being over cold, \* \* \* ." (Gorges.) "He, (Justice Popham,) dying, all fell." (Gardiner.) "The colonists returned home." (Heylin.) "The company by no means would stay any longer in the country \* \* \* wherefore they all embarked \* \* \* and set sail for England." (Strachey.) "Abandoned their enterprize that same year, and have not pursued it since." (Biard.) "The colony which the Chief Justice sent out to Virginia has returned in a sad plight." (Zuniga.)

Thus by explicit and forcible terms does every writer of that century show the complete dissolution. The utter prostration of this scheme of colonization likewise appears in the state of public opinion, as palsying discouragement fell upon the former patrons, as hopes were frozen to death, as aspersions upon the region were multiplied, and it was declared unfit for English habitation. The ardent promoters were silent, making no more speeches for plantations for a long time. Such, as Strachey writes, was "the end of that northern colony upon the river Sagadahoc."

## SAGADAHOC RE-OCCUPIED?



OUR historian Sullivan wrote, (District of Maine, p. 170.) "Soon after Popham's party left the river in 1608, the French took possession of it." He cites Hubbard as his authority, but reference to the latter shows the statement unwarranted,—a misleading or careless deduction, for we find only "when they began to encroach upon those places which lie beyond Kennebeck." Sullivan's unqualified statement may have mislead Williamson to repeat the error. (Vol. I, p. 203.) The Council's Relation indicates the actual fact, "Our people abandoning the plantation, \* \* \* the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits," *i. e.*, within the territory claimed by the English crown. While the French did examine the coast, and enter the Kennebec, yet it is now well known that the most westerly point seized for a settlement was St. Saveur, at Mount Desert. From this place and from St. Croix and Port Royal, their three stations, they were ruthlessly expelled by Capt. Samuel Argall in 1613.

But another opinion assigns English residents or a fishing company to Sagadahoc in 1608-9, after Popham's men withdrew. (Report Coast Survey, 1868, p. 12; Popham Mem. Vol., p. 87; Coll. Me. Hist. Soc., Vol. VII, pp. 305, 310.

This opinion appears to have been wholly derived from the narratives

ratives of the Jesuits. These, however, give it no warrant, for whatever was written refers to the Popham colony itself, though misinterpreted of a subsequent company. The error was more easily made, from the former belief that the colonists departed in the early spring of 1608, and also by too ready acceptance of the date given by Pierre Biard. But the representations he makes, the circumstances detailed, manifestly pertain to that colony,—the one which built the fort, which had the two unlike leaders, which was forced to retire by the Indians, and according to the priest's information was the only one that had come to locate there previous to his visit. But he mistook the year, regarding it 1608-9, not 1607-8. Nor is the error surprising, for the natives could not give dates by calendar years, but only by counting back, and Biard made mistake in reckoning,—or in memory, when he came to write. It is impossible to adjust his statements to a second company succeeding the former, especially in the late autumn. Not the least evidence warrants the re-occupation of Popham's fort nor of a seizure of any point along the Kennebec in that decade.



DID THE COLONY CONTINUE?

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THE flag was lowered at Fort St. George, and Sagadahoc was abandoned. The enterprise was broken and these luckless fragments,—all that remained of a well-equipped and hopeful colony,—the ships bore back to England.

But even in the face of so clear a record as the historical evidence shows (pp. 213–4, *antea*), theories have appeared in recent times adverse to so chilling a disaster. Protests have been raised against the conclusion of entire abandonment. It is held that colony life was not utterly terminated on the coast of Maine, but that a portion of these who had part in the disruption at Sagadahoc, separated from the party bound for England and did renew seizure and occupation. The opinion of the continuance of the colony, with such certification as it receives, is employed with directness of aim,—and perhaps was born out of the desire,—to win superior honor for Maine for priority of permanent settlement in New England. These theories require examination to ascertain whether they be only historical dreams, or permissible speculations, or if some slight basis in fact exists.

We find that in support of the main theory, it is first alleged that Sir Francis Popham,—in behalf of the interests cherished by his late father the Chief Justice,—protested against the abandonment, persisted in the occupancy of the country, so that the enterprise,

prise, though dying out at Sagadahoc, "must have survived at Pemaquid, although a languid exotic." Also by some process of recondite cognition there is discovered in the original scheme a "Popham influence," and likewise a "Gilbert influence," distinct as active elements, though for a time in recognized partnership. There is also "the Popham ship," the Gift of God, and "the Gilbert ship," the Mary and John, as if held in separate ownership and control throughout. Likewise the former is regarded as a Bristol ship, but the Mary and John is held to have represented London interests and to have carried out London emigrants. The idea of such separate interests is woven skillfully into the entire web of theory. Upon these matters it must be affirmed, that no proof whatever appears, and no conceivable basis for the idea of diverse Popham and Gilbert influence can be found, except that Raleigh Gilbert resigned the presidency of the colony and returned on account of personal interests and business, and that Francis Popham subsequently pushed forward his own enterprises in his own way. Antagonism and protests between the two parties must be fancies, for not a word anywhere hints the fact. Popham, indeed, as other active and hopeful supporters, was pained and harshly disappointed at the surrender, but the blame must be assigned to the whole company, not to a Gilbert faction of it. We must also notice that while this assumed dividing line sharply separates the two parties, there is entire failure to allow a *Gorges influence*; yet his active agency was a pronounced factor in the scheme from first to last, even superior to that of the Gilbert family so far as is shown us. Such exclusion or ignoring of Gorges is a weak point in the theory, for he can not be eliminated from the controlling forces in the business, since it is very clear that he had weighty *influence*, and chief management, certainly after Sir John Popham's death.

Again,

Again, that there were Popham ships or ship, and a Gilbert ship, making the outfit of the colony, must have been evolved from the simple fact that George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert were the respective commanders of the two vessels provided by the company for the outward voyage. There is not a trace anywhere of such separate ownership, although the fancy plays a helpful part in the theory, as likewise the quiet assumption that there were two Popham ships, "the Gift and her tender." Here is a very subtle and persistent use of the error made by Gorges, through the indistinct memory of his advanced years, that "three sail of ships" took out the colony to Sagadahoc,—an error which other authorities have corrected. Then it is held that the Gilbert ship carried the broken company back to England; and as there is no record of the return or loss of the Popham ships, therefore the "presumption is conclusive" of their continuance on the coast of Maine subserving the interests of the Popham family in new enterprises. The lack of such evidence in the meager details given by early writers, is very slender warrant for so weighty a conclusion. Indeed, it was purely assumption, and extremely weak originally, but now is shattered and worthless, since we know that both ships returned to England, and these two or others in their stead came back with supplies. There were at least five voyages to and from Sagadahoc, and it may be fairly presumed that the two vessels originally employed were retained in the service of the company. The return to the colony of Capt. Davies argues the return of the ship of his former command, the Mary and John. But we do not know what ship took away the retreating company, yet doubtless it was the large ship Gorges mentions.

The Mary and John, the alleged Gilbert ship, is confidently regarded as a London ship. Her hailing port was London, unless  
Strachey



Strachey was mistaken; yet she sailed from Plymouth, as the Narrations show. The Spanish ambassador Zuniga writes from London, at the close of December, 1606, concerning preparations to send vessels to Virginia, and of similar plans at Plymouth, "so that *two vessels* there were ready to sail." But these newsy reports which came to him were by no means accurate,—for Newport's fleet had just departed,—and in respect to affairs at Plymouth, were much at fault, for the two vessels, evidently the Gift and the Mary and John, were far from readiness, and did not sail till the end of May. Still his information gives evidence against a London debarkation, showing that the vessels were for months waiting at Plymouth. Indeed, that London interests were represented in the Mary and John has not a fragment of support, save the one statement concerning her hailing-port, and is opposed by weighty reasons. London was the seat of operations of the southern colony; but by like charter stipulations and evident design, the northern colony was assigned to Plymouth, Bristol and the west of England. Until facts to the contrary appear we must believe this division of territory was observed, and no London interests nor emigrants were associated with the Popham colony. Chief Justice Popham's home was Littlecote, in Wiltshire, at no great distance from Bristol. Thirty miles to the southwest of this city was Bridgewater, where Capt. George Popham was then revenue officer. Yet further southwest was Compton in Devonshire, the home of the Gilberts; and in the same county was Plymouth, whose fort was in command of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. From these western ports, so far as known, sailed all the vessels connected with the undertaking. These facts, and the locations of the active managers, deny any "London influence" and participation. The only fact suggesting the least London relations is that the master ship builder Digby belonged there.

Fancy

Fancy can construct a Popham ship and a Gilbert ship, managed for separate and adverse aims, as buttressing parts of an unsubstantial creation ; but of such forces dominant in this enterprise, history knows nothing.

Again, there is cast in for bearing on the main position the suggestion, that the forty-five mentioned as remaining may have been associated with the Popham ships in the second act of the colonial drama after the curtain suddenly fell at Fort St. George. This manifestly is a novel interpretation of the historians, and esteems the forty-five as a party left behind after the evacuation at Sagadahoc. Such a violent twisting of the record is without excuse, for all that is known about the matter is told clearly ;—lack of provisions and the hard winter made reasons to send back all of the colonists but forty-five (Smith) ; forty-five remained there, Popham and Gilbert being in command (Purchas). This number, therefore, constituted the colony in the winter after the sailing of the Gift in December, and probably for the whole remaining time, since there is not the least suggestion of recruits. These also were the ones who made the final retreat.

The foregoing presents the main parts of the theory which holds that by various agencies and endeavor there was secured elsewhere, Sagadahoc alone being abandoned, “a continued though languid colonial existence.” By this opinion, its promulgators are able to write in our Maine annals, a line dim indeed and hardly legible upon the blank page subsequent to the record of the Popham disaster. The right to make the entry is now at length challenged ; the theory with its evidence requires detailed examination, with candid though rigorous treatment.

In touching the main point, careful distinction must be made between seizure of the soil by laborers, settlers, builders, and trade  
and

and fishery along shore. It can be perceived that by skillful or unconscious methods of constructing these views, a veil is cast over the line of separation in the two forms of enterprise, so that one easily merges into the other; and evidence which beyond any one's questioning assures the latter, trade and fishing, seems to accredit the former also. Sir Francis Popham did engage in the latter and thereby sought to retrieve losses or to advance his fortunes. No one can suggest a doubt but that he would not yield to the general disheartening when the broken colony arrived; he "could not so give it over," but having the ships, "he sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing";—a precise account of his operations. This record also discloses no Popham ships distinct from Gilbert ships, but plainly, "the ships remaining of the company," with the provisions also, evidently the assets of the suspended firm, really bankrupt or declared so; these in the settlement of affairs came into his hands, and he with energy employed them on private account. What ship or ships these were from those which had made the five departures to and from Sagadahoc can not be known, still the ships first sailing, the Gift and the Mary and John, probably belonged to the company. The pinnace Virginia was theirs because built by the colony's labor, but this could not have been in service on the Maine coast until a subsequent year, except perhaps for a single trip, for in the ensuing August it was at Jamestown, in the fleet of Sir George Somers.

We have no word showing how promptly Sir Francis entered upon the business, but doubtless in the following year. Smith described his operations definitely: "He sent divers times one Captain Williams to Monhegan to trade and make core-fish," but makes plainest denial of any thoughts or plans to renew a colony, saying, "but for plantations there were no more speeches."

The

The Relation of the President and Council aims to narrate the operations of the northern company and to detail affairs connected with plantations previous to 1622. The narration of Gorges has similar intent. Both were issued by parties having personal interest in those events, so situated as to have full knowledge of them, and having reasons to make the best showing possible. They dispel this fanciful theory. They have not a word of a new plantation established, nor of English residents transferred to another point on the coast and occupying the land in a semblance of colonial life. Not only silent, but they positively affirm the contrary,—“no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after”: “wholly given over by the body of adventurers”: “not habitable by our nation.” Also they describe both the aims and ill-success of Sir Francis. The enterprise was ruinously broken; the men having the most in it confess the fact; paralysis or death, it matters not which, smote this scheme of colonization, as the ships freighted with the stores and armament stood out by Seguin for England. They carried a disheartened fragment of the original number, perhaps one-third of the five or six score who first landed at Sabino; but the record is lucid that *all* accompanied Gilbert; “made the *whole* company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships”; “all embarked \* \* and set sail for England.” Indeed, the entire tenor of this document issued by the Council, as well as separate statements and implications in it, is conclusive against the opinion of a settlement begun, or of English people residing at any place in their limits. It seems a step of most presuming boldness, verging upon effrontery, to discredit the entire abandonment of the country for a dozen years, at least till many and strong proofs can be adduced to modify or neutralize these averments

ments of contemporary and interested writers, whose business relations acquainted them fully with the facts.

It must be noticed, further, that any theory that a part of the number turned aside to Pemaquid must furnish them with a responsible head. The lack of a suitable leader to take Raleigh Gilbert's place was one main cause of surrender at Sagadahoc. Who then would take half of that factious company and begin again? What one not willing to hold fast at Fort St. George would assume the responsibility or be able to win a dozen or a score of dispirited, homesick men to go elsewhere and repeat the experiences of the previous winter? Who in the late autumn would leave a sheltering fortification, and attempt to fortify at a new point, though all the equipment of the place had been put at their disposal? What little handful of men would brave hardship and probable disasters even greater than those which had brought defeat on that larger company? Yet the theory before us requires all this. Francis Popham was not there, that he might order such an attempt, or create enthusiasm for it. The conditions would make such a plan wholly unlikely, even absurd, and the declaration to the contrary is clear and unqualified,—“by no means would stay any longer in the country.” The circumstances and the historical record made at the time, unite to show that none could have remained behind in the retreat from Sagadahoc. The alleged enterprise of Popham could not therefore have been entered upon till the following season. Hence a new colony, if there was anything which could feebly represent one, must have been by the action of a new company provided and set down at a chosen location. Could it have escaped mention by these writers? Would the Council have ignored it? Indeed, Sir Francis Popham was one of the Council under the patent of 1606, and likewise under the charter of 1620.

He

He was therefore a member of the very body which put forth "The Brief Relation of the President and Council." That document of detailed proceedings shows by authority what Popham's operations were, and is constructively *his own* statement. Such holding of the ground, even by a feeble colony, would be a bit of real success lighting up those somber years of repeated failure. Could such a fact have been omitted in that declaration? Would not Popham himself have ensured the introduction of it, that the Relation should be true to facts and just to himself? Such an enterprise which his courage and energy made in any degree successful, and yet not mentioned in these detailed transactions, is rationally impossible. The omission in the Council's Relation would have put a false and discreditable coloring upon actual occurrences.<sup>167</sup>

But the Relation narrates the movements and endeavors in ensuing years. In the general disappointment and apathy some were yet sanguine, "whereupon we resolved once more to try the verity thereof;"

167. The departures of vessels reported by the Spanish ambassador (Genesis of U. S., pp. 197, 243, 247,) are without adequate explanation. His information was obviously inaccurate, and his statements must be taken with caution and allowance. He reports a ship and tender about to sail Jan. 1609. If it was from London, as seems, it was probably despatched by the London company. Yet by transfer of his business to London Sir F. Popham may have sent this expedition to explore some new point, so quickly after he had gained control of the ships returned from Sagadahoc. But vessels despatched to the fishing ground and

for trade by Popham and others, may have been misinterpreted by the watchful Spaniard into attempts to colonize and fortify. His reports and gossip respecting plans laid for these ships do not represent actual results.

Also in 1608 began the movement to New Foundland; and in February of the next year a plantation was proposed, and soon established.

Some of these obscure voyages may have been directed thither.

The evidence is so decisive against attempts to renew colonies after Popham's, that the projected voyages so obscurely shown up by Zuniga were misunderstood or effected nothing.

thereof ;" so Capt. Hobson was despatched. By his ill success in 1614, these new plans were frustrated. Subsequently these undismayed and hopeful patrons sent out Smith, Dermer and others, as the Relation avers, with the special design "to lay the foundation of a new plantation," as also to try fishery and trade. Details are not permitted here, but what these agents endeavored and what they effected is fully exhibited in the history of that period, but there is confessed failure in establishing a plantation at any point. These operations cover the period from Hobson's voyage in 1614 to the close of Dermer's in December, 1619, and require the emphatic denial that any colony existed, or in a rudimentary state was undertaken in that vicinity.

Shortly before 1613, Spain made protest against alleged invasion of the English upon Spanish territory in America; but England denied to Spain any possessions north of Florida. A document in the English archives (Genesis of United States, pp. 669-673, whose author, Mr. Brown, ascribes it probably to Hakluyt, and refers it to the period between 1609 and 1613,) exhibits with details preceding Spanish settlements, and consequent allowable claims by virtue of such occupation. It reads thus:—" \* \* \* All those large & spacious countries on the East parte of America from 32 to 72. degrees of northerly latitude, have not nor never had any one Spanish Colonie planted in them: but are both by right of first discovery performed by Sebastian Cabota at the cost of King Henry the 7th. & also of later actual possession taken in the behalfe & under the sovereign authority of her Majesty by the several deputies of Sir Walter Ralegh, & by the two English Colonies thither deducted (whereof the later is yet ther remaining) as likewise by Sir Humfry Gilbert, Sir Martin Frobisher, Mr. John Davis & others, most justly & inseparably belonging to the Crown of England. \* \* \*"

This

This report, drawn up by competent hands, was made the basis of reply to Spain, asserting the rights of the British crown. The portion now quoted, which mentions *two* colonies deducted and *one* remaining, has been employed in advocacy of the continuance of the Popham colony. The statement is interpreted as intended to apply to the Jamestown and Sagadahoc colonies; then as the Jamestown was earlier in establishment, *the latter* must be the Popham, and hence, according to the literal rendering, was the one yet remaining. By this easy process of turning the eyes away from plain facts, the officials of James are made to certify the existence of that colony as late as 1612. That such an interpretation is glaringly faulty and misleading is manifest, for the language can mean nothing else than in the case of the two mentioned colonies, one failed, the other continued; one had disappeared, the other yet remained. We know the colony at Jamestown did hold fast, and at this date had attained stability and was ensured permanency and success. This report, therefore, could never have been written to contravene the fact, or by any inference to seem to assert its failure. This did not fail, but remained, and if either disappeared it was the Popham. Hence the citation actually proves the opposite of what it was employed for. The full text of this document, which indicates the reply to the demand of Spain, makes evident the true interpretation. It goes back to the operations of Raleigh and others, and must beyond question intend his abandoned colony in the Carolinas. This and the one at Jamestown must be the two adduced as witnesses to English seizure and occupation unless some other unknown was established in the time of the queen, and still existed. The defining term also accurately represents the fact, that in Virginia was "the later" (or latter), and was the one yet there remaining, while the previous one at Roanoke had disappeared. Actual possession taken  
for



for the illustrious Elizabeth, and under her authority, is the main fact, by Raleigh on the south coast, by Gilbert and Frobisher on the north. Two colonies likewise, representing that sovereign authority, establish England's right, though one indeed, the later, was in the reign of James; still it is here associated with Raleigh's, as James cares not to put forward his own agency in distinction from that of the great queen, and indeed a majority of the leading patrons of the former scheme became managers in the Jamestown enterprise. This state paper, therefore, wholly omits notice of the Popham colony as if too insignificant in relation to the question.

Evidence adverse to the presence of English colonies in Maine in that period is derived from French sources. Monsieur de Biencourt, the superior officer at Port Royal, with his party traversed the coast as far as the Kennebec in the autumn of 1611. For Capt. Plastrier, master of a ship of Honfleur, whose harbor station was at St. Croix, had sailed out for a voyage to Kennebec, evidently to beat up trade. In the vicinity of Monhegan,<sup>168</sup> he was seized by two English ships tarrying at the island. This seizure was very plainly a protest against French intrusion upon English rights, as the masters exhibited their papers warranting the act. Plastrier got release by valuable considerations,—in fact bribes,—and by promise not to traffic on the coast. Biencourt, learning the fact, was indignant, deeming it an insult to France, which he believed had rightful claim

168. Biard writes the name of the island Emmetenic, manifestly a French reproduction of the aboriginal term which now appears in the English Metinic or Matinicus. Two suppositions arise: that the events transpired in the neighborhood of the Matinicus islands, or that Biard

misapplied the true name of our present Metinic or the adjacent islands to Monhegan. The distance which he gives favors the latter, and will be regarded as stronger evidence than the mere name. But on Metinic there are remains of ancient stone structures as yet unexplained.

claim throughout the region. He remonstrated with the English at the island, but would not burn their shallops, as his men advised, because property of fishermen, not of soldiers. His expedition to the Kennebec was mainly occasioned by this grievance—as Biard definitely states it—to learn if we could get the better of the English (or could get satisfaction of them), and also to barter for corn with the natives. This expressed purpose may have been much colored by French swagger to redress an injury, but we must doubt if hostile acts were intended, since Biencourt's small craft, carrying a few guns, and only fifteen men besides the priest and two native guides, showed slight fitness to assault Fort St. George. But more probably, believing in English invasion of the rights of France, he would demand redress, would make firm protest, not simply to fishermen at Monhegan, but at the headquarters of authority, civil or military, and so exhibiting, as he felt fully competent, the claims of France, would by threats or diplomacy compass the withdrawal of the English.

But at Sagadahoc the party found only an abandoned fort, and from the natives learned the time and causes of the departure. Biard writes the fact as he learned it: "They abandoned their enterprise in the same year, and have not pursued it since." This is positive at least for the Sagadahoc region up to 1612. But Biencourt's party also explored the Penobscot and the Sheepscot, and ranged along the coast. They were in pursuit of Englishmen with whom to make so effective remonstrance as to drive them out of the territory. They could find none. Biencourt could only set up a cross bearing the arms of France at the harbor of the island Emmetenic, whence came the English who committed the offence against Plastrier. It is impossible that even a feeble colony could then have had existence, or that a small party was then lodged in  
business

business operations at any point between the Penobscot and Kennebec. Biard's narration shows conclusively that Biencourt neither found nor heard of a single Englishman throughout the whole trip, except fishermen at the islands.

The testimony of Capt. John Smith alone should be conclusive. He writes explicitly upon the basis of full information gained in his exploration of the coast, as he examined twenty-five harbors and visited the habitations of the savages. He counts up forty of the latter, but not one point held by Englishmen. Indeed, he positively states the fact:—"When I first went to the north part of Virginia, where the western colony had been planted, it had dissolved itself within a year, and *there was not a Christian* in all the land." He means by Christian, the civilized people of Europe in distinction from the savages of America, who were ordinarily termed heathen. Not an English resident in all the land is his assertion, which covers by implication the period from 1608 to 1614, when he went thither. He means that the dissolution of the colony took every one out of the country, and not one had made a lodgement subsequently. He intends also colonists, settlers or residents on shore, such as the Popham party, in distinction from fishermen and transient traders. For when denying the presence of a European, he reports Francis Popham's ship in a harbor over against Monhegan, employed by him in trade and fishing. His statements, therefore, put the two kinds of operations in sharp contrast, a colonist or resident in an abode upon the land, a trader along shore, whose vessel was his lodging and defence. Smith mentions places he examined, of which his map furnishes further details: Penobscot, Segocket, Muscongus, Pemaquid and others. A theory that a possible English colony, in a most rudimentary and languid state, existed at one of the above points, but without Smith's knowledge, would be ridiculous. But

But he likewise makes other incidental statements which stand in proof of the non-existence of even a feeble colony. He makes the health of his own company an argument for a favorable climate. But Englishmen resident for several years would have furnished better proof. He regards the soil fertile because of his own success in raising salads on Monhegan. Actual settlers could have given other valuable facts. He shows that corn could be obtained from the natives enough for 300 men for a few trifles. But if settlers had been for years occupying the lands, if farms at Sheepscot and granaries at Pemaquid had begun to flourish, he would not have failed to have offered stronger arguments in favor of successful plantations. He was stirring up the public by every expedient to induce persons to go out to occupy the country, yet he has not a reference to a plantation or a settlement of any kind existing, nor to cultivation of the soil, or enterprises anywhere upon the land, which would have so much reinforced his pleas. He says of his voyage in 1614, that he was to have stayed with ten men to keep possession of those large territories, and mentions a similar plan for the next year, to stay in the country with sixteen men to make trial; had accepted overtures of Nahanada, the friendly Pemaquid chief, to locate there to defend him from the Tarratines. This plan for Smith, a daring adventurer, to hold possession of the country in behalf of the English, proves no colonists already there, for then his services would have been needless, and certainly no colony could have already occupied Pemaquid, the very point where these theorizings locate continuous settlements, otherwise the chief would not have sought for Smith and his company to protect him.

Purchas also, mentioning Smith's ill-fortune of 1615, adds, "This present year, 1616, eight voluntary ships have gone thither, and we hope to have English colonies renewed in this northern plantation called

called New England." What could make a stronger implication against the existence of a colony at that date?

Smith relates how Hunt's base villainy in kidnapping savages prevented the agent of Gorges from accomplishing anything in trade. Then, if no trade along shore, English residents in any part of the Pemaquid country would have been in great peril in that incensed state of feeling.

Thus Smith gave account of his voyages, and exploration of the coast, drew a valuable map, designated settlements, gave the fullest extant description of the country for that period, but without a clause or implication disclosing a feeble colony or lodgings of the English on the land for a single year. Not merely is he silent, but he expressly declares that all his endeavor and solicitations availed nothing, no more than "to hew rocks with oyster shells," and that nothing was done for a plantation till "some Brownist went," and in a jesting mood at their suffering endurance, admits success at New Plymouth, which had failed on the coast of Maine. Truly Smith did tell great stories about himself and his enterprises, but as here he confesses failure, we must believe he does this time truthfully portray the fact.

Thus full and conclusive is the historical evidence for the retreat of the whole Popham company, and for entire cessation of similar or weaker attempts in the ensuing decade.

Search for the basis of the opinion that colonial existence was maintained at other points, chiefly at Pemaquid, reveals a surprising vacuity and incompetence.

At first in tentative support, it was put forth, though by inexplicable historical misreading it would seem, and the error early refuted, has been repeated, has clung to life, and even now occasionally reappears in articles by novices lacking original investigation,

tigation, that Damariscove had by 1622, become the granary of embryo settlements where were stored products of adjacent agricultural communities; and that this island or Pemaquid supplied food to the straitened colony at New Plymouth. Thus, it is held, Maine, by anterior beginnings, was able to bestow her charities upon needy Massachusetts. But the vision of grain barns and cultivated acreage vanishes under the sunlight of accurate history, whose record is unmistakable and easy for a child to interpret, and which, by the pens of Winslow and Bradford, discloses simply English fishing ships about Damariscove charitably furnishing to Winslow and his men, as they voyaged thither, surplus provisions from their stores brought out from England. Bread baked in English ovens, transported in English ships to the fishing grounds, not the products of Sheepscot farms, fed the famishing families of the Pilgrims.

It has been held and still is mildly hinted that forty-five of the Popham colony did not return to England. But as previously written, the historians show a first depletion, leaving that number behind, then, after renewed disaster, the departure of all. Two separate embarkations are the lucid facts of the meager history,—the former being the more obscure, the latter unmistakable, when *all*, without qualification, returned to England.

It is freely asserted that French missionaries show English residents at Pemaquid in 1608–9. To educe such an opinion from the Jesuit Relations, they must have been carelessly read or obtusely misinterpreted. The narration on which this view is based has, first of all, not the least reference to Pemaquid. Whatever was in it pertained wholly to the Sagadahoc. Also beyond question it intended the Popham colony itself, for it clearly outlines main events in it. These French writers knew nothing of but one party  
of

of English residents there. Intelligent search in the Jesuit writings can find no more. The date, nevertheless, is erroneous, which has furnished to eager theorists a false basis of conclusion. Père Biard misconceived the year and assigned the colony to 1608-9 instead of 1607-8.

An argument is sought in the charter of 1620, as it recites former stipulations and declares that the charter parties of 1606 "had taken actual possession of the continent and settled emigrants already in places agreeable to their desires." Hence it is alleged that in and about Lat. 44°, more than one place had been occupied, consequently another than Sagadahoc. But we find first that the text has no restriction nor particular reference to the vicinity of 44°, but will comprise the whole extent of the grant from 40° to 48°. Also the intent is to assert and emphasize *actual possession* taken according to stipulations; at what or how many points is a subordinate and inferior matter. In the generalizations of a state document, a plural, very common in legal phrasing, has slightest force in such a connection as this to prove a point in debate. Indeed, to have used the singular *place*, would have given particularity and restriction not desirable. The northern company did seize and hold the Sagadahoc territory for a time, and that occupancy supported England's claim to the continent. The range that colony's exploration and traffic took, comprising four or five rivers and many harbors, will permit fully for use in legal forms the term "places," though emigrants did not locate in all. Likewise, claimants for a grant would make their best showing, and as the charter says "some of our people," if a few persons had once or twice set themselves down on some part of the coast, holding on for a part of a year, or over the winter season, as Vines at Saco,—and such fruitless endeavors were made, as Smith shows,—the fact would have allowed the claim which appears in the plural, "places." Our

Our New England historian, Hubbard, is supposed to furnish proof. He refers to the Sagadahoc colony, and adds :—" soon after other places were seized and occupied—improved in trading and fishing." Here the date is very indefinite,—*soon after*, but even were that pertinent, there is still not a word of settlements, or a weak colony having existence, since he interprets his own meaning ;—such enterprises along shores and in harbors as trade and fishing require. Indeed, in support of the theory, these operations are repeatedly put forward, as if necessarily implying accompanying colonial life, and with subtle force change the point of view and unconsciously mislead the incautious. No doubt that Hubbard intends the operations of Sir Francis Popham, of Smith, of Gorges and others, whose ships frequented Monhegan, Pemaquid, Damariscove, at times between 1608 and 1622. Whatever light and slender inference might be gained from a single clause of Hubbard's narrative, he does elsewhere show his opinions clearly in respect to the matter, and in entire conformity with historical evidences here previously adduced, that no plantations were established till 1620. He derived his materials from the same original authorities as have been here examined.

From him likewise is drawn out a straw of support for the theory, as he wrote "there had been for a long time at Pemaquid seven or eight considerable dwellings or establishments." To what date will this *long time* extend ? Fifty years would put deep marks of age upon ill-built structures for shelter or business. If nearly as old as known operations of Gorges at Monhegan, they would fully answer the quotation. So indefinite a statement has no value in proof of an existing colony. With 1622, we pass the point in which we have details of business on our coast.

Cast in likewise to prop the weak structure is an erroneous conclusion



conclusion used by very many writers, taken from Sullivan originally, with the impress of his faulty work upon it, and which has played an important and mischievous part in much historical work. It is that in 1630 there were fifty families at Sheepscot farms; also eighty-four families at Sagadahoc and eastward. (District of Me., pp. 167, 391.) Happily this time Sullivan appended the original document, the statement of Capt. Sylvanus Davis, made in 1701, which will correct the error. Davis simply says, "English settlements that he hath known to be *formerly* at, and to the eastward of Kennebec. \* \* \* Sundry English fishing places, some 70 and some 40 years since." The latter clause contains all that indicates the date of these settlements, and that refers *directly* only to fishing-places. But even making the families contemporaneous, the time will be 1631 to 1661, inclusive. Here Davis counts up the families which he knew *within that period*, as settlers were coming in. He places none of them definitely at 1630. But writers zealous to make out great things early in Maine have assigned the thirty or the eighty-four families, all of them, back to the earliest date which Davis would allow to any. So if that number had located by 1630, many must be carried far back in the previous decade, and an early influx of inhabitants is by this manifest and needless error secured for Maine. It is full time to hear no more from any making pretences to history, of thirty families at Sheepscot farms in 1630.

Further, a French encyclopedist is quoted, who, holding very dim ideas of English colonization, wrote that "the Popham colony fell into languishment,"—from whence the inference that it did not die out. The same wise writer adds that Capt. Smith's voyages were the first to yield any benefit to the colony. In wonder we ask, what had Smith to do with that colony? That statement reveals how little the Frenchman knew of the matter in hand, and makes the whole  
too

too worthless for citation. Yet the direct evidence of Smith, Gorges and others, intimately concerned as actors or patrons in these affairs is cast aside, and such broken straws as the above employed to prove continued colonial existence.

In like manner, a Swedish history is made to bolster up this frail theory. In a cursory view of beginnings in America less than a dozen lines cover the Sagadahoc enterprise, from which a fragment regarded as helpful is extracted :—" After 1612, a number of people went thither." Inquiry will arise with those versed in the history of this period,—what pertinence has this date? and what does the author mean, and what new information is conveyed? An extension of the quotation, however, is desirable. We therefore read, that the company under Popham and Gilbert "settled themselves in that part now called New England; and after they had found themselves comfortably established there, they built a town, and obtained a patent from King James I, for the whole tract from 40° to 48°, calling it New England. After the year 1612, a number of people went thither in order to seek their fortunes in that country, which was divided into parts, so that now called New England lies in 40° to 41°." What worth has this? Is it not a garbled, clumsy and most incompetent exhibit of those events? Then he refers for further information to the writings of John Smith, R. Grenville and others, by which he shows that all he knew of those matters was obtained from well known historical writings. This author is confidently cited as if he had sources of information hidden away in some Scandinavian repository, which would give his conclusion much weight. But indeed, his translator's opinion is unequivocal and definite, that his work has but slight historical value. Of how little worth in bearing upon the present question, the above extract makes perspicuous without discussion.

This

This author is cited as "Campanius," and indeed not infrequently so, though his name was Thomas Campanius Holm, whose history of New Sweden, *i. e.*, Pennsylvania, was printed at Stockholm in 1702. Its chief worth is said to be in its descriptions of the region, —natural features, products, and the beginnings of the Swedish settlement, in which his father and grandfather participated, though the author was never in this country.

Again our historian, Sullivan, is forced to bear witness. His history is cited as showing that there were people at Pemaquid from the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The bold, unblushing error can find no excuse, even though visions of Pemaquid's fabled antiquity transform all sober facts. Sullivan has no such statement, nor did he even mention Pemaquid in the alleged connection. What he does say is this, that from Gilbert's time "people were constantly *on the sea coast* engaged in trading and fishing." (Dist. Me., p. 160.) How very wide of the mark is that from establishing colonies.

The antiquities of Maine, especially in the Sheepscot and Pemaquid region, relics, implements, traces of the works of civilized men, are adduced as probable corroboration of these views of early colonial life, of which that disheartened exodus from Fort St. George, finding an asylum farther east, was the initial act and movement. Those relics, however, are dumb witnesses; they tell neither age nor origin; ancient dates inscribed are frauds, erroneously read, or mischievously interpreted. Still with positiveness this much can be asserted: historical evidence already considered makes unassailable proof adverse to their origin in the dozen years anterior to 1620. Men were not there; towns or hamlets were not built; such industries did not thrive in that period. Witnesses who knew the facts have given testimony. Hence these relics must be referred to subsequent

sequent years of known early settlement, or perhaps by a stretch of our credulity permitted to hold a shadowy place in some movement of the previous century, whose mystery mocks our fancy.

The foregoing indicates the methods of procedure, and comprise the main historical data employed to prove colonial life maintained at Pemaquid in the decade following the desertion of Fort St. George. Their weakness is apparent and surprising. In them are gathered misconceptions of facts and misinterpretations of history; errors of later writers are accepted and used to construct a greater error; fragments taken out of connection perform a mischievous service; the authoritative statements of ancient writers,—the very parties engaged in the colonizing schemes of that period,—are ignored. These materials are still so united with undoubted facts, with quiet, far-reaching assumptions, with inferences that bridge the chasm of difficulties, that the argument gains apparent force and plausibility, and seems conclusive to the uninstructed. But the direct, positive, as well as inferential testimony of the very actors in those movements and endeavors to possess the coast of Maine, prove them utterly weak and worthless, although out of a web of skillful theorizing and fancies has been evolved a vision of unreal history.



## THE POPHAM FAMILY.



OME outlines in the history of those who bore this name are a proper supplement to the foregoing. No comprehensive genealogies have been published, yet pedigrees have been traced to considerable extent, and materials collected which show the antiquity, the distinction and the important relation of the Pophams to English affairs through several centuries. The following has been drawn from the Visitation of Somersetshire, 1623, and from Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry, Eds. 1848 to 1883, and from documents and materials in English public repositories. Rev. Frederick Brown, of London, lately deceased, had gathered a large collection of materials regarding the Pophams, and sketched an elaborate pedigree. The unpublished Mss. are now deposited with the Somersetshire Archæological Society at Taunton Castle, and invite the future Popham genealogist.

It need be said that authorities in England regard the pedigrees derived from the Harleian Mss. and printed in the Visitation of Somersetshire as not worthy of reliance, frequently inaccurate and disagreeing.

The Pophams were an ancient family in the south of England; but to how remote an era the name can be traced, even Burke does not indicate. The line is taken up when a person bearing the name was

was advanced to honorable station among the landed gentry by coming into possession of the manor of Popham, a township in the county of Hampshire. By whatever causes the rights of the manor had devolved upon, and its hereditaments were held in trust by, Robert Clarke, Esq., it seems in accordance with some special charter of the Empress Maud (1135-54). His daughter and heir, Joan, married Gilbert Popham, of Popham, to whom the estates then passed, and from this union the Popham pedigrees are reckoned. This Gilbert Popham is assigned to the time of King John, but the date of the marriage is not given.

I. THE POPHAM LINE.

I. Gilbert Popham of Popham, in the time of King John.  
(1199-1216.)

M. Joan, dau. of Robt. Clarke, Esq., and heiress to the Popham estates.

His son was

II. Robert, of Popham, whose son and successor was

III. John. He was great-grandfather of

VI. John (Sir), who d. 16th year of Richard II, [1393,] whose son was

VII. John (Sir), constable and governor of Southampton in Eng., and of Tourain and Bayonne in France in time of Henry V, [1399-1413]. (No heirs, or line followed no further.)

His brother Henry d. 17th, Henry VI, [1446], whose son was

VIII. Stephen (Sir), who left no male heirs.

This pedigree omits two generations, the son and grandson of John,

John, (III) son of Robert, and gives for the succeeding, a Sir John Popham.

It also aids to make a needful correction in the early part of this work (p. 24). The statement that Chief Justice Popham was sixth in descent from Gilbert Popham, was derived from the Pop. Mem. Volume, p. 229; but it is a manifest error. Beyond doubt in that work, it was made by a mistaken interpretation of this somewhat obscure statement by Burke respecting the great-grandson of John (III). This man was not Sir John, the Justice of England, but another knight who died in the time of Richard II, (1393). For it is seen that the period from Gilbert, about 1200, to the birth of the Chief Justice, is 331 years, and if he were the sixth in descent, there would be an average for each generation of some sixty years.

#### THE HUNTWORTH LINE.

The second son of Robert (II) and brother of John (III) was

- I. Sir Hugh Popham, Knt. An official of King Edward I, [1272-1307]: m. Joan le Blount, widow of Sir John Trivet, and dau. and sole heir of Sir Stephen de Kentisbury, Knt. of Huntworth, in the county of Somerset. By this marriage Sir Hugh became the ancestor of the Huntworth line of Pophams.
- II. Sir Hugh.
- III. John, m. Alexandria Horsey.
- IV. Hugh, m. Hawise Brent.
- V. John, m. Dionys Powell (or Paulet). D. in 48th of Edward III, [1375].
- VI. Thomas, m. Cecilia Hugon; d. in 6th of Henry V, [1419].
- VII.

- VII. William, m. Agnes Edmondson; d. in 4th of Edward IV [1465].
- VIII. John, m. Isabella Knowles.
- IX. Alexander. [*Vide postea.*]
- X. Edward. [*Vide postea.*]
- XI. Alexander, m. Dulcibella Barley, had three sons.
1. Edward, colonel; magistrate; sheriff in 1623; m. 1, Dorothy Bartlett; 2, Anne Gifford; d. 1601, childless.
  2. Alexander, of Bridgewater (1623); m. Frances Mitchell.
  3. Thomas, who as heir to eldest brother was
- XII. Thomas, Esq., of Huntworth, which manor was sold in time of Charles I [1625-49], to the Portmans. He m. 1, Grace Dale, and 2, Mary Darby.
- XIII. Thomas.
- XIV. Alexander.
- From the above
- IX. Alexander of Huntworth: m. Jane, dau. of Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donal's Castle, Glamorganshire.
- According to Visitation Som., p. 124, their children were seven: William, son and heir, Edward, John (Sir), Robert, d. childless, Elizabeth, Catherine, Dorothy. But according to Burke, they were five; Edward, heir; John, (Sir); Elizabeth; Catherine; Dorothy. Order of birth in both lists, unknown. Evidently, the early death of William, the heir, gave Edward the succession. John became the Chief Justice. Elizabeth m. 1, Richard Mitchell, of Cannington; 2, Henry Vuedale. Catherine m. Wm. Poole.
- X. Edward, of Huntworth, m. Jane, dau. of Richard Norton, of Abbott's Lee, Bristol; died 1586. Children according

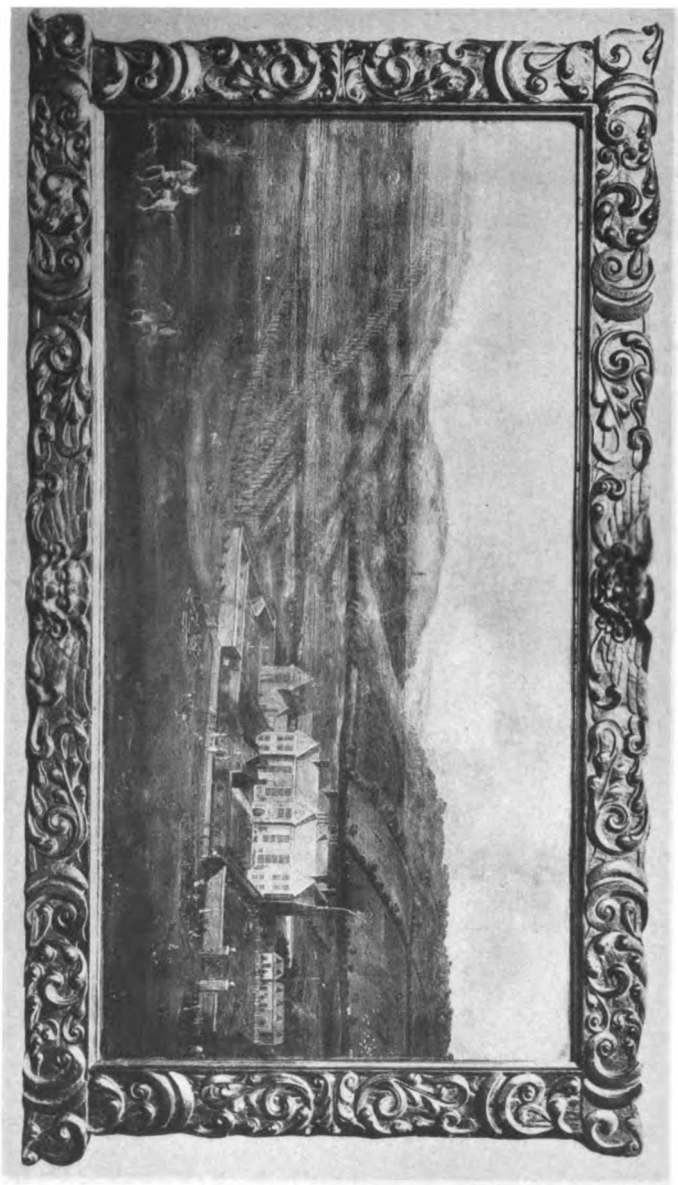


## THE SAGADAHOC COLONY.

ing to Vis. Som., p. 87, were sixteen:—Alexander, Thomas, Ferdinando, George, John, Humphrie, Sara, Elizabeth, Sara, Elizabeth, Jane, Katherine, Penelope, Rachel, Dowreball, Thomas. The four last mentioned, died young, as also (by another authority) a son Bartholomew. The order of birth is not shown. But again, Vis. Som., p. 124. There are but six:—Alexander, George, Ferdinando, Thomas, Sara, Elizabeth. These all are mentioned in their mother's will, but her husband, in a will two years earlier, had not mentioned the three younger sons. The reputed inaccuracy of the Harleian Mss. finds evidence in the above, perhaps the mingling of two families, or omissions in first list; otherwise ten or eleven of this large family died before their parents. The dau. Sara m. Edward Courte; Elizabeth m. Henry Forde. George is styled "a captaine," and is regarded as the president of the Sagadahoc colony.

## THE LITTLECOTE LINE.

- I. John (Sir), son of Alexander of Huntworth, Lord Chief Justice; b. 1531; d. 1607, June 10. M. Amye, dau. of Hugh (or Robert) Games (or Adam) of Caselton, in Glamorganshire. By purchase, the terms of which, as is confidently charged, involved judicial dishonor, he became possessor of the estate of Littlecote, in Wellington, in the county of Somerset. His children were 1.



LITTLECOTE, HUNGERFORD, BERKS.  
THE SEAT OF SIR JOHN POPHAM

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1. Francis (Sir), Knt., only son and successor.
2. Penelope, m. Thomas Hannam (or Hanham), Sergeant-at-law.
3. Elinor, m. Roger Warre, of Hestercombe.
4. Frances. ?
5. Elizabeth, m. Sir Richard Champernowne.
6. Jane, m. Thomas Horner, Esq.
7. Catherine, m. Edward Rogers, Esq.

Another daughter, Marie, must be added, or by error in name, substituted in place of Frances.

Marie, m. Sir John Mallett.

The eldest daughter Penelope, had a son bearing his father's name, Thomas Hanham. No evidence but name and relationship appears, still these will be esteemed conclusive that one of the two, probably the elder, was the Captain Hanham of the ship sent out chiefly in the interest of the Chief Justice to the coast of Maine in 1606.

The vocation of both was the law, and without doubt neither was a practical seaman, but the Justice selected his trusty son-in-law, to be the controlling agent in that expedition, and he is styled captain. But Capt. Pring, an experienced navigator, conducted the voyage according to the direction of his superior, Hanham, who went to observe, examine, in order to make report to the company in reference to the best location for the intended colony.

II. Francis (Sir), son of Chief Justice ; neither date of birth nor death are given: m. Anne, d. and h. of John and Eliz. Dudley.

Their children were five sons and eight daughters: 1. John; 2. Alexander, heir; 3. Thomas; 4. Hugh; 5. Edward. 1. Mary; 2. Amy; 3. Elizabeth; 4. Frances; 5. Jane; 6. Eleanor; 7. Katherine; 8. Annie. Sir

Sir Francis was a member of last parliament of Elizabeth, and of all of James I and Charles I; excepted out of general pardon by latter prince.

His son John was gentleman of Privy chamber: Hugh was slain at Sherborne in the civil wars: Edward was admiral of fleet, and had public funeral at Westminster Abbey, Aug. 1637.

- III. Alexander, son of Sir Francis; d. 1669; in Cromwell's parliament, and in 15th and 16th of Charles I; colonel of foot in parliamentary army; voted for the Restoration; entertained Charles II, at Littlecote.
- IV. Francis (Sir), d. 1674. Knighted at coronation of Chas. II.
- V. Alexander, d. 1705. No heirs, and estates passed to uncle.
- VI. Alexander, in parliament, 1654-6.
- VII. Francis, d. 1735, aged 52.
- VIII. Edward, in parliament, 1741-7, 1754-61; d. 1779.
- IX. Francis, d. 1780, no heirs; estates devised to nephew, Edw. Wm. Leyborne, Esq., who assumed the Popham arms and surname and became
- X. Edward William Leyborne-Popham; b. 1764, June 27; general in army; high-sheriff 1830; m. 1806, July 23, Elizabeth Andrew, dau. of rector of Powderham, Devon.
- XI. Edward William, of Littlecote and Hunstrete Park; b. 1807, Sept. 6; d. 1881, without heirs. The estates passed to the son of his brother Francis, who is
- XII. Francis William Leyborne-Popham, the present possessor of Littlecote.

Other subordinate families, given by Burke, are the Pophams of Bagborough, the Pophams of Shanklin. A grandson of the great Justice,

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Justice, removed to Ireland, and a descendant immigrating to this country was an officer in the revolutionary army. His descendants are residents of the state of New York. (Pop. Mem. Vol., p. 229.) A representative of the Somersetshire family formerly held an honored place in the government of Canada.

### ABSTRACTS OF WILLS.

1. Will of Edward Popham, of Huntworth, [son of Alexander and Jane (Stradling)]. Dated 1585, January 21; probated 1586, April 27. Makes bequests: to Jane my wife; to my daughter, Sara Court, and my daughter, Elizabeth Forde; to my brother, John Popham, Her Majesty's Atty. Genl.; to brothers-in-law, Wm. Poole, and Henry Vuedale; to Henry Forde, grandson; to Edward and Thomas Court, sons of John Court; to every god-daughter of mine, being the daughters of my brother John Popham and of Richard Michell, Esq., decsd; to each of the following, a jewel with name of donor inscribed,—to niece Mary, daughter of brother John, to sisters Katherine Poole and Elizabeth Vuedale, to niece Susan Michell, to Aunt Katherine Walron. To poor of North Petherton. Residue of estate to my son Alexander Popham; brothers John Popham, Wm. Poole, Henry Vuedale to be overseers.

2. Will of Jane Popham, widow [of above Edward], dated 1587, January 27; probated 1610, June 23. Makes bequests: to Edward son and heir; to Alexander my son; to Henry Foorde and Edward Courte; to my daughters Mrs. Sara Courte and Mrs. Elizabeth Foorde; to my three younger sons, George, Ferdinando and Thomas, if they be at my burial; to poor of Wells and North Petherton.

3. Will of Sir John Popham. Dated 1604, Sept. 21; probated 1608,

1608, June 17. "I, Sir John Popham, of Wellington, Co. Somerset, Knt., Chief Justice of Pleas"; to be buried at Wellington; builds a hospital there; my beloved wife, my son and heir Sir Francis P., and James Clarke, of London, to have control of lands in Somerset and Devon; names lands in London, Gloucester and Wilts; lands in trust for son Francis, to Mr. James Clarke and some others. Makes bequests: to Amye my wife; to daughters now living of Sir Francis; to Sara Popham one of the daughters of Ferdinando P., my nephew decd; to Amye Mallett the child of my daughter; to my five daughters, Penelope Hannam, Elinor Warre, Elizabeth Champernowne, Katherine Rogers and Marie Mallett; to John Horner, my daughter Horner's son, to Geo. Rogers my godson; wife and son to be sole executors; to my sons-in-law and to each of my trusty friends and cousins Edward Popham of Huntworth, and James Clarke, Esq.; to Amye Pyne my grandchild and her husband; overseers of will, my good sons-in-law, John Mallett, Richard Champernowne Knts., Thomas Horner, Edward Rogers, Roger Warre, Esqrs., and Edward Popham aforesaid.

The main facts in his life may be repeated here: Born at Huntworth, (not Wellington) Somerset Co., about 1531; married about 1560; educated at Baliol College, Oxford, where he entered 1547; reader in law at Middle Temple (1561) 1568, in after years its treasurer; sergeant-at-law, 1571, (1578, Jan. 28); member of parliament for Bristol, 1571, 1572-83; (for Lyme-Regis, 1557-8); Solicitor-General, 1579, June 26; speaker of House of Commons, 1581, Jan.; Attorney-General 1581, June 1; Chief Justice, 1592, June 2; Knighted and made Privy-Counsellor, 1592, June; summoned Essex to surrender, and was arrested by him, 1601, Feb.; presided at trial of Sir W. Raleigh, 1603; at the trial of Guy Fawkes, 1606; purchased Littlecote in Wellington, and made it his residence; com-  
missioned

missioned to supply the place of Lord Chancellor in Parliament during his absence, 1607, March 30 ; "struck with a mortal disease," "died suddenly," 1607, June 10 ; entombed in Church of John the Baptist at Wellington. A very splendid tomb of white marble, adorned with carvings and supporting figures and bearing the effigies of himself and wife marks the spot.

Profligacy and scandals, eminence and great honors, were extremes united in his life. His rigorous dealing with criminal classes made his name a terror, which was infused into the superstitious notions of the peasantry. In recent times a great oak was standing in Wellington Park wood, which they said "Lord Popham had been a-conjured into." When it was felled, and had turned "top on tail," (head over heels) down the ravine side, the people looked on in fear as one daring man went with ten oxen to drag it out, and expected he would be killed. Near the same place is a waterfall into a deep hole, regarded as one of the entrances to the underground home of the fiends and from which the devil sometimes comes forth. It is called Popham's Pit. Tradition avers that Sir John riding near, his horse fell over the edge and killed his rider, and now his ghost haunts the spot. These and similar stories [History of Wellington ; English Pronunciation ;] reveal how formidable his very personality that he should have left such an abiding impress upon the common mind.

4. Will<sup>169</sup> of George Popham. Dated 1607, May 31. Probated 1608, December 2.

"In the name of the Almighty being Father, Son & Holy Ghost three parsonnes and one God Eternall I make my will and Testament and is that my soule I betake into the handes of my saide  
God

169. This and the preceding have also been published in the N. E. Hist. Genealogical Register for 1890, October, p. 383.



God and Saviour twenty pounds to my Nephew Edwarde Popham with me in voyage ffive pounds to Thomas Oxnam my servant all the rest unto the above Lettice Maior whom I make my sole executrix.

“In witness whereof I hereunto have subscribed the laste of Maie one thousand six hundred and seaven.

GEORGE POPHAM.

“The halfe lyne blotted was myne owne doing.”

It will be inferred that George Popham had no family, perhaps was never married. The language of his will does not commend his education; still his letter of the same date (*antea*, p. 148), unless shaped by another hand, is a composition creditable to him, which will bear comparison with that of Gorges and others of that time. No claim should be made that an ordinary Englishman should be able to write elegant Latin, and the faults of his letter to the king should be judged leniently.

His place in the Popham family invites inquiry. Strachey had designated him “kinsman” of the Chief Justice. In the former obscurity, writers have regarded him as a brother, sometimes a cousin. In the Harleian Mss., as exhibited in the Visitation of Somersetshire, George, son of Edward, the brother of Sir John, is specially designated “a captaine.” The fact makes presumptive evidence that he was the Captain George of the Gift of God, and President at Sagadahoc. Hence was he nephew of Justice Popham?

Other associated facts may well be adduced for their bearing on the matter. First is the fact of his age. Gorges (Brief Narration) wrote of him, “that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man,” therefore his death at Sagadahoc was not surprising. Also (Letters, *antea*, p. 135) he describes him, as “an honest man, but ould, and of an unwildly body.” Had

Gorges

Gorges been a young man he might have thought of Popham if a score or more years older than himself, as an old man; but writing when he personally knew what age was, he would not have regarded him as well stricken in years unless it were the literal fact. The Council's Relation employs similar language, (*antea* p. 92,) "found that the old Captain Popham was also dead;"—which can only be interpreted to indicate advanced age. We must therefore believe that Popham had reached or passed beyond three-score and ten. Mr. Baxter has reached the same conclusion, and gives it as an opinion not to be gainsaid. (*Life and Times of Gorges.*) But Mr. Brown (*Genesis of U. S.*) has assigned an approximate year of birth 1553-5, which would make him only 52 to 54 years of age at death, and consequently a man in the prime of active life, and by no means old and stricken in years. The opinion therefore that Pres. Popham was near or had passed 70, is fully warranted. Also as an aged and retired captain he was holding a government position in the revenue service. Hence we find conditions which require the nephew to be nearly, perhaps quite, as old as the uncle. If George P. was 70 years old at death, then his birth was in about 1537. His mother's will shows him to be the eldest of her three younger sons, with a probability that two sisters were older than he, so that he was the second, or perhaps the third or fourth child of his parents. Indeed, if the family numbered sixteen, several might have preceded him. But at the least estimate his father's birth antedated his own by some twenty-five years, or 1512. Hence between Edward and his brother Sir John nearly twenty years, perhaps several more, must have intervened, and the latter must have been the youngest or next youngest child of Alexander of Huntworth. By the same estimates Edward was at least 74 at death, and his wife Jane, if twenty at the above estimated date of marriage, would have been

96 at death. These relationships and ages present nothing unreasonable, and by placing Sir John and Edward at the extremes of the probable seven children, it would be possible for George the nephew to be nearly as old as his uncle, the Justice.

The will of Capt. George P. has a bequest to a nephew, Edward. The eldest son of his brother Alexander will meet the requirement, which aids to verify the matter in question. This Edward went to Sagadahoc, and living in 1623 had been a colonel, a magistrate, a sheriff. The same person is without doubt intended in the will of Justice Popham, in a bequest to "my trusty friends and cosyns Edward Popham of Huntworthe and \* \* \*." He was a grand nephew of Sir John. His father Alexander, brother to Capt. George, had died in 1601, and this eldest son had become Edward of Huntworth. The best English authorities say that in early wills for designations of relationships any degree after a brother or sister might be styled cousin.

The evidence, therefore, showing Sir John and President George to be uncle and nephew, is quite satisfactory, and is the common opinion in England. Still, Rev. Mr. Brown, in a sketch of the pedigree, inserted for the death of George, son of Edward, the date 1617. If he was accurate, it overturns the above position and shows another George. The date is open to suspicion of being a clerical error, since elsewhere, for the death of apparently the same George, he had written 1607, (Feb., 1608, N. S.).

A few other items have value in this connection.

A report dated 1580, July 20, from the commanders of musters in Somerset to the council, says: "Have put in readiness 200 choice soldiers & appointed George Popham a gent. of good parentage forward in service & of honest behaviour to be their Captain, & knows to be acceptable to the soldiers."

The

The historian Purchas wrote that Capt. George Popham took a voyage to the West Indies, 1594. A person of the same name was a captain in Robert Dudley's voyage to Guiana, 1594, Nov., to 1595, May. (Brown's Genesis of U. S.)

Also, in Edwards' Life of Raleigh, is stated, "That a very curious Abstract of certain Spaniard's letters concerning Guiana and Orenoque, which he [Raleigh] afterwards appended to his own Guiana narrative, is based on documents which were captured from a Spanish vessel at sea by Capt. George Popham in 1594."

The question arises, if there were not two persons bearing this name and title in that period in public service, but it can only be answered by wide research and careful digestion of materials which English sources may supply. An officer engaged in and adapted to both military and marine affairs is indicated by the above extracts, if the same person appears in them all. The two forms of service may have been blended, and this Captain Popham, at sea at that time when so much fighting was done, may have been more a naval commander than a master-mariner. Indeed, it may be doubted if in the Sagadahoc enterprise, Popham was a seaman and practical navigator so much as a manager of affairs, a leader and commander of the colonists, in fact a military officer who should fortify, and superintend operations in the seizure of the wilderness.

5. Will of Edward Popham; dated February 21st, and probated March 6, 1640. "I Ed: Popham of Huntworthy, parish of North petherton, Co. Somerset, Esqr." Had assured his lands in Huntworthy and Buckland upon trust to Sir Wm. Portman he being then in possession. His executors, his loving brothers Thomas P. and John P. gents, to recover his property; when recovered, determines it succession,—first to Brother Thomas P.—and to his eldest son, or failing him, to next son, or to Alex. P., of Sherston,  
or to

or to Thomas P., of same. Mentions sisters, Mrs. Elizabeth Court, Jane Newton, Katherine Hunt,—Brother John P.,—Brother-in-law Roger Warre,—Sara Warre daughter of his sister, who was first wife of Roger Warre.

This person is the Edward P. who went to Sagadahoc, and is mentioned in the will of Pres. Popham, and of the Chief Justice. He seems to have been the last possessor of the Huntworth manor.

6. Of Sir Francis Popham, the son of the Chief Justice, no will appears, nor has any document or entry to indicate the date of his death, come to hand. His father's marriage is assigned to about 1560. Francis was the only son, but sisters may have been older than he, yet his birth before 1570 is probable. He entered parliament in 1601, and bequests made in his father's will, show that several daughters were living at that date, 1604.

His father, his son, and grandson, each left a will; and his own property interests were equally extensive, so that the lack of a will makes reasonable the supposition of sudden death.

7. Will of Alexander Popham, [son of Sir Francis] of Littlecote; made Oct. 7, 1669, and probated Dec. 20, 1670. His wife Dame Hellena; his eldest son, Sir Francis P.; he to be guardian of three younger children, Anne, Alexander, George; eldest daughter, Letitia.

Notes. It may be deemed an omission that the name—Fort St. George—has not been noticed. George Williamson (p. 112, *antea*) certainly failed of his ordinary acumen and care, in the statement that the fort received Pres. Popham's christian name. He did not, however, acquaint us whence came the "Saint," for surely Popham had not been thus distinguished.

The source of the name seems evident,—St. George—who for centuries had been held as the patron saint of England. The legend of his exploits had prevailed there even before the conquest.

The

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The colony would make this endeavor in the wilderness as if invoking the guardianship of the saint whom Englishmen had long venerated.

In reference to the "two colonies deducted," (p. 226, *antea*) it may be further said, that possibly the true intent and correct interpretation will restrict the statement to the colonies of Raleigh according to the literal text. The second and "lost colony" of 1587 could be assumed, by the methods and for the ends of diplomacy, to be *still there existing*. Hence the one at Jamestown needs not to be brought into the case, and least of all that at Sagadahoc.







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## ERRATA.

- Page 13, line 14. Read, three sail of ships.
- “ 15, “ 2. Read, faultily written, and misleading.
- “ 24, “ 13. Read, Huntworth for Wellington.
- “ 128, “ 10. } Read, B. F. DeCosta for DaCosta.
- “ 130, “ 21. }
- “ 131, “ 9. Read, generall.
- “ 169, “ 14. } Read, Clarke and Lake, not Luke.
- “ 175, “ 10. }
- “ 203, “ 21. Read, Mr. Patteson.
- “ 250, “ 24. Strike out interrogation point.
- “ 254, “ 24. Strike out George.





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