TERCENTENARY

OF THE

LANDING OF THE POPHAM COLONY AT THE MOUTH OF THE KENNEBEC RIVER

AUGUST 29, 1907

PORTLAND
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1907

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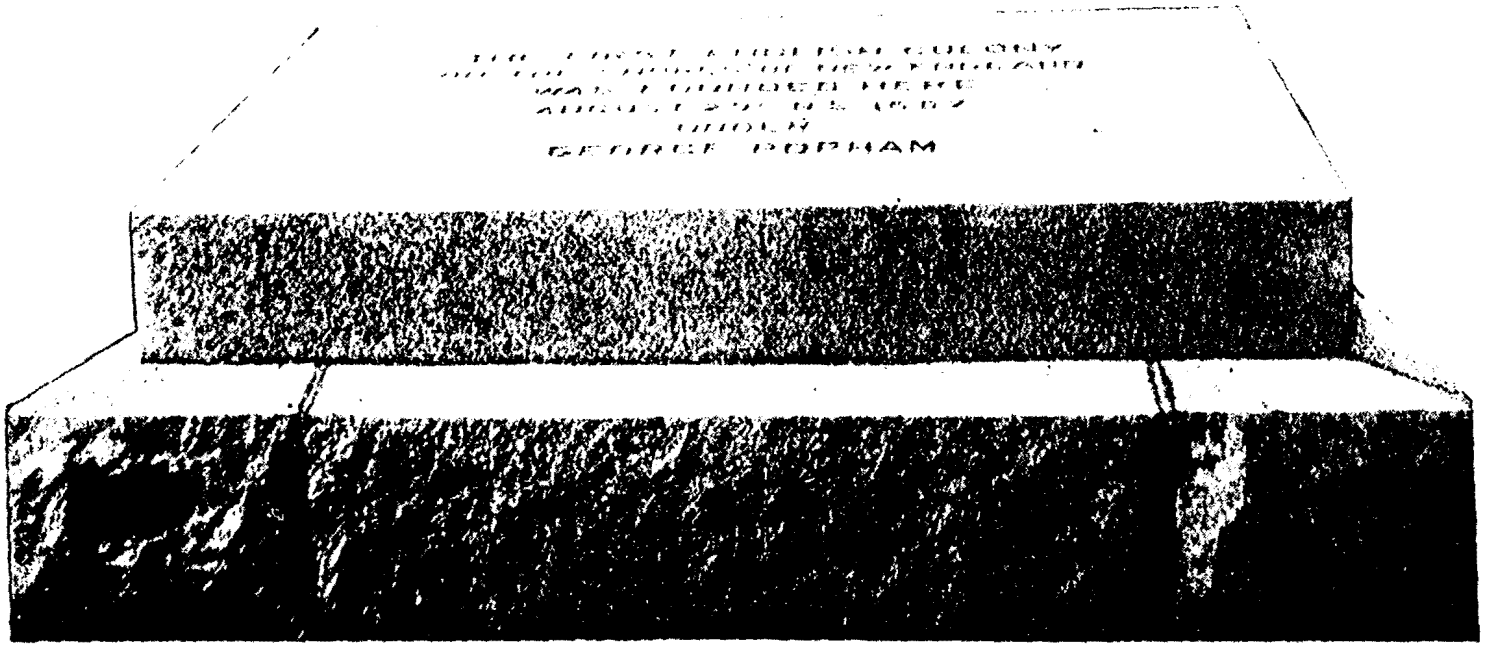

THE POPHAM MEMORIAL.

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THE POPHAM TERCENTENARY

The two hundred and fifty-fifth anniversary of the landing of the Popham Colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River was celebrated by the Maine Historical Society August 29, 1862, and a memorial volume, containing the addresses delivered on the occasion, and other contributions of interest, was published by the Society in the following year. At the time of the celebration in 1862, and on the supposed site of the fort erected by the Popham colonists, the United States government had commenced the construction of a fort, which, in accordance with a request of the Historical Society, had received the designation Fort Popham. Also permission had been asked and received by the Historical Society to place in the wall of the fort a memorial stone, with a suitable inscription, commemorating the founding of the colony. Such a stone was prepared, and in the account of the celebration held in 1862, mention is made of the services connected with the placing of this memorial. Evidently, however, this placing was in form only. Probably the work of constructing the walls of the fort had not been sufficiently advanced for the setting of the stone in its assigned position. In the course of the Civil War much was learned with reference to the construction of coast fortifications, and the inadequacy of Fort Popham as a defence to the entrance to the Kennebec was

discovered before the structure was completed. The fort accordingly was left unfinished, and the block of granite, prepared by the Maine Historical Society for a prominent place in the walls of Fort Popham, was given a place in the yard of the fort, where it remained unboxed until August, 1907.

In the intervening years it was ascertained that the fort of the Popham colonists did not occupy the site of Fort Popham; and in June, 1906, on the approach of the tercentenary of the landing of the Popham Colony, a letter was addressed to the Secretary of War, on behalf of the Historical Society, requesting permission for the transfer of this memorial stone to the now known site of Fort St. George, as Popham's fort was called. This permission was granted, and subsequently the War Department donated to the Historical Society a sufficient amount of the unused stone in the yard of Fort Popham for the construction of a base, upon which to place in a new form the memorial prepared by the Society in 1862.

The inscription on the stone prepared for Fort Popham was as follows:

THE FIRST COLONY
ON THE SHORES OF NEW ENGLAND
WAS FOUNDED HERE
AUGUST 19, O. S. 1607
UNDER
GEORGE POPHAM

The first colony on the shores of New England was that established by de Monts in 1604. In preparing the original memorial stone for its new location, the above inscription was removed, and the same inscrip-

tion, with the addition of a single word and a change from Old Style to New, was cut as follows:

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

The design for the new memorial was furnished by the Hallowell Granite Company, of Hallowell, Me., and the contract for the construction of the memorial was given to the same company. The cost of the memorial was defrayed by the State of Maine, the Maine Historical Society, the Colonial Dames of Maine and the Maine Society of Colonial Wars.

A part of the site selected by the Popham colonists in locating their fort is now owned by the United States government, and permission was obtained from the Secretary of War to place the memorial on government land. But a more sightly location was deemed desirable, and such a location, also within the limits of Fort St. George, was found on the rocky spur of Sabino Head, adjoining the government reservation. From the owners of this more sightly location, Messrs. Lyman and George A. Oliver, permission was obtained to place the memorial there. A more fitting spot for such a memorial could not be desired. From it the mouth of the Kennebec is in full view, and for some distance up into the main the eye can follow the course of the river descending to the sea.

The 29th of August, 1907, was one of the fairest, brightest days of summer. By the early morning

trains, from various parts of the State, members of the Maine Historical Society, of the Colonial Dames in the State of Maine and of the Maine Society of Colonial Wars, made their way to Bath. Others joined the company there, and a little after nine o'clock the sail down the river to Popham Beach began. As the steamer made its way thither many a scene of historic interest was passed on either hand, recalling events connected with the experiences of the early settlers. The wharf at Popham Beach was reached at half-past ten o'clock.

At once the company, with others who had already reached the place, proceeded to the meeting-house not far away, on the road from Fort Popham to the site of Fort St. George. Here the literary exercises of the day were held. The audience filled the house. The Hon. James P. Baxter, President of the Maine Historical Society, presided and delivered the opening address.

We have assembled on these pleasant shores to celebrate an event of interest to us, not because of its importance to mankind, nor of its material or moral influence upon the welfare of those within the narrower bounds of our own State, nor of the virtue or heroism of the actors in it, for even the leading spirit in the enterprise, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, places them in a light none too favorable, but because it was the pioneer effort made in good faith by its projectors to colonize our New England shores, an effort which might have been successful had men of different character been employed to sustain it. So much of a derogatory nature has been said of these men that it seems proper that, keeping in view the fact that only success earns the diploma of merit, we should try to get as correct a view of them as possible.

I have said that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the leading spirit in the Sagadahoc colonial enterprise. He it was whose enthusi-

asm never flagged, and which inspired men absorbed in other pursuits to adventure their substance and their influence to support and advance his projects. His zeal, energy and self sacrifice in behalf of colonial undertakings have never been questioned, and it can be safely affirmed that he was a man of lofty aims and broad foresight; a man, who, while having an eye to his own interests, could subordinate them to the public welfare.

Of Chief Justice Popham, who lent his great influence and advanced liberally of his means to aid this colonial venture, thereby acquiring the title of its chief sustainer, much of a defamatory character has been written. He has been charged with disreputable living previous to his elevation to the chief justiceship, and then, with most corrupt practices. Even the possession of his family seat, Littlecote Manor, has been charged to judicial dishonor.[1]

It is well, however, in this instance to apply the rule which an astute publicist has prescribed for observance in the treatment of such cases, namely, that "When a thing is asserted as a fact, always ask who first reported it, and what means he had of knowing the truth."

The application of this rule shows that the writers of the wild stories of his acquisition of Littlecote by corrupt dealings with Darrell, its former owner, relied for their materials chiefly upon traditions. Papers in the Public Records Office have recently come to light which do not sustain these stories.[2]

That Popham was aggressive and unscrupulous there can be little doubt, as little doubt indeed as that Darrell, with whom Popham is accused of having made a corrupt bargain to clear him of a criminal charge, was not nearly as bad as he was painted by self-interested contemporaries. A much more reasonable explanation of his relations with Darrell is that he took advantage of the death of an unfortunate man, upon whose property he was enabled by his great power to seize and hold on the ground of having rendered for it an equivalent in services. Popham, there can be no doubt, was far from being a model of virtue, but no more corrupt than many of the men high in office in the reigns

[1] Vide, "Lives of Eminent Men"—Aubrey—Vol. II, p. 293, "Romance of the Aristocracy"—Burke—Vol. I, p. 174.

[2] Vide, "Society in the Elizabethan Age"—Hall—pp. 133-146.

of Elizabeth and James whose acts have escaped the searching light to which his have been subjected.

Of George Popham, the nephew of the Chief Justice, and head of the Colony, we know only good. Even the French Jesuit, Biard, who visited the site of the colony after its abandonment, and who certainly was not friendly to the English, says that he was "A very honorable man, and conducted himself very kindly towards the natives,"[1] and though Gorges paints him as "Ould and of an unwildy body, and timorously fearfull to offende or contest with others, that will or do oppose him," he also describes him as "honest" as well as "A discreete and careful man,"[2] and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that, if he had survived the hardships of the terrible winter of 1607-8, that he might have held the colony together until it could be reinforced by new blood.

Of Ralegh Gilbert, who succeeded Popham, success could not be expected. He was doubtless selected because of the fame of his father, Sir Humphrey, to whom Elizabeth had granted a patent for territory of shadowy bounds twenty-nine years before.[3] Though he seems to have inherited the courage he does not seem to have inherited the virtues of his famous father.

Biard, who has already been quoted, says, that after the death of Popham, who had treated the savages kindly, "The English 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 upon still worse treatment 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 there is most treachery there are the most caresses) each one chose his man and killed him with his knife. Thus were dispatched eleven of the English."[4]

[1] Vide, "Premiere Mission des Jesuites a Canada"— Carayon — p. 70 et seq.
[2] Vide, "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine," Vol. III, p. 158.
[3] Vide, Hazard's "Historical Collections," Vol. I, pp. 24-28.
[4] Vide, "Premiere Mission des Jesuites a Canada"— Carayon — p. 70 et seq.

Gorges also describes Gilbert as "Desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life, prompt to sensuality, little zeal and experiense, other wayes valiant enough, 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 be put out of it in haste, with many such like idle speeches." From this it will be seen that Gilbert supposed the colony to have been settled within the bounds of his father's former patent. With such a man in charge of the depleted colony, and jealous of its promoters at home, one cannot be surprised that upon the opportunity afforded by the death of his brother, whose heir he was, he should take advantage of the situation, and, when a ship with supplies arrived, should gather his disheartened men and hurry home with them.

From the remarks of Gorges already quoted, and the statement that Gilbert had written friends in England soliciting them to support his claims, it seems probable that he was not averse to the failure of the colony, the creature of men who had, he believed, usurped his rights, and it seems probable that he was indulging in a dream of a renewed patent and a return to Sagadahoc or vicinity with a new colony over which he would be supreme.

There were besides the men already discussed, several others, able and of good repute, as Seymour, the minister, a man no doubt of lofty character; Turner, the physician, of whom Gorges speaks in high terms; James and Robert Davis, and others. At the same time we may well believe that there was a considerable contingent, as in other colonial undertakings, of unfit men, even representatives of the criminal classes. Chief Justice Popham himself gave the Spanish minister to understand that such was the case, though this is not proof, as he may have been only talking diplomatically.[1] Many early writers cast odium upon him for sending men, whom Gorges himself declares were "Not such as they ought." But if such men formed a portion of the colony it was only in accord with the spirit of the age; even the Dean of St. Pauls, several years later, in a sermon to the Virginia Company, said, "The Plantation shall redeeme many a wretch

[1] Vide, "The Genesis of the United States"— Brown — Vol. I, p. 46.

from the lawes of death, from the hands of the executioner." Gorges, who knew perhaps more than anybody else the character of the rank and file of the colony may be quoted. He says that to be successful "There must go other manner of spirits," and charges failure to "Theyr idle proceedings."

When we consider the condition of maritime art in the sixteenth century, after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, which was hailed as a great event "More divine than human," the ease with which the ocean passage can be made; and the character of the English people so enterprising and aggressive as they have shown themselves to be, it seems strange indeed that this great country, so rich in natural resources, should have remained for more than a century without a single successful step being made by the English toward its colonization.

Colonies were nothing new. They had been successfully founded by Greeks and Romans many centuries before, and had proved of great benefit to the parent state, all of which was well known to English scholars, and the advantages of colonizing the new world were amply discussed long before successful efforts were made to secure them. We know that the Spanish Garagantua fumed and threatened all who ventured upon voyages to the New World, and cruelly treated, even butchered some who were caught there; but this does not appear to have been sufficient to have deterred Englishmen from pursuits to which they were inclined. In spite of Spain's great sea power they never shrunk from encountering it, and usually came off victorious, and the thought grows upon us that the principal hindrance to colonial success is to be found in the character of the material which was then thought sufficient for colonial building. Society in England during the sixteenth century and much later was in a graceless way. Men in power, courtiers and parasites who depended upon them, monopolized the sources of production and paralyzed industry, thereby creating poverty such as we know little about, a poverty which measured by the oppressive and cruel laws then prevailing, made criminals of men, who, with reasonably fair opportunities, would have made decent citizens. The frequent wars, too, which threw upon society thousands of incapacitated and worthless men with no means of living added to the criminal class. How to deal with such persons was a

problem from which the wisest shrunk. Any way which could be suggested to get rid of this class of persons was satisfactory to those in power, and the colonial prospect was hailed as an effective way of disposing of them forever.

There were men who objected to this, Bacon and Fuller among the number, who vehemently condemned the theory that criminals were fit timber for colonies, but these protests had little effect, and the king continued to order "dissolute persons" to be sent to Virginia.

The result was what might have been expected. The southern colony, which had planted itself at Jamestown, had the same experience as its sister colony on the Sagadahoc. After severe hardships, though it escaped the extreme rigors of a northern winter, it was reduced to a handful of disheartened men by sickness and the vengeful hand of the savages, and would probably have been exterminated but for the stout and devil-may-care spirit of Captain John Smith until the arrival of reinforcements from England; but even then, only a year and eight months after the northern colony deserted the Sagadahoc, the southern colony abandoned its settlement at Jamestown, and burying the cannon which were too burdensome for them to remove, it sailed for home, and we should have heard no more of it, had it not met, as it was leaving the coast, Sir Thomas West, with a new charter and new settlers. Sir Thomas, being a man of action, ordered them back, the cannon were dug up and replaced in the fort, and the new master put his hand to the helm of affairs with a firm grasp; but again the colony would have failed had not John Rolfe planted some tobacco seed, which, producing a profitable crop and serving as an object lesson to the discouraged colonists, saved the day; in fact, to that perniciously profitable weed, tobacco, is the salvation of the southern colony to be ascribed; thus we see what immense advantages the southern colony had over the northern, in that it was not subject to wintry weather, the severity of which Gorges says "Froze all our hopes," and possessed also a product ready at hand, upon which to rely for support; advantages amply sufficient, if both colonies were composed of like material, to ensure success to the one possessing them.

Forty-five years ago to-day the Maine Historical Society was

here celebrating the event, the three hundredth anniversary of which we are now observing; yet of the members of our Society whose eloquence aroused the enthusiasm of those who listened to them on that bright August day, not one is now living to join his voice to ours on this memorable occasion.

While acknowledging the distinguished services which these honored men rendered to Maine history, it is but proper that I should notice some of the errors into which they fell, and which caused so much unpleasant controversy. They did not have access to records which we now possess and, therefore, built upon less secure foundations. With the materials which the veiled and frugal Goddess of History vouchsafed to them, they wrought an attractive fabric, which our State pride might well prompt us to wish was more stable than it proved to be. We now know beyond peradventure, that no part of the Sagadahoc Colony remained behind to lay the foundations of empire at Pemaquid; that in 1623, "Pemaquid had" *not* "become the great center of trade to the native hordes of Maine from the Penobscot to Accacisco";[1] that the statements that "The evidence is quite conclusive that in that dissolution," namely, of the Sagadahoc Colony, "English life, English homes, and English civilization did not cease to be found within the Ancient Dominions of Maine,"[2] that "Pemaquid took her root from the colonial plantation at Sagadahoc, and sent up fresh, vigorous, and fruitful shoots in the families of the Sheepscot farms, between the head-waters of the aboriginal Sipsa and Naamas Couta"; that "Maine is the Mother of New England,"[3] and many other like statements are but pleasant fancies. Nor was there any great Bashaba ruling an Indian Empire in Mawooshen;[4] nor even a Norembega of more importance than a few squalid wigwams, however much we may regret to own it. The "Fair English town" too "of fifty houses, with its church and fort mounted and entrenched" has dwindled to fifteen buildings of all kinds, the number shown on the Simancas plan.[5]

[1] Vide, Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, 1862, Sewall's Address, pp. 133-155.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Vide, "Ancient Dominions of Maine"—Sewall—pp. 34, 38.

[5] Vide, Ibid, p. 32, Memorial Volume Popham Celebration, 1862, Sewall's Address, p. 139.

The track of the colonists is now perfectly clear and undisputed. Pemaquid, from its important situation, was an objective point to ships approaching the middle Maine coast, and here a landing was made and a conference held with the chief of the Pemaquid tribe before establishing themselves at the mouth of the Kennebec, and later they also visited Pemaquid which was to became so noted as a place of historic interest to the people of the State.

The truth, however, remains as we were formerly taught, that the Puritans and the Pilgrims founded the first permanent colonies in New England under the wise leadership of men like Bradford and Winthrop and Roger Williams, whom the people of this country will ever honor; colonies, which guided by the principals of the Mayflower compact, imparted to subsequent colonies that fervent spirit of liberty and equality which kindled the Revolution, and fused them into a nation. But while we admit this, we do not detract from the interest that this historic place will always possess for the people of Maine, who, in time to come, will gather here in remembrance of this interesting historical event. Here was the first English colony in New England founded through the efforts of Gorges, who has not inaptly been denominated the Father of American Colonization. Here the first New England ship was built, the first fort erected to maintain the rights of Englishmen to the continent discovered by Cabot under an English commission, and here George Popham, the noble governor of that colony, laid down his life for the cause which he had espoused, a man of whom Gorges wrote these words: "*However heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country.*"[1]

An address, by Prof. Henry L. Chapman, of Bowdoin College, followed.

The opening years of the twentieth century are full of invitations to us to scan anew the records of the past; records that tell in quaint phrase, but with directness and simplicity of manner,

[1] Vide, "A Description of New England" in "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine," Vol. II, p. 16.

the story of individual and concerted effort, of perilous adventure, of heroic enterprise, in the attempt, often renewed, to plant English colonies upon the New England coast. The Maine Historical Society, as might be expected, has felt the significance of these invitations that come across the wide interval of three centuries, and has responded to them by various commemorative exercises, intended, at once, to mark the successive and costly steps in the peopling of the Western Continent, and to honor the memory of the brave men who gave their fortunes and sometimes their lives to the great and hazardous enterprise. Thus, in 1903, the Society held a commemorative meeting in celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the voyage of Captain Martin Pring to the coast of Maine and Massachusetts, a voyage that was set forth by "sundry of the chiefest Merchants of Bristol," through the persuasion of Richard Hakluyt, "for the farther Discoverie of the North part of Virginia." It is true that Captain Pring did not, himself, contemplate the establishment of a colony, but his expedition was, nevertheless, wholly in the interest of the project of American colonization, a project that was enlisting the generous co-operation and patronage of English sailors, and merchants, and statesmen. He skirted a part of the Maine coast, sailed among the numerous outlying islands — which he found "very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees" — explored some of the inviting inlets, took note of the noble forests, made a passing acquaintance with divers kinds of wild beasts, had cautious but interesting interviews with the natives, caught some highly satisfactory codfish, and finally loaded his two ships with sassafras from the shore near what is now Plymouth, and sailed back to England with the charts which he had drawn, and with a very encouraging report of the beauty and fruitfulness of the land, and of the advantages it offered for profitable colonization.

Again, in 1904, the three hundredth anniversary of the arrival on our coast of Sieur de Monts, with a French colony, was duly observed at the island of St. Croix, where the colony built a fort and some houses, and passed a single winter with much sickness, and suffering, and destitution. One of the historians of the voyage, M. Lescarbot, speaks of "how hard the ile of Saint Croix is to bee found out, to them that were never there"; but the

PROF. HENRY L. CHAPMAN, D. D.

Historical Society found it out on that three hundredth summer after it was first occupied, and erected there a permanent memorial to de Monts and his adventurous but ill-starred company. Thirty-six of the little band perished miserably during the unexampled severity of the winter, and it is no wonder that the few survivors were unwilling to undergo a repetition of such hardship, and abandoned the island. It was a French colony, and but for the unusual rigor of the winter it might have persisted, and made the Saint Croix, rather than the coast of Newfoundland, the theater of French colonial enterprise. For de Monts had received from the French king, Henry IV, a royal patent to the territory of North America from Cape Breton to the mouth of the Hudson River; "and in the same distance, or part of it, as farre as may be done, to establish, extend, and make to be knowne our Name, Might, and Authoritie." But "the attempt and not the deed" confounded them. For when the extent of the French claims, and the effort to enforce them by colonization were known in England, the English colonizers were stirred to new activity, and a well-equipped ship was sent forth with the ostensible object of finding a north-west passage to India, but with the real purpose to watch the movements of the French, and to further the cherished project of planting English colonies upon the American coast.

This ship was the Archangel, under the command of Captain George Waymouth; and in 1905, we celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of Captain Waymouth's arrival in St. George's River; and on the island where he set up a cross in token that the region was claimed for England, and for the Christian faith, we erected a granite cross in commemoration of his act, and honored his name with a memorial tablet in Thomaston. The errand of Captain Waymouth, like that of Captain Pring, was not to establish a colony, but to watch the movements of the French who were laying claim to a large part of the continent, to explore the coast, to ascertain its conveniences for harborage and defense, the promise of profitable cultivation which the land afforded, and the opportunities of trade with the natives. In respect to all these points the report was encouraging, not to say exuberant. "Every day," says James Rosier, the historian of the voyage, "we found the land more and more to discover unto

us his pleasant fruitfulnesse, insomuch as many of our company wished themselves settled here"; and "the further we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better." "Here," he exclaims, "by judgment of our Captaine, who knoweth most of the Coast of England, and most of other Countries — here are more good Harbours for Ships of all burthens, than all England can afoord: And farre more secure from all winds and weathers, than any in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spaine, or any other part hitherto discovered, whereof we have received any relation." And of St, George's River he says,— "I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, and secure harboring River that the world affordeth; for if man should wish, or Art invent, a River subject to all conveniences, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Platforme framed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts invention." In addition to this enthusiastic description of the new continent Captain Waymouth carried back to England five stalwart natives, whom he captured by methods that could be justified only by the Jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means.

What wonder that the result of Waymouth's voyage was to exalt the hopes, and stimulate the activity of those who were interested in the project of American colonization! The following year, indeed, saw two vessels dispatched to the American coast, by Chief Justice Popham and others, for further exploration. One of them, it is true, was captured by the Spaniards, and so failed of its purpose; but the second vessel, Martin Pring, Master,— whose voyage three years before had proved so encouraging,— succeeded in reaching the shores of Maine, and was able, on its return, to confirm the favorable report of Waymouth in 1605. The tercentenary of these two voyages was duly observed by a paper read before the Historical Society on the second of May, 1906.

These successive and significant steps In the great movement have been duly recognized and commemorated by us during the last four years.

To-day we celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of (what was, in a sense, the culmination of the series of events which I have mentioned, and of others that preceded them) — the landing

of the first English colony on the coast of New England. It was a memorable event, and we do well to commemorate it not only by these transient exercises, but also by the permanent memorial, which has just been unveiled, to mark this historic spot.

The Sagadahoc Colony, as it was called, together with its twin, and more successful, colony at Jamestown, had a backward look, since it was a further and more assured step in the design which had been floating, with growing clearness, before the vision of the English people for more than a century, ever since the Cabots had claimed for England the continent of America by right of discovery; and, in accordance with this claim, letters-patent, and charters of privileges and possession had been granted by sovereign authority to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others. It had also a forward look, because it was the beginning of systematic attempts to colonize the New World under the patronage and authority of the English king, within defined limits of territory, and with carefully prescribed powers and privileges. It inaugurated, in a modest and hampered way a form of colonial government which came, more and more, to have the character of a political dependency, and which developed, through inevitable changes and expansions, to virtual autonomy and at last to independence. All that was really embraced in the forward look of the little colony — standing, as it did, on the boundary line between the barren methods of the past and the pregnant methods of the future — could not, of course, be seen by the colonists themselves. Their eyes and their efforts were directed to the immediate gains of the enterprize on which they were embarked, and their souls were tried by the present difficulties with which they had to contend. The more remote view was in the nature of things hidden from them; else they would have seen one colony succeeding another to these shores, with substantially the same chartered powers and safeguards as their own, but modified to conform to what experience taught and special conditions required; all bound to the mother country by patriotic sentiment and by administrative laws, but each developing in accordance with its peculiar purpose and personnel; until a general community of interests and their united strength, together led them, under the spur of oppressive acts of administration, to throw off the yoke of dependence, and the col-

onies became a republic. All this was in the forward look of the little Sagadahoc Colony, which, with timid foot and high hopes, stepped upon this shore three hundred years ago to-day, and, under the sanction of a devout religious service, proceeded to build a fort for defense, and houses for shelter, and a ship for fishing and for communication with the outer world. Then they awaited the winter which, as in the case of the colony of de Monts, was to benumb them with its cold, and buffet them with its storms, and finally with the triple thongs of privation and sickness and death to drive them from the land they had so hopefully possessed.

I have said that the colony had a look backward as well as forward, and the backward look is interesting and instructive, because it reveals the motives out of which mainly grew the colonies of the Virginia Company, and helps us to understand their genesis, and the material of which they were composed. These motives were, in part, native to the English character, in part the outgrowth of political and religious relations, particularly with Spain, and in part the product of new and disturbing social conditions. It will be sufficiently exact, therefore, to classify them as commercial, political, economic, and religious. The commercial motive is the one that is native to the English character. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the corner-stone upon which rest the power and prestige of the English nation is its jealous devotion to the interests of trade. Whatever policies of government may be in dispute among the people, and however widely men may differ as to the particular policy to be adopted, the crucial test to which all alike are anxious to bring the disputed question, is the probable effect upon the trade and commerce of the country. It is this intelligent and unresting pursuit of commercial opportunity and advantage which has sent the ships of England into every quarter of the globe, and has made the little island, and its chief city, the center and clearing-house of the business operations of the world. It is significant that the phrase, "to discover new trades," was frequently employed in the sixteenth century to indicate the purpose of expeditions to remote regions, which we should now term voyages of discovery and adventure. To discover a new trade was to discover a new place and opportunity for trading. An unknown island or con-

tinent where the natives could be persuaded to buy or to barter, was a "trade," and the English merchants were eager to find it at whatever cost or hazard. Richard Eden, in his quaint and interesting book called "The Decades of the New World," published in 1555, reproached the English people because they had not attempted to occupy the north part of America as the Spaniards had occupied the south part; and he exhorted them "to doo for our partes as the Spaniardes have doone for theyrs, and not ever lyke sheepe to haunte one trade, and to doo nothynge woorthy memorie amonge men, or thankes before God."

Two years before Eden's book was published, in the closing year of the reign and the life of young Edward VI, there was formed in London, under the leadership of Sebastian Cabot, a joint stock trading company, under the vague but fascinating title of "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and Places unknown." It established a commercial connection with Moscow in Russia, and probably because its original name was too cumbersome for everyday use in the market-place, and, perhaps, in stock quotations, it came to be known as the Muscovy Company, and under that title it is famous as the pioneer among the trading companies of the century. It was followed, twenty-five years later, by the Eastland Company, composed of merchants trading with Scandinavia and lands east of the Baltic Sea. Then, in somewhat quick succession, were organized the Levant Company, with its sphere of operations in the Mediterranean and in Turkey, the Barbary Company, the Guinea Company, and, in the closing year of the century, the most famous and powerful of them all, the East India Company, in whose books the works of Charles Lamb were contained, as the gentle humorist declared. By the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, these six trading companies divided between them most of the available territory of the Old World; but as yet England had no trading company or colony on the western continent.

The first company chartered in the seventeenth century was the Virginia Company, in 1606. It differed in some important respects from those that preceded it, and notably in its constitution as a permanent colony, and in the form of government provided for it. In these respects it inaugurated a new policy, with

unknown possibilities of expansion, and unforeseen political results. But it was, at the same time, in the direct line of descent from the numerous trading companies of the sixteenth century, and it enlisted the co-operation of many men who were stockholders in those companies. For example, Sir Thomas Smythe was the treasurer of the Virginia Company, and he was also a governor in both the Muscovy and East India Companies, and a member of the Levant Company. It is evident, therefore, that the commercial motive contributed, in no small measure, to the inception and constitution of the Virginia Company, and the colonies it planted at Sagadahoc and Jamestown. The restless and visionary Spaniards might dream of gold and silver mines, and precious stones, to be found on the unexplored shores whither they sent their carracks and galleons, but the more sober English, putting their faith in the less dazzling rewards of commerce, sought constantly for new avenues of trade. This, however, did not prevent them from listening with delight to the humorous extravagances of Captain Seagul, in the comedy of "Eastward Ho," who vivaciously assured his hearers that in America "all their dripping-pans are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore to hang on their children's coats, and stick in their children's caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron-gilt brooches and groats with holes in 'em." That was all very well in an amusing stage-play, but it did not seriously affect the hard-headed men who owned stock in the Muscovy, and East India, and Virginia Companies, and who looked for dividends rather than diamonds from their ventures abroad.

Notwithstanding all this, it has been easy at times for writers to overstate the dominance of the commercial motive in the formation of the Virginia Company, and in the planting of its colonies at Sagadahoc and Jamestown. Political considerations, also, arising out of the antagonism and rivalry between England and Spain, had occupied the thoughts of English patriots, and had edged many of their appeals to Queen Elizabeth, and her successors, to strike at the power of Spain, and at its prestige upon the sea, by establishing English colonies upon the American

coast. Such an appeal, written probably by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, quoted by Alexander Brown in his "Genesis of the United States," was sent to Elizabeth in 1577, in which the writer begs for her permission to capture and destroy any Spanish ships that may be caught fishing off the Newfoundland coast; and, by way of emphasizing his plea, the writer adds this assurance: "If you will let us first do this we will next take the West Indies from Spain. You will have the gold and silver mines and the profit of the soil. You will be monarch of the seas and out of danger from every one. I will do it if you will allow me; only you must resolve and not delay or dally — the wings of man's life are plumed with the feathers of death." That was a stirring appeal, and it had strong conviction and ardent patriotism behind it; but it was addressed to a queen with whom it was not only a habit but a settled policy to dally, in any matter which involved the expenditure of money, or threatened the peace and security of her realm. And yet there was no other nation which England so much distrusted and so justly hated as Spain. Ever since the Reformation, and the adoption of its essential principles by Henry VIII,—except during the brief reign of Mary, and the few years of her pathetic marriage with Philip,— Spain had watched England with jealous and cruel eyes, eager to humiliate and crush her. This fact was keenly realized by the great captains of Elizabeth's time, like Drake, and Gilbert, and Raleigh, and they lost no opportunity to make reprisals upon the greatest and most arrogant maritime power then existing. They knew, moreover, as we know, that the wealth which enabled Spain to maintain the fleets and forces with which she hoped to subdue the English people and to crush out the principles of civil and religious liberty for which they stood, was drawn from the Spanish possessions in South America. It is computed that down to the time of this Sagadahoc Colony the gold and silver which Spain had taken from America would equal the enormous sum of five thousand millions of dollars. It was this spoil from America that created, and sent on its threatening way to the English coast, that terrible Armada which was called the Invincible, until it was shattered and dispersed by the intrepid valor, and the skilful seamanship, of Drake, and Hawkins, and Frobisher, and Howard, and the men whom they commanded. Its coming had

been awaited with deep anxiety and dread by Elizabeth and her people, to whom its utter and spectacular defeat was as much a cause of rejoicing as it was of bitter humiliation to Spain. Out of its destruction came to England new courage and determination to contest with Spain the supremacy of the sea, and the possession of the New World. "The beginnings of the history of English-speaking America," says John Fiske, "are to be sought in the history of the antagonism between Spain and England that grew out of the circumstances of the Protestant Reformation. It was as the storehouse of the enemy's treasure, and the chief source of his supplies, that America first excited real interest among the English people."

We must place the political alongside the commercial motive, therefore, in reviewing the conditions out of which grew the movement which sent Captain George Popham to the Sagadahoc River with the first English colony that trod the shores of New England, following close upon the heels of the Jamestown Colony, despatched by the same company to settle in the south part of Virginia.

It will be observed, however, that I use the word "political" in its native and honorable sense; not, as it is so often used, to denote the tricks and subterfuges of party rivalry and manipulation, but as meaning a patriotic concern for the interests and honor of one's country, and a studied purpose to devise and forward such measures as will most surely defeat the machinations of its enemies, and, at the same time, promote its material prosperity, the pride and happiness of its citizens, and its complete national integrity. Such, we may confidently assert, were the political considerations that combined with the commercial instinct of the English people to form the far-reaching project of American possession, which found its first clear expression in the colonies of Sagadahoc and Jamestown. The trade of England must be cherished and extended,— and cherished, indeed, by extension,— and there was no field so inviting to commercial enterprise as the safe harbors and the fertile soil of North America; the institutions, and the very existence of England, must be defended against the bitter and unscrupulous hostility of Spain, and what means were so likely to cripple the resources and the power of that haughty nation as to gain possession of the American coast?

A third motive to colonization was the economic, arising out of the industrial and social conditions existing in England during the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth. To many thoughtful Englishmen those conditions were disturbing and ominous. The demand for labor was small, compared with the number of those who were dependent upon their labor for a meagre livelihood. Those who secured employment had to face the disheartening fact that wages did not rise with the rising cost of food. There was a wide-spread feeling that population had grown beyond the ability of the country to support it. The courts were burdened, and society was dismayed, by the increasing numbers of idlers, paupers, vagabonds, and thieves; and it was felt that some outlet must be found for the unemployed, who had become, and were every day becoming, beggars or criminals.

This state of things followed, in part at least, from an industrial change that began, as such changes usually begin, in an unobtrusive way, far back in the fourteenth century, and became more general, and more disastrous in its effects, as time went by. The change was mainly connected with the wool trade of England. From a purely agricultural country England had begun, in a tentative way, the business of wool-growing, sending the wool to Flanders where it was woven into cloth and brought back to the English market; for the English people at that time, as Thomas Fuller remarks in his characteristic manner, knew no more what to do with the wool than did the sheep upon whose backs it grew. Later, in the reign of Edward III, Flemish weavers were brought over to England, and the manufacture of cloth was begun, and grew rapidly into a most important industry. The wool trade, in its several branches of production, exportation, and manufacture, proved so profitable a business that large tracts of land, which had been devoted to tillage, were turned into grazing pastures for sheep. A shepherd with his dog, remarks Montgomery, took the place of several families of farm laborers, and multitudes of poor people were reduced to beggary, and to the verge of starvation. As a result of this the land swarmed with beggars and thieves, and Bishop Latimer declared that if every farmer should raise two acres of hemp it would not make rope enough to hang them all.

Sir Thomas More, the friend and the victim of Henry VIII, was an eye-witness of these evils, and a vivid expounder of them in his fascinating book, the "Utopia." "This is a necessary cause of stealing," he says, "which is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now are become so great devourers and so wylde, that they eate up and swallow downe the very men themselfes. They consume, destroy, and devoure whole fieldes, howses and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest and therefore dearest woll, there noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certeyn abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselfes with the yearly revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, . . . leave no grounde for tillage; thei inclose al into pastures; thei throw doune houses; they plucke down townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the church to be made a shepehowse. . . . One covetous and unsatiable cormoraunte and very plague of his natyve contrey maye compasse about and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together, within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thruste owte of their owne, . . . or be compelled to sell all; by one meanes, therefore, or by other, either by hooke or crooke they must needs departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth many handes. Al their housholdstuffe, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go aboute a begging. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though they never so willyngly profre themselves thereto."

This is a dismal, but no doubt a truthful picture of the conditions existing when the "Utopia" was written, and which continued to exist, and were even aggravated, in the following years. What wonder that many people believed that the population of the country was outrunning its means of subsistence, and were eager to find a way to correct the disproportion. If the surplus

of population could be settled in America it would find occupation in tilling the soil of that new land; the products of its labor would naturally be exchanged for commodities from England, and this, of course, would increase the demand for English labor, and fewer people in England would be left without employment. "For men disheartened by poverty, and demoralized by idleness, struggling for life in a community that had ceased to need the kind of labor they could perform, the best chance of salvation seemed to lie in emigration to a new colony where the demand for labor was sure to be great, and life might be in a measure begun anew." This was a not uncommon view, and it found expression even in the preaching of the clergy, who did not hesitate to affirm that "Virginia was a door which God had opened for England." It is true that some people did not accept this view of the over-population of England, and notably Sir Francis Bacon, who, the very year in which the Virginia Company was chartered, said in Parliament, "that howsoever there may be an over-swelling throng and press of people here about London, which is most in our eye, yet the body of the kingdom is but thin sown with people." Nevertheless the opposite view generally prevailed, and was freely and vigorously expressed. It is not to be doubted, therefore, that what I have called the economic motive had much to do with the sending of the first colonies to America. It goes far, also, to account for the character of the men who largely composed those colonies. They were men in distressed circumstances who were glad to embrace the chance of bettering their condition in a new land. They were men who had become idlers, and vagabonds, and thieves through the force of the pitiless industrial conditions under which they had suffered. If some were released from prisons to go aboard the American-bound ships, it was because the prisons had claimed them for offences which were committed under the stress of cruel circumstances, and which the authorities were reasonable enough and merciful enough to condone. About the time that King James issued his memorable charter to the Virginia Company, the Spanish ambassador in England, Zuniga, wrote to his master, the King of Spain, that he had protested to Chief Justice Popham, who was largely instrumental in the project, against the sending of colonies to Virginia as an infringement of the treaty with Spain;

and he reported that the Chief Justice told him that he did this "in order to drive out from here thieves and traitors to be drowned in the sea." But Chief Justice Popham was clever enough, in those days of diplomatic hedging, to meet the Spanish ambassador upon his own ground of insincerity, and to reply to his protest in terms of Spanish duplicity. His answer has no other significance than that. Whatever may have been the character of many of the colonists they were led and governed, even as the colonies were organized, by men of high character and of generous purposes; and if, in their difficult and costly project, they were influenced by human as well as politic motives, who can reasonably make that a ground of adverse criticism?

Amid the commercial, the political, and the economic considerations of which I have spoken, and all of which contributed, in a greater or less degree, to the planting of western colonies here at Sagadahoc and elsewhere, what room was there for a religious motive? There was the room which religious faith always makes for itself, as the underlying principle out of which grow the outward and obvious activities of a Christian society or commonwealth. The eager merchant, the strenuous politician, the thoughtful economist, often devote themselves to their several lines of effort under the impulses and the restraints of a deep religious conviction, which is none the less real and commanding because it is relatively withdrawn from observation, and constitutes the background of their various activities. Now, England was, indisputably, a Christian nation. In all the controversies and conflicts through which they had passed, and were still to pass, the English people clung honestly and stoutly, not only to the forms, but to the essence of the Christian faith. Whatever exceptions there might be, on the throne or among the subjects of the throne, the people of all ranks were religious in their convictions and their ideals. It was sometimes a narrow, sometimes a confused, and sometimes a passionate religion which they exemplified, but it was religion. Their utterances and their policies alike, their literature and their legislation, gave evidence to their ingrained regard for Christian teaching, and to the spirit which made them, in fact if not always in name, a nation of Puritans. We should expect, therefore, that a religious motive would mingle with the others, if it did not lie at the foundation

of them all, when they undertook the enterprise of carrying their fellow-countrymen, their customs, and their laws to a land which was peopled only by savages and heathen. It was an opportunity, not only to establish trading-posts, and military stations, and new fields of industry,— but also to plant the seed of Christian truth in the hearts of men who knew nothing of its light and power.

These natural expectations are justified and confirmed by observing the urgency with which this aspect of the colonizing project is set forth by various men eager for its accomplishment, and is one of the early considerations in the charter which King James granted to the Virginia Company. For example, Richard Hakluyt, in his memorable and eloquent "Discourse Concerning Westerne Planting," puts it at the very fore-front of his argument. "Seeinge," he says, "that the people of that parte of America from 30 degrees in Florida northewarde unto 63 degrees are idolaters,— . . . it remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this most godly and Christian worke may be performed of inlarginge the glorious gospell of Christ, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour unto the right and perfecte way of their salvation." "It is necessary for the salvation of these poore people which have sitten so longe in darknesse and in the shadowe of death, that preachers should be sente unto them. But by whome should these preachers be sente? By them no doubte which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faithe. Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe. By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to maynteyne and patronize the faithe of Christ, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same. Neither ought this to be their laste worke, but rather the principall and chefe of all others."

So far Hakluyt; and there is no mistaking the earnestness of his appeal. And King James, in his charter to the Virginia Company, after reciting the fact that divers of his loving and well-disposed subjects were humble suitors for a license "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America," begins his royal grant

in these words: "We greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do by these our letters patents graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended desires." The subjects who sue for a charter, and the king who grants it, alike recognize the opportunity and the obligation to make the proposed colonies the means of carrying the Christian faith to the new continent, and to its idolatrous inhabitants.

The four motives, then, which I have briefly considered,— the commercial, the political, the economic, and the religious,— each appealing with special force to particular individuals, were all represented in the suit to King James, and were also, perhaps, represented in his gracious response; whereby he granted to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, with divers others, licence and authority to establish colonies in the parts of America lying between thirty-four degrees and forty-five degrees north latitude, and upon the islands adjacent within one hundred miles of the coast. Two separate colonies, or companies, were to be formed; the one consisting of knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of London; the other consisting of knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth. The London Company was to plant a colony in the south part of Virginia; which it did, and thereby gave occasion for the Jamestown Exposition of the present year. The Plymouth Company was to plant a colony in the north part of Virginia,— what is now called New England; that it did, and it is that which we commemorate to-day. The principal and most influential promoter of the Plymouth Company and its colony, was the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir John Popham. Its president, who conducted the colony hither, and directed its affairs until he laid down his office and his life together, was Captain George Pop-

ham, a nephew of the Chief Justice. The second in command was Captain Raleigh Gilbert, whose name suggests the brilliant strain of his ancestry, and recalls the patriotic and valiant exploits of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In two ships, the Gift of God and the Mary and John, the colony set sail from England on the thirty-first of May, a few days after the London Company's colony had landed at Jamestown. The story of the voyage, and of the Popham Colony, has been so recently and so fully told, on this very shore, by the honored president of the Historical Society, that there is small occasion for me to dwell upon it. The two ships, after a three months' voyage of search and adventure, finally cast anchor in this hospitable river; and on this day, three hundred years ago, the weary voyagers came on shore to listen to a sermon by their chaplain, Rev. Richard Seymour, and to have read to them their patent and the laws therein prescribed, before laying hand to the tasks that awaited them. By the fact that the river which welcomed them to a secure harborage gave its own Indian name to the colony, and by the characteristic forecast and energy with which they proceeded at once to build a ship for business or for need, as well as to erect houses and a fort for shelter and defense, the Sagadahoc Colony may be said to have been wholly American in its character from the outset. But they had to contend with conditions of peculiar and unforeseen discouragement. They had reached their destination in this northern latitude at a season when crops could not be sown, but should have been ready to gather. Their supplies, after their long voyage, were inadequate to their needs. When the two ships went back to England, one in October and the other in December, to carry news of the venture and to get additional supplies, a part of the colonists went back in them. The winter proved, as Strachey says, "extreame unseasonable and frosty; for yt being in the year 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, yt was here likewise as vehement." In the gloom and severity of midwinter the president, Captain George Popham, died, and was buried here where he had passed the few months of an anxious and troubled official life. "He was an honest man," says Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "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;" and elsewhere he says that he was willing to die "in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country."

After the death of Popham the direction of affairs devolved upon Raleigh Gilbert, who was not well fitted by temperament to govern wisely the suffering and discordant colony. A ship that arrived from England in May, brought news of the death of Chief Justice Popham, the great promoter and supporter of the colony; and by another ship, in September, came the news of the death of Raleigh Gilbert's brother, necessitating his return to England to care for the estate. No one remained capable of bearing the burden of government; and it is not surprising that the little colony, reduced in numbers, and disheartened by repeated misfortunes, lost its courage. In the words of Strachey, through "feare that all other wynters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especyally Captain 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, the Virginia, and sett saile for England. And this," he concludes, "was the end of this northerne colony upon the river Sachadehoc."

It *was* the end of the organized colony; but that colony was the beginning of English occupancy of New England, the beginning of English ship-building on the American coast, the beginning of self-government in a colony still dependent upon the mother country and its laws; and it must have the respect which, as Emerson says, always belongs to first things. It is not an idle sentiment which leads us to celebrate, by these formal exercises, and by a permanent monument of commemoration, the tercentenary of the Sagadahoc Colony. It is the recognition of an interesting and significant event in colonial history, and a tribute to the memory of men whose enterprise and bravery are not discredited because, like Moses, they were only permitted to look as it were, into the promised land.

The exercises in the church closed with a poem by Mr. Harry Lyman Koopman, Librarian of Brown University, and a native of Freeport, Me. As Mr.

Koopman was in Europe, the poem was read by the Rev. Dr. John Carroll Perkins, of Portland.

THE VIRGINIA OF SAGADAHOC

I.

Where the land reaches out long arms in welcome or farewell,
What is yon tiny bark that dips with the ocean swell?
The autumn sun is bright on the waves by the west-wind tost,
But a shade hangs over the bark, not even at noon-tide lost.
Figures crowd its deck, but the faces, blank and wan,
Tell of defeat and retreat, of Hope that lured and is gone.
Nor a backward look they cast on the low, receding shore,
As if less than the ills endured they deem are the ills before.
O first of the myriad keels to leap from a New World strand
Into ocean's lifting arms, is it thus, by the shore-wind fanned,
Thou speedest over the surge to English hands that await
From the New World's forests and mines the largess of thy freight?
Where are thy furs, thy gems, rich ore and massy block,
Thy wonders out of the deep, O Virginia of Sagadahoc?

II.

"O Voice from the far To-Be, no stately treasure I bear,
But the dead, cold form of Hope and a living, fell Despair,
And the bodies of men whose souls are laid with their Hope alow,
Who staked their lives on the New World's promise and lost the throw.
All that men might do, their hearts protest, they have done;
In Faith and Truth outworking what Forethought had begun;
In righteous laws they laid the groundwork of their state,
And hallowed it with prayer; yet so it pleased not Fate.
Now to the Old World's outworn life they are turning back,
Where man has run his course, and can only deepen his track,
As a beast that was born for the wild, but is pent for a master's pride;
Where life is an anchored bark, which is tugged in vain by the tide.
But the promise was only a dream, its fruit but the Dead Sea's mock."
So between sigh and groan spake Virginia of Sagadahoc.

III.

Nay, one report hath an hour, but another the rounded day;
Not such the freight thou bringest, not such thy word to say.
Despair, not Hope, is dead; — lo! where aloft she flies,
Clearer than thou or the sun of thy noon to after eyes.

Hers the lading thou bearest, hers the wafting breeze,
And hers the eyes unclouded that dance with the dancing seas.
For now the lesson is learned, man's greatest and his last,
That the Future belongs but to those who have turned their backs on the Past.
And over the yielding seas thou speedest to proclaim
A New World waiting for man in man's and the Future's name :
A world where man shall be man for only the daring to be,
Where man shall be free from all but the duty to be free ;
Where every day shall smite new streams from the welling rock
For the thirsty soul of man, O Virginia of Sagadahoc.

IV.

The Old World is heavy with ruins, yet heeds not their warning tale,—
The abbey's roofless arches mouldering in the vale,
The castle proud on its crag, but crumbling hour by hour,—
Their tale of the failure alike of selfish Faith and Power.
For this is the part of man, not to flee from a world of strife,
But to stay, and strive with the Evil, and cast it out of his life.
Nor one should be throned on the height while a thousand toil in the fen,
But all should serve and be served, as all alike are men.
Yet still men fail of the lesson, so plain to eye and ear ;
But thine are the tidings of joy that another world is here,
Whose vast and welcoming spaces and sunny skies invite
The wandering world at last into ways of gladness and right ;
And lo ! the portal is freedom, which knows not bar nor lock,
And thou art its herald to men, O Virginia of Sagadahoc.

V.

" O Voice from the Future, what sign dost thou grant, that men may believe,
And the world renew its hope, and its wasted years retrieve ? "
Fair Pinnace, take this for a sign, that or ever a year be o'er
Again shalt thou breast the ocean, courage to bring and store
To men of English blood, who, under a fiery sun,
Shall faint at their mighty task on the threshold of empire won.
And another sign I give thee for men to cherish in mind :
When at last, on a shore less fair than this thou leavest behind,
A fated band shall come, whose eyes shall turn not back,
Though death in a thousand forms hang over their blood-stained track,
There, in their sorest need, when their children cry for bread,
Shall they turn to the land of thy birth, and the hungry shall be fed,
And the starving time shall cease for Plymouth's Pilgrim flock.
Be this thy second sign, O Virginia of Sagadahoc.

FORT POPHAM AND SITE OF THE POPHAM MEMORIAL.

The latter is indicated by an arrow. The larger part of Fort St. George was on the lower ground at the right of the arrow.

VI.

But ask not after a sign when a pledge I bid thee demand ;
And this is the pledge of my truth — go, bid men behold it — the Land;
And, seeing it, none shall doubt that Heaven has here ordained
The ground where the final goal of man on earth shall be gained.
Here is room at last,-- these bays of shelter wide ;
These mighty rivers, the spoil of lakes in mountains enskied ;
These beaches whose rolling thunders echo the storm ; the shades
Of these vast millennial woods, and the smile of these flowery glades ;
This kinship of land and sea, calm toil and the venturous gale ;
And over it all an air,— not England's, to soften and veil
With tender illusion the fact, but the air of Greece, wherein
Man shall press to the beauty of Truth, and the final triumph win,
That the world in his thought rebuilded shall smile o'er time and shock.
Lo ! this is the pledge I give, O Virginia of Sagadahoc.

VII.

The tiny pinnace fades on the ocean's eastern bound,
Bearing its New World message ; and men have hailed the sound
As the shipwrecked a gleam of shore ; and lo ! three hundred years
Have passed like a rain in the night, with their thronging hopes and fears.
But over their tumult a voice is borne to our Land to-day :
" Hast thou redeemed the Promise, or yet does the Vision stay,
And hearts for the Perfect anhungered, still do they doubt and debate
If thou be the land of Fulfilment, or elsewhere they must await
The Beauty thy hillsides promised, the Truth that was breath of thine air,
And the Good, whose being is Love, which Beauty to Truth shall bear ? "
Not yet, our hearts reply, not yet the consummate hour ;
But slowly the Promise unfolds, from the bud to the perfect flower ;
Afar earth catches the fragrance, as red the petals unlock
Of the flower of thy Hope, which is man's, O Virginia of Sagadahoc.

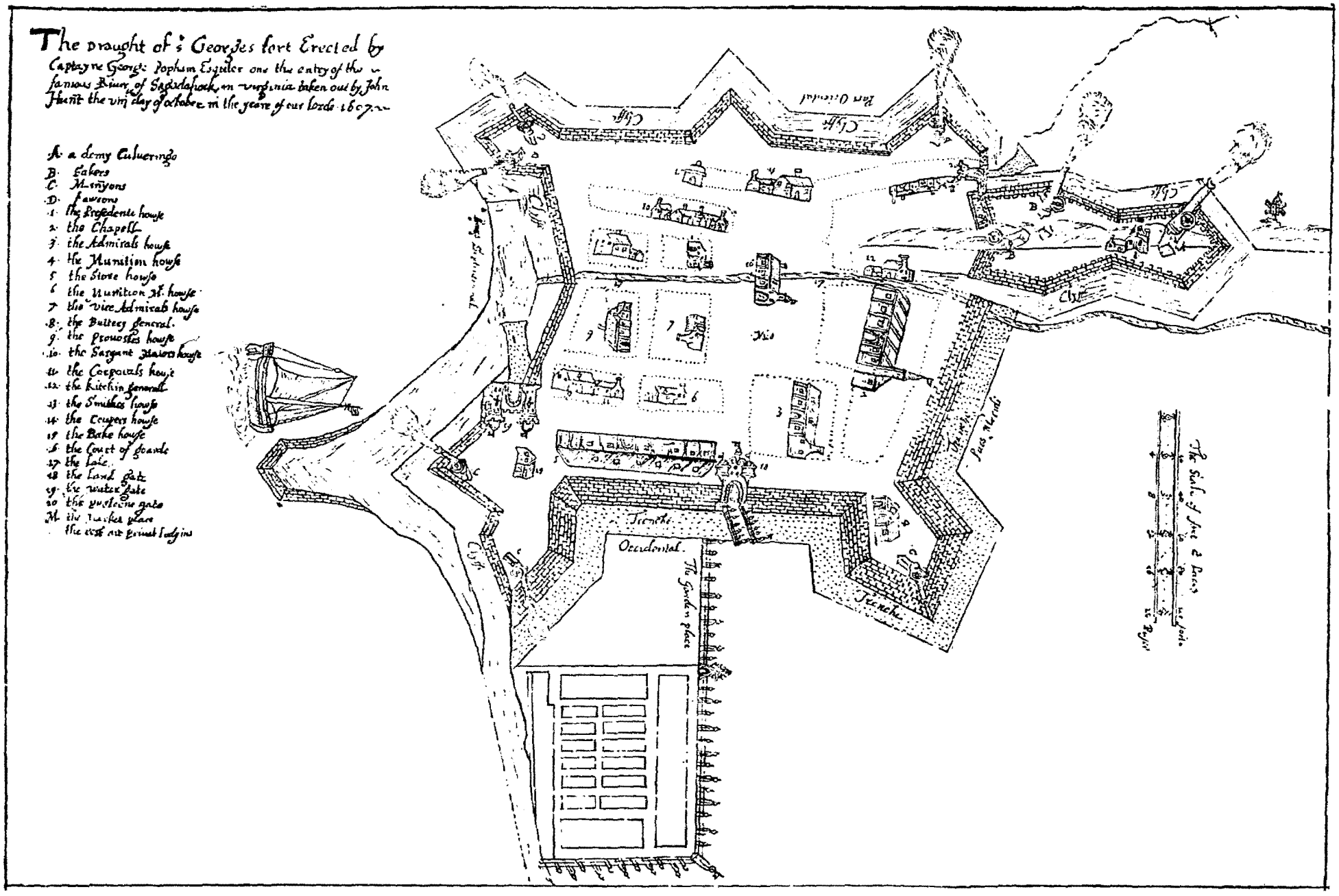
At the close of the reading of the poem there was an adjournment to the rocky eminence not far away on which the memorial of the landing of the Popham colonists had been erected. When the company had assembled around the memorial, the Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D.D., delivered an address.

We are standing on historic ground. Here is the site of the fort erected by the Popham colonists, who landed nearby three

hundred years ago to-day and entered upon the great task to which they had committed their hands. Not long has it been known that this was the site of the colonists' fort. When, August 29, 1862, the Maine Historical Society celebrated with an elaborate order of services the Popham enterprise, the United States government, then in the second year of the Civil War, had commenced the construction of a fortification to which was given, by request of the Society, the name Fort Popham, in honor of George Popham, the president of the Popham Colony. It was supposed at the time that this United States fort occupied the site of Fort George erected by the Popham colonists in 1607. Hon. William Willis, then President of the Maine Historical Society, in proposing the elaborate celebration to which reference has just been made, said: "By a singular coincidence, the new fort will occupy the same ground on which was erected, two hundred and fifty-five years ago, the first English fort which was built on the Atlantic coast of America, north of Virginia." And so the Historical Society asked and obtained permission of the government to place in the wall of the new fort a memorial stone. Such a stone was prepared, but before it could be placed in its appointed position, so varied and rapid were the improvements in all matters pertaining to fortifications and armaments, that it was found useless to complete the structure. Work, accordingly, was abandoned, and for many years Fort Popham, in its unfinished form, has been only a grim reminder of an antiquated type of coast fortification.

Meanwhile it has been discovered that Fort Popham does not occupy the site of the fort erected by the Popham colonists, and within the inclosure of which George Popham was buried. How this discovery was made is one of the romances of history, and illustrates the rewards that await the intelligent research-worker penetrating the hiding places to which such materials were long ago taken, and where they have securely rested. Briefly told this is the story:

When Alexander Brown of Virginia was engaged in the preparation of his monumental work, "The Genesis of the United States," he asked the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who had been appointed United States minister to Spain by President Cleveland, to make inquiries in the great libraries of that country for



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

PLAN OF FORT ST. GEORGE. From the Library of Simancas, Spain.

manuscripts and other materials of our early American colonial history. Mr. Curry remembered the request, and in the course of his investigations in the library at Simancas he found a plan of Popham's fort at the mouth of the Kennebec. It was entitled "The Draught of St. Georges fort Erected by Captayne George Popham Esquier one the entry of the famous Riuer of Sagadahock in Virginia taken out by John Hunt the viiith day of october in the yeare of our Lorde 1607." This date, October 8, 1607, is probably the date on which the Mary and John left the mouth of the Kennebec on her return voyage to England. The journal of the colony, not long ago discovered in the library of Lambeth Palace, London, is evidently a fragment, and ends with September 26, 1607. Strachey, who seems to have derived his narrative of the expedition from this journal, continues the record until October 6, 1607, using, in all probability, the entire original manuscript. It is unlikely that the plan of the fort would have been dated two days after the Mary and John left the mouth of the Kennebec, and I am therefore inclined to think that this date, October 8, is the date of the sailing. Concerning John Hunt, whose name occurs in the inscription upon the plan, nothing is known. He was probably the draughtsman by whom the plan was made.

But how did the plan find its way into Spain? Just as many another plan and document of that time pertaining to American colonization passed almost at once into the hands of the crafty Spanish minister in London, and from his hands into those of his no less unscrupulous master, Philip III. The Mary and John reached England near the close of November or early in December. By direction of the King, the Spanish minister, Don Pedro de Zuniga, was unremitting in his efforts to secure the latest information concerning English colonization schemes, and he knew well how to make Spanish gold contribute to his success. The plan of Fort St. George evidently came into his hands early in September, 1608, as he forwarded it to the King with a letter written September 10. In this letter is to be found all the information we possess concerning this priceless memorial of the beginnings of English colonization in New England. This draught of "St. George's Fort," so long preserved in the library at Simancas, may be the original plan. If it is a copy, the original in England has disappeared.

When the plan of the fort appeared in connection with the publication of "The Genesis of the United States," it was at once seen that it would not fit the site of the present Fort Popham, but that it would exactly fit this plot of ground on which we are now standing, and which is now conceded to be the site of the fort erected by the Popham colonists.

Accordingly permission from the War Department was asked and received to transfer to this spot the memorial stone presented by the Maine Historical Society in 1862. Permission was also asked from the Oliver brothers, owners of the land on which the monument now stands, to locate the memorial on this spur of Sabino Head which, as the plan shows, was included in Fort St. George; and such permission was generously given. But it was found that the stone prepared for a place in the walls of the old fort would not of itself make a fitting memorial in these new surroundings. Accordingly the Hallowell Granite Co. was asked to submit several designs for such a memorial, in which the original stone should be a prominent feature. Of three designs submitted in response to this request, one was selected. From the unused material in the yard of the fort the War Department supplied such additional stone as was needed, and the Hallowell Granite Co. has executed its accepted design in such a manner as cannot fail to give the most complete satisfaction to all who love and cherish the simple annals of the beginnings of English colonization on New England soil.

It should be added that the funds for the execution of the work were provided by the State of Maine, the Maine Historical Society, the Colonial Dames resident in the State of Maine, and the Maine Society of Colonial Wars.

Mr. Fritz H. Jordan, Governor of the Maine Society of Colonial Wars, and representing that Society and also the Colonial Dames, followed with an address.

The members of the Society of Colonial Dames and of the Society of Colonial Wars are descendants of those brave men and devoted women who laid the foundations of the colonies which afterwards became these United States; of those men

who in the bloody conflicts with the French and Indians took lessons in the art of war, which were afterwards so valuable in the struggle with the mother country, and who in early town meetings and colonial councils gained experience in government which helped them in the building of this nation.

We have pardonable pride that on the rolls of the Maine societies are those who trace their descent to early colonial governors, to the doughty Captain Miles Standish, to Major Samuel Appleton, the commander of the Massachusetts troops in the Swamp Fight, to ancestors who had a part in the siege and capture of Louisburg, in the expedition to Ticonderoga, or who fought under Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham.

The purpose of our societies is to keep alive the memories of the stirring events of those days and the men who took part in them, to rescue from oblivion and publish early manuscripts and journals, and to properly mark the places of historic interest within our borders.

The spot on which we stand is the site of the first organized attempt at English colonization in New England, an event especially worthy of commemoration; and our Society deems it an honor to join with the State of Maine, the Maine Historical Society and the Society of Colonial Dames in marking the spot with this enduring stone.

The memorial was then unveiled by Mrs. William Addison Houghton, President of the Maine Colonial Dames, and by Mr. Jordan. The unveiling was witnessed from the deck of the Revenue Cutter Woodbury, which was at anchor north of the site of Fort St. George, and immediately following the unveiling the cutter, in honor of the day, fired a governor's salute in memory of George Popham, the Governor of the Popham Colony, who died in Fort St. George and was buried within the enclosure of the fort. With this salute the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Popham colonists was brought to a close.

There was now an opportunity for an inspection of the spot that witnessed the hardships and sacrifices of Popham and his associates. Later, dinner was served at the Riverside, and at two o'clock the visitors re-embarked and returned to Bath in time for the afternoon trains.

This account of the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Popham Colony should not close without mention of the valuable services rendered, in preparation for the celebration, by Mr. J. H. Stacey, of Popham Beach. They extended over several months, and were unremitting. No effort on his part was wanting in the endeavor to make the celebration a worthy one.

EXPLORATION SCHEMES WITH REFERENCE TO THE COAST OF MAINE IN 1606

EXPLORATION SCHEMES WITH REFERENCE TO THE COAST OF MAINE IN 1606[1]

BY HENRY S. BURRAGE, D.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 2, 1906

Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in the summer of 1605 had an important relation to further exploration in that part of North America. This voyage was not a business venture of any kind. While Waymouth was here, there was no search for sassafras root, or any other commodity which the country might furnish. Rosier's "Relation" clearly indicates the purpose of the expedition. Something concerning the country had been learned from the narratives of Gosnold and Pring's voyages. But those who were interested in the permanent occupation of the country, who had dreams of establishing a new England on these western shores, wanted to know more concerning the fertility of the soil, its products, the various harbors and rivers, etc., before embarking in any enterprise demanding a large financial outlay. The report which Waymouth and his companions brought with them on their return to England answered these questions. It was a most inspiring report. The enthusiasm which the explorers while here manifested with reference to the goodliness and fruitfulness of the land was set forth in

[1] Tercentenary of Martin Pring's second voyage to the coast of Maine, 1606.

Rosier's "Relation" in glowing words; and Rosier in turn appealed to his fellow voyagers for a confirmation of the descriptions which his interesting narrative contained.

But the impression which the promoters of the voyage received from Waymouth and his companions was greatly strengthened by what they learned from the five Indians, whom Waymouth captured while at Pentecost harbor. "They were all of one nation," says Gorges, "but of several parts and several families." Three of them were taken in charge by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the remaining two by Sir John Popham, the chief justice of England. Concerning these Indians Gorges says:

> After I had those people some time in my custody, I observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort, and in all their carriages manifest shows of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people. And the longer I conversed with them, the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses; especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at, as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast. And having kept them full three years, [1] I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like.

Sir John Popham doubtless derived similar valuable information from the two Indians who were placed in

[1] Not all of them were kept this length of time as will appear later in the paper. Gorges was writing many years after these Indians came into his possession.

his care. They were received not only as objects of wondering interest, but as sources of information with reference to the new world from which they came. Rosier's "Relation" could not fail to interest the Chief Justice; but what he learned from the Indians gave a keener interest to the printed page. Why should not England extend her dominion to these available lands beyond the sea? The mind of Sir John was soon busy with plans for taking possession of the country thus open to English occupation and trade relations. He would have this done, however, under royal authority. His plans as they ripened involved the formation of colonies by chartered companies under license from the crown.

But before the petitioners on this plan had received the royal charter for which they asked, giving them authority to take possession of the country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees north latitude, thus shutting out private enterprise, certain merchants of Plymouth, William Parker, Thomas Love, ——— Came, and William Morgan, had entered into an agreement with Captain George Waymouth "to carry them with their shippinge and provision" to Virginia, "there to fishe, traffick and to doe what els shalbe fittinge for a Marchante voyage." For some reason this agreement was almost immediately annulled, probably because of another and more liberal arrangement; and Waymouth on the thirtieth of October, 1605, entered into a formal agreement with Sir John Zouche, of Codnor, in Derbyshire, "for and concerninge a voiage intended to be made unto the land

commonly called by the name of Virginia uppon the Continent of America."[1]

On the part of Sir John it was agreed that at his own cost he should set forth two ships fitted and furnished with "all necessaries of victuall, provision, munition and two hundred able and sufficient men; that is to saie, of such trades and arts as are fittinge for a plantation and colonie, before the last daie of Aprill nexte." Sir John also agreed to pay to Captain Waymouth within twenty-one days a hundred pounds "lawfull English money . . . . in consideration of his travell and paynes to be taken in and about the saide voyage and for his owne charge defrayinge." Sir John furthermore agreed to allow the merchants of Plymouth, whose agreement with Captain Waymouth had just been annulled, liberty "to make their trade for what commodities soever without anie hindrance or disturbance of his part or any of his followers under his Commaund for the space of one wholle yeere now next comminge, and not after." It was also agreed that Sir John Zouche "beinge Cheife Commaunder shall Allowe and give unto the saide Captaine George Waymouth the nexte place of commaunde under himselfe as well at sea as at land."

The closing item of the agreement on the part of Sir John was as follows:

Item, if it soe please God to prosper and blisse the said intended voiage and the Actions of the same that thereby the lande aforesaid shalbe inhabited with our English Nation, and accordinge to

[1] Brown's "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I, pp. 32-35.

Polliticque estate of Government proportion of lande be allotted to such as shalbe transported thither to inhabitt. That then after the said Sr John Zouche shall have made his choise and assumed into his possession in manner of Inheritance such quantitie of Land as he the said Sr John shall thinck good. Then he the saide Captayne George Waymouth and his Assignes shall and maie make his or their next choise of lande for his or their possession and plantation. To holde the same in tenure of him the saide Sr John as Lorde Paramount. Which said lande soe by the said Captaine Waynmouth to be chosen shall discend to his heires or Assignes, or shalbe uppon reasonable consideracons to his or their uses imployed or disposed.

On Waymouth's part the agreement was that with his "best indeavoure, councell and advise" he should aid Sir John in the fitting out of the expedition; that he should be ready to go with him in the voyage "at such tyme as is lymitted or before, unless hindered by sickness or other such visitation"; that on the arrival of the expedition he should assist in the planting of the colony, work of fortification, and whatever else should be thought fitting by Sir John; and finally that he should not aid, "by person or direction to any other in or for the said pretended lande or voiage without the Consent or allowance of the said Sir John." One of the witnesses to this agreement was James Rosier, the historian of the voyage of the preceding year.

Two days after the signing of this agreement, the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot, which was to have been consummated on the assembling of Parliament, November 5, was made known to King James. The arrests, trials and executions of those connected with the plot followed, and for the time attracted public attention largely to the exclusion of other matters.

But that which of itself was sufficient to bring to naught these negotiations between Sir John Zouche and Captain George Waymouth was the royal charter, which on April 10, 1606, was granted to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, William Parker (whose name is first in the list of names mentioned in the first of the private agreements with Waymouth referred to above), George Popham and others, incorporating two companies for the purpose of English colonization "in that part of America commonly called Virginia." This charter, drawn up in its first draft by Sir John Popham as is supposed, was granted on petition; but the petition has not been preserved, and its date and signers are unknown. As some time would be required for the work of drawing up the charter, and for its consideration by the various officers of the crown to whom it was submitted, the petition was probably presented to the king as early as the last quarter of 1605. The petition was for the territory "situate, lying and being all along the sea coasts" between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, "and in the main land between, together with the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coast thereof." The petitioners asked to be divided into two colonies and companies, "the one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers" of London and vicinity, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-fourth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and generally known as the London

Company; the other, consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and other places, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, generally known as the Plymouth Company.[1] In the charter, the first colony was granted the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees, also fifty miles south of this location, while to the second colony was granted the territory between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees, also fifty miles farther north. This overlapping of charter limits in royal grants of territory in the new world was not a matter of unfrequent occurrence. The wholesome provision was added that the last of the colonies to establish its plantation should not locate its settlement within one hundred miles of the one first established. No other of the king's subjects were permitted to "plant or inhabit behind, or on the backside of them, without the express licence or consent of the council of the colony, thereunto in writing first had and obtained."

Sir John Popham's name does not occur in the charter, but it is well known that he was one of the most active of those engaged in the movement for obtaining it. The name of Popham's son-in-law, Thomas Hanham, however, is that first mentioned in the fifth section, where the reference is to the second colony.

[1] The charter will be found in Brown's "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I, pp. 52-63.

Brown, in his "Genesis of the United States," makes mention of a controversy between Sir John Popham and Sir John Zouche. Carleton, writing to Winwood, says, "There hath a great cause troubled the council often and long, between the Lord Zouch and the Lord Chief Justice; the one standing for his privileges of the bench, the other for his Court of Presidency, which do sometimes cross one another." Mr. Brown thinks that this controversy had its effect on American interests, Sir John Popham championing public plantations in opposition to Sir John Zouche's views and efforts in behalf of private interests. But it is not necessary to think of Sir John Popham as acting in these matters from other motives than those that had regard to the best interests of all concerned. Private plantations had not been successful, and Sir John Popham and those who agreed with him had good reasons for their belief that public plantations had the best prospect of success. The Popham idea prevailed, and put an end to private enterprises on the part of English adventurers who had their eyes upon the new world, and were ready to seize and to hold as much of its territory as they could secure.

The first vessel fitted out under the new charter had the special care and oversight of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In his "Brief Narration," Gorges says:

Those credible informations the natives had given me of the condition and state of their country, made me send away a ship furnished with men and all necessaries, provisions convenient for the service intended, under the command of Captain Henry Challoung, a gentleman of a good family, industrious, and of fair condition; to whom I gave such directions and instructions

for his better direction as I knew proper, for his use and my satisfaction, being grounded upon the information I had of the natives, sending two of them with him to aver the same; binding both the captain, his master and company strictly to follow it, or to expect the miscariage of the voyage to be laid unto their charge; commanding them by all means to keep the northerly gage, as high as Cape Britton, till they had discovered the main, and then to beat it up to the southward, as the coast tended, till they found by the natives they were near the place they were assigned unto. Though this were a direction contrary to the opinion of our best seamen of these times, yet I knew many reasons persuading me thereunto, as well as for that I understood the natives themselves to be exact pilots for that coast, having been accustomed to frequent the same, both as fishermen, and in passing along the shore to seek their enemies, that dwelt to the northward of them. But it is not in the wit of man to prevent the providence of the Most High.[1]

Continuing his narration, Gorges outlines briefly the misfortunes that overtook Challons:

For this captain, being some hundred leagues of the island of Canary, fell sick of a fever, and the winds being westerly, his company shaped their course for the Indies, and coming to St. John de Porto Rico, the captain himself went ashore for the recovery of his health, while the company took in water, and such other provision as they had present use of, expending some time there, hunting after such things as best pleased themselves. That ended, they set their course to fall with their own height they were directed unto; by which means they met the Spanish fleet that came from Havana, by whom they were taken and carried into Spain, where their ship and goods were confiscate, themselves made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost. This the gain of their breach of order, which, afterward observed, brought all our ships to their desired ports. The affliction of the captain and his company put the Lord Chief Justice Popham to charge, and myself to trouble in procuring their liberties, which was not suddenly obtained.

[1] Collections of the Maine Historical Society. Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 18.

There is a fuller account of Challons' misfortunes in a document secured by Hakluyt, and which afterward was printed by Purchas in his "Pilgrimes," together with other papers that probably came into his possession after Hakluyt's death. It is a narrative by John Stoneman, one of Waymouth's company in the expedition of the year before. In Challons' ship, the Richard of Plymouth, he held the position of pilot. Challons sailed from Plymouth August 12, 1606. His vessel was a small one, registering only fifty-five tons or thereabouts. In it were twenty-nine Englishmen, and two of the five savages captured by Waymouth, namely "Maneddo and Assacomoit," or, as recorded by Rosier, "Maneddo and Saffacomoit." The purpose of the voyage was further discovery. If a favorable occasion offered, as many men were to be left in the country as could be spared for this purpose. The vessel was "victualled for eleven or twelve moneths" and at the charge of Sir John Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "together with divers other worshipful Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrye." The master of the vessel was Nicholas Hine or Himes, of Cockington, Waymouth's birthplace.

Why Waymouth was not placed in command of this expedition in the interest of the North company there is not even a hint. That he was ready to undertake such an expedition is made evident by the agreement which he made with Sir John Zouche, as already noticed. Waymouth's subsequent career was one of continual disappointment to himself and his friends,

and it is probable that, on account of defects of character already observable, it was deemed best by those interested in the expedition to intrust its direction to another leader.

In his fuller narrative of Challons' expedition, Stoneman makes no mention of any instructions on the part of Gorges as to the direction to be taken in the voyage to the American coast. But as Waymouth, who preceded Challons, and Hanham and Pring who followed him, took a different direction from Challons, it is fair to infer that such instructions were given. The promoters of the expedition had in view the place visited by Waymouth, and the course Waymouth followed in reaching it certainly would not be overlooked. The old way of making the Canary Islands the starting point in a voyage to the American coast could hardly have been in the mind of Gorges, or any of his associates, in giving instructions with reference to the course Challons was to take. Stoneman, however, who says the point on the American coast aimed at was in latitude 43° 20′, makes no mention of contrary winds until after the Canary Islands were reached.

But leaving those islands, Challons' vessel, as Stoneman says, was "driven by contrary winds to take a more Southerly course" than was "intended." For six weeks the vessel struggled with those "contrary winds," and then the voyagers found themselves at the Island of St. Lucia, one of the Lesser Antilles. Here, in the West Indies, in latitude 14° 20′, they were twenty-nine degrees out of their way.

It is to be remembered, however, that at the time Gorges attached no blame to Challons because of the misfortunes connected with the voyage. In a letter to Challons, written a little later, Gorges wrote, "I rest satisfied for your pte of the proceedinge of the voyadge." This statement, and the added words "your misfortune," indicate a generous spirit on Gorges' part in his evident desire to lay no added burdens upon the distressed commander of the ill-fated expedition.

From Stoneman's narrative we learn that leaving St. Lucia after a delay of three days for the purpose of taking in wood and water, the Richard started northward. This was late in October. In his "Brief Narration" Gorges says that on account of Challons' illness some time was lost at Porto Rico, where "the captain went ashore for the recovery of his health, while the company took in water, and such other provision as they had present use of, expending some time there, hunting after such things as best pleased themselves." Challons did touch at the island of Porto Rico, but Stoneman says it was for the purpose of landing a Franciscan friar whom they took on board off the island of Dominica. It was a pathetic tale which the friar told. He was from Seville in Spain. The king every year, he said, sent out from every great monastery in the kingdom certain friars to seek, in those new, remote parts, to convert the savages, and also to ascertain what benefits and commodities might there be obtained, together with the number of the inhabitants in the various islands.

The friar and two companions had been engaged for some time in this service on the island of Dominica, and much information had been secured, "which would bee greatly accepted of his King," the friar said, "if hee might live to return to declare it: For, said hee, I have seene in one River discending from the Mountains in the ile of Dominica, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, chewed it betweene my teeth, and found it perfect Mettall, the Savages noting me, began to have some jealousie of me, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place." In fact the friar's two companions were at length murdered by the savages and thrown into the sea, while he was made a slave, the savages deeming him useful to themselves: and they set him to work rigging their canoes with sails which he made from cloth obtained in shipwrecks two years before. The friar had been a slave sixteen months at the time he made his escape and was received on board of the Richard. When the Richard was off the southern coast of Porto Rico, the friar, at his own request doubtless, was landed and delivered to "Two Heardsmen," evidently Spaniards, who received him "thankfully," and showed their gratitude to the Englishmen by valuable presents "in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar." Stoneman makes no mention of other delay at Porto Rico than that connected with the landing of the friar.

Leaving Porto Rico and proceeding northward one hundred and eighty leagues, Challons encountered a

severe storm which continued ten days. At its close, the Englishman "in a thick fogge of mist and raine" found himself surrounded by Spanish ships, eight in number. He was "within shot of them," and three of the ships were on the windward side of the Richard. Those at the windward bore down at once upon Challons' little vessel, firing as they came. The Richard, all her sails being down, her "mayne sayle in pieces lying on the Decke," prudently surrendered, and was at once boarded by the Spaniards. Challons and his men "stood redie to entertayne them in peace," but the Spaniards would not thus be entertained, and proceeded to beat and otherwise ill-treat the Englishmen, wounding two of them in the head with their swords, not sparing the captain in the assault, and wounding Assacomoit, one of Waymouth's Indians, thrusting their swords into his body, and "quite through the arm, the poore creature creeping under a Cabbin for feare of their rigour," he all the while crying, "King James! King James! King James' ship! King James' ship!" The whole company on board of the Richard was then removed to the Spanish ships, and the Richard was plundered of her merchanise and of whatever valuables she had. The thirty members of Challons' company were distributed among five Spanish ships, eight, seven, six, five and four to a ship. Stoneman and six others were placed on the Peter of Seville. All the vessels then proceeded toward Spain, no two of them keeping company. One of the ships, by the incompetence of its officers, was driven past the coast of Spain into

Bordeaux; and the French Admiralty officers finding four Englishmen, "Prisoners under the Deckes in hold," kindly set them at liberty. All the other prisoners were finally landed in Spain.

The Duke of Medina, hearing of the arrival of these prisoners, directed the captains of the Spanish ships to bring four of the "chiefest" of the prisoners before him. In answering this order, the captains produced "Pilot John Stoneman, Master Thomas Saint John, John Waldrond, the ship's Steward, and William Stone, the ship's Carpenter." The ship in which Captain Challons was carried had not at that time arrived. The Duke of Medina showed favor to the captives, and released them, as also Challons and the men with him who were brought before the Duke on their arrival. When the Duke advised Challons "to goe home to the Court of England, or to the Court of Spaine where he thought to have best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company," Nicholas Hine and two of Challons' men "wisely foreseeing what was like to bee the Issue, made haste away out of the citie, and so got passage and escaped to England," Hine bearing with him a letter from Challons to Gorges.

Challons' purpose in remaining in Spain was that he might be of assistance to the men under his command, and also obtain redress from the Spanish government for the losses the promoters of the expedition had sustained by the capture of the Richard and its cargo. For awhile, he was in prison with Stoneman and the rest of the company still in the hands of the Spaniards. Both Challons and Stoneman were exam-

ined by Spanish officials concerning "the situation of the Countrie of Virginia, together with the commodities and benefit thereof." Stoneman says the Spaniards were very desirous to get him to serve Spanish interests, and offered him great wages, which he refused. Then the "Alcadie Maior of the Contraction House and divers other Merchants" endeavored to persuade him to make them "some descriptions and Maps of the Coasts and parts of Virginia," which he also refused to do. "The Spaniards," he adds, "had a great hate unto me above all others, because they understood that I had beene a former Discoverer in Virginia, at the bringing into England of those Savages; and that they thought it was by my instigation to perswade our State to inhabit those parts."

As the Spaniards could not get any help from Stoneman, who refused to make "any note, draught, or description of the Countrie," they resolved to subject him to rack torture. Having received information concerning their purpose, Stoneman determined to make his escape. This he did October 23, 1607, probably with the assistance of friends. Two others escaped with him, Master Thomas Saint John and James Stoneman, the pilot's brother. They left in Seville Captain Challons "at libertie upon sureties," and sixteen more "in close prison."

Challons also, forfeiting his bail, finally made his escape from Seville, as we learn from Gorges, and arrived in England safely, though in great want. His men, including the two Indians, he left "in greate extremity." Some of the men were either liberated

or escaped, and the others sickened and died. So ended Challons' ill-fated expedition.

Another vessel, fitted out by Sir John Popham for the purpose of cooperating with the Richard in the exploration of the coast of Maine, left England not long after Challons' departure. Of this vessel Thomas Hanham, Popham's son-in-law, was commander, and Martin Pring of Bristol, who had been on the Maine coast in 1603, was master.[1] Gorges makes no mention of Hanham in his reference to the expedition, and it is evident that his position was a nominal one as the personal representative of Sir John Popham.

According to Gorges, Hanham and Pring sailed from England "shortly upon" Challons' departure. Unfortunately we have no record of this voyage. That a relation of the voyage was prepared by Hanham, we know from Purchas, who mentions such a relation. Purchas had a copy of it about the year 1624. Possibly it may have come into his possession with the Hakluyt papers, which after Hakluyt's death were placed in his hands. Why he did not publish the relation in his "Pilgrimes" it is difficult to understand on account of the significance of the voyage from its connection with the Popham Colony of 1607. Purchas might well have omitted many another narrative in order to give place to this. Of course there is a possibility that it may yet be found. We only

[1] It pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Justice, Sir John Popham, Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne Thomas Hanham went commander, and Martine Prinne of Bristow, Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne Challons and his people." "The Brief Relation" of "The President and Councell for New England," published in 1622. See Brown's "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I, p. 64.

know that the most diligent search hitherto has not been successful in bringing it to light.

Although we have no record of the date of Pring's departure for the coast of Maine, there is a letter written by Gorges to Challons March 13, 1607, in which Gorges says that Pring's vessel followed the Richard "within two months."[1] Probably Pring sailed from Bristol, and the voyage was a direct one to the American coast. St. George's harbor, the Pentecost harbor of Waymouth's anchorage in 1605, was doubtless the place of rendezvous agreed upon by Challons and Pring. This was the appointed rendezvous of the vessels of the Popham colonists in the following year, and its selection warrants the inference of Pring's familiarity with it. Not to find Challons there, or in the vicinity, must have been a great disappointment to Hanham and Pring. They were, however, resourceful, and had sufficiently at heart the interests of Sir John Popham to lose no time in proceeding to the work that had been laid out for them. The coast was carefully examined, and the explorations made by Waymouth in 1605 were considerably extended. Especial attention was evidently given to the mouth of the Kennebec and its vicinity. From the fact that the Popham colonists, on their arrival on the coast in 1607, proceeded at once, after the two vessels came together in Pentecost harbor, to the mouth of the Kennebec, is an indication that this was in accordance with the recommendation of Hanham and Pring. The Popham colonists had accurate

[1] Brown's "Genesis of the United States," Vol. I, p. 96.

directions with reference to finding and entering the river. In their exploration of the coast Hanham and Pring had the assistance of Dehamda, one of Waymouth's captured Indians (Rosier's Tahanedo), whom they brought with them, and who was found at Pemaquid when the Popham colonists came over in 1607.

Substantial results were obtained in these explorations. Concerning these, also of the expedition in general, Gorges says :[1]

> Shortly upon my sending away of Captain Challoung, it pleased the Lord Chief Justice, according to his promise, to despatch Captain Prin from Bristol, with hope to have found Captain Challoung where by his instructions he was assigned; who observing the same, happily arrived there, but not hearing by any means what became of him, after he had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions, (the season of the year requiring his return) brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withal to this present; which, with his relation of the country, wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates, that (notwithstanding our first disaster) we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect, and that upon better grounds, for as yet our authority was but in motion.

Gorges' words, "the season of the year requiring his return," seem to indicate that Pring was obliged to cut short his work of exploration by the approach of winter. Certainly there is no hint of wintering on the coast. If six weeks are allowed for the voyage, and four for exploration, Pring could not have set out on the homeward voyage much before the close of the

[1] "Brief Narration," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. II, 1st Series, p. 19.

year. It was Pring's report, according to Gorges, that led to the preparation and organization of the Popham Colony. As the colony was ready to sail by the last of May, 1607, Pring's report, in all probability, must have been received as early as the first of March in order to have had the influence which is ascribed to it by Gorges.

Pring, as his subsequent career shows, was a man of extraordinary ability. He was fitted by nature and by training for large enterprises, and his prominence in this voyage, and the report which he made concerning it, opened the way for those added employments in the East Indies where he achieved distinction for himself, and at the same time conferred lasting benefits upon his native land. On the stately monument to Pring in St. Stephen's church, Bristol, we read that

> His painful, skillfull travayales reacht as farre
> As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre.

High aims led him on, and these he sought bravely to accomplish. He has his memorial not only in St. Stephen's church, but in the literature of the voyages of English sailors and explorers in the beginning of the seventeenth century.[1]

[1] See "Captain Martin Pring, Last of the Elizabethan Seamen," a paper read before the Maine Historical Society, at a meeting commemorative of the tercentenary of Martin Pring's first voyage to America, by Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis. Maine Historical Society's Collections, 3d Series, Vol. II, pp. 1-50.