

NEW DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE POPHAM EXPEDITION, 1607

BY CHARLES EDWARD BANKS

I HOPE that none of the members in present attendance at this meeting has been lured from his comfortable den by the announcement of the title of my contribution for today as an offering to revive the highly controversial topic of the character, purpose and continuity of the Popham Colony which settled on the Maine coast in 1607. Members whose memory runs back three score years can recall the almost riotous interchange of verbal encounters which signaled the dedication of a tablet by the Maine Historical Society in memory of the first formal settlement undertaken by Englishmen on a bleak and forbidding promontory at the mouth of the Kennebec River. While this ceremony was laudable in its design it was less of a dedication to a particular event than a bold challenge to the Pilgrim Moloch to defend its well settled claims to primacy as the beginning of English civilization on the New England coast. It brought forth a volcanic eruption of hostile criticism (naturally from Massachusetts), and a shower of pamphlets from protagonists and antagonists. Much of this exciting incident in historical circles is now forgotten but while it lasted the services of the police were frequently suggested and might well have been utilized. Among the champions of the "Rock" at Plymouth, then regarded as sacrosanct, was a former official of this Society who threw the "plumed knights" of Maine into spasms of rage by characterizing this colony as made up of convicts of the lowest order and ticket of leave men! At this period in the development of historical study concerning early colonization it is to be understood that

very little research had been made by either Pophamites or Pilgrims beyond printed sources. Practically nothing had been done in mining for original material in sources beyond our own borders. Since then, in the process of time, the great collections of material in public and private archives in England have been gradually made available and we are getting new and instructive light on many problems which was denied to our predecessors. They depended entirely on one side or the other of a story told by interested and overzealous partisans. The work of the Historical Manuscript Commission of England, in calendaring the hitherto unknown and priceless muniments in private hands and the opening up of the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, has permitted us to get a larger and much needed view of events which have heretofore been mystifying. On the early settlements at Plymouth in 1620 and at Boston in 1630 we have had but one narrow source of information from the partisan histories of Bradford and Winthrop. To accept them without reference to the flood of contemporary material now available in England on these events is to indulge in a childish obscurantism. I could recite many instances in which the indulgence of this ostrich attitude deprives us of needed correctives to long accepted stories. Modern students can make little progress in giving us definitive historical judgments without getting the other side of the picture.

Three centuries ago Capt. Christopher Levett, who came to the Maine Coast in the *Yorke Bonaventure* in the interests of colonization, said of the Popham Colony:

“For Sagadahoc, I need say nothing of it, there hath been heretofore enough said by others and I fear me too much.”

This warning should not be held as a perpetual injunction against discussing this controversial subject, particularly if new evidence can be produced to illuminate this first effort to establish a colony on the New England coast. While the bibliography of this colony

is very voluminous in modern contributions, particularly in the last half century, yet there has been but one contemporary MS source from which all subsequent accounts of the colony have derived their authority. As far as I am aware the documents which I shall present to the Society are the only other contemporary documents on this subject, at least in print, and cover a phase of the expedition hitherto unknown and will serve to explain much of the mystery and misunderstanding which has enveloped it.

Prior to 1880 our only source of information was from the printed accounts of the Popham Colony put out by the Council for New England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other contemporary participants and authors. In 1879 the late Rev. B. F. DeCosta found in the Lambeth Palace Library the original journal of the voyage written by one of the participants and said to have been found by one William Griffith "among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges." This proved to be the basis of the first printed account of the expedition used by William Strachey in his *Historie of Travaile into Virginia* but unfortunately it was not complete—an unknown number of pages being missing at the end. To complete the story, recourse was had by modern historians to that part of Strachey's abstract dealing with the abandonment of the enterprise. While Strachey had used this MS almost literally in the first half of the journal he treated the latter part with brevity. The Lambeth Palace document, which I shall designate as the Griffith MS—that being the name of the person who found it among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges—was transcribed for Rev. Mr. DeCosta and by him presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society with annotations by himself and was printed in 1880 in the Proceedings of that Society.

In order to explain the general details of the Popham Expedition for the proper understanding of the Griffith MS and the documents which form the basis of my paper, it may be stated that there were two vessels participating in the venture—the *Gift of God* under

the command of Capt. George Popham, a near kinsman of Chief Justice Sir John Popham, and the *Mary and John* commanded by Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, the two persons principally interested with Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the financial and colonizing aspects of the project. The Griffith MS is a journal of the voyage written by an unknown person who sailed in the *Mary and John* and only twice is the name of the *Gift of God* mentioned in his account and then only incidentally. The papers which I have found in the Public Record Office in London are a part of the archives of the High Court of Admiralty where litigation respecting maritime business was entered for judicial decision. These new documents are the complaint filed by Sir Francis Popham, Knt., son and heir of Chief Justice Popham, and with him was joined his mother, Anna, widow of the patron of the expedition. The purpose of the suit was to recover damages for mismanagement of the ship *Gift of God*, damages to property and demurrage. This suit had no actual bearing upon the historical features of the expedition but in the course of the pleadings and the examination of witnesses many interesting facts are furnished about the voyage of the *Gift of God* and the part which she and her company took in the work of settlement and explains her disappearance from Strachey's account which has been a puzzle to historical writers and a cause of many speculations as to her presumed continuance on the Maine coast after the settlement was abandoned.

Contrary to the general custom of colonizing expeditions, the two ships did not sail together. According to the testimony of officers and seamen of the *Gift of God* this vessel "sett saile from the Sound of Plimouth for Virginia about the 1st of May" while according to the Griffith MS the *Mary and John* "departed from the Lizard the firste daye of June Ano Domi 1607 beinge Mundaye about 6 of the Cloke in the afternoon." It is possible that they may have intended to establish a rendezvous at the Azores. As it happened they were in sight of each other near that group but not in com-

munication. The Griffith MS states that the *Mary and John* "lost company of him being the 29th daye of June . . . beinge 6 Leags flores West norwest." They did not meet again until Aug. 7th at the St. Georges Islands on the Maine Coast where the *Gift of God* had arrived in advance. Both ships had evidently followed the sailing directions of Capt. Geo. Weymouth in his voyage of 1605 when he visited the St. George River and set up his cross there in token of his exploration.

The new evidence which accompanies this paper will be called the Admiralty MSS for convenient reference and from it we learn that the *Gift of God* arrived at Sagadahoc, their destination, on Aug. 14th which agrees with the Griffith MS that the *Mary and John* "had overshott the place" and on Sunday, Aug. 16th "capt popham Sent his Shallop unto us for to healp us in." The new facts disclosed by the Admiralty MSS cover some important as well as inconsequential matters but they are worth mentioning for the light they throw on the conditions after they had begun their fort. On Sept. 7th the *Mary and John* began to discharge her "vyttuals," (Griffith) and on Oct. 6th she was dispatched home to England to tell of their safe arrival and to obtain supplies for the coming year. It was intended that the *Gift of God* should follow shortly after as soon as her cargo was discharged (Admiralty MSS). All the witnesses in the suit make a point of testifying that the *Mary and John* left before the *Gift of God's* own "victualls, salte & other provitions were unladen." It appears from references in the deposition that after her cargo was discharged she was loaded with masts for shipment to England but before they were ready to sail "the salvages of the Countrey gave intelligence . . . that the French men would come & besiege them" (Admiralty Mss). Whereupon the President and Council ordered the *Gift of God* to remain "to keepe watch & warde" against this possibility. This duty was performed by Captain Havercome and his crew for four months and this

detention was the cause of the suit, as in the month of December the Winter weather set in earlier than usual filling the Kennebec with ice. Great floes jammed against their ship and crushed in some planks and but for timely work she was in danger of foundering (Admiralty Mss). Strachey makes no mention of this detention of the *Gift of God*, and merely says that "the wynter proved soe extreame unseasonable and frosty . . . as noe boat could stir upon any business." Neither does he mention her departure which took place on December 16th, after the officials decided that the French menace was no longer probable.

The preparations for her departure are stated with great particularity by the deponents. Fifty men and boys were selected to go with her, and provisions for that number were calculated "by haverdepois waight" for an estimated voyage of six weeks. This was all that could be spared from their stores. Captain John Elliott was detailed as Captain of the Vessel and was given instructions in Spanish and English, "firmed" by the President, to go to the Azores, if necessary, there to sell their masts, cables and any other furniture of the ship to buy more provisions, if the voyage was delayed for any reason. All these formalities took place in the "House of Capt. Raleigh Gilbert." The return passage exceeded the time limit and when the Azores was reached nearly everything eatable and drinkable had been consumed. One man had died of starvation (?), or as Elliott stated because of excessive eating, drinking, "lise & vermin" and filthiness. The masts, cable and a gun were disposed of in exchange for food supplies and the unlucky ship proceeded on her voyage to England. Two more men died before she reached her destination Topsham, Devonshire, where she dropped anchor March 10th, 1608 having previously put in at Helford, Cornwall. The voyage had lasted fifty-five days, of which eight were spent at the Azores, a net time at sea of forty-seven days, or five more than the calculations of the officials at Fort St. George. This voyage was not of unusual length

across the wintry seas of the North Atlantic. There is no contemporary evidence that the *Gift of God* returned to Sagadahoc as on her arrival Captain Elliott and Master Havercome must have learned of the death of Sir John Popham the financial and political mainstay of the Expedition which bade fair to disrupt the plans of the promoters for continuance of the project. The *Mary and John* was being held pending a decision of the interested parties.

Meanwhile, at Sagadahoc the Colonists were busy in completing their "town." They finished the fort, mounted it with twelve "pieces," erected a church, a storehouse and "fifty howses" (according to Strachey), but the latter number is probably in error for fifteen. Digby of London, the chief shipwright, "framed a pretty Pynnace of about some thirty tonne which they called the *Virginia*" (Strachey). In England further events disastrous to the continuance of the Colony had occurred. On July 5th, 1608, Sir John Gilbert, son of the famous Sir Humphrey and elder brother of Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, ended his days in London and was buried at Marldon, Devonshire, a fortnight later, leaving his youngest brother heir to the Gilbert estate. This evidently determined the responsible English representatives to dispatch the *Mary and John* from Topsham "laden full of vitualls, armes, instruments and tools" (Strachey), indicating a purpose to continue the Colony if the leaders at Sagadahoc should consider it practicable. Of the details of this voyage we have no information but she probably made a voyage of usual length and arrived at Sagadahoc about the latter part of September. The news that Capt. Davies brought from England was matched by the like information which met him as he came ashore. "He found Mr. George Popham, the President, and some other dead yet he found all things in good forwardness, and many kinds of furr obteyned from the Indians by way of trade; (and) good store of sarsaparilla gathered" (Strachey). In this mixture of favorable and unfavorable news the latter outweighed. Letters ad-

dressed to Capt. Raleigh Gilbert required his return home to settle his brother's estate as heir at law and this removed the second in command as successor to Popham and thus the official structure of the Colony would be completely decapitated. This serious feature "and the feare that all other Wynters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country." Apparently there was no one among them strong enough to assume leadership in this emergency and the obituary of this hopeful effort to settle a colony of Englishmen on the Maine Coast is thus written by Strachey:

Wherefore they all ymbarqued in this new arrived shipp and in the new pynnace, the *Virginia*, and sett saile for England. And this was the end of that northerne colony upon the river Sachadehoc.

These words have been repeatedly quoted by those who would have us believe that it ended further colonization plans in this region and that nothing of a permanent character is in evidence until the year 1620 is safely passed. Strachey does not convey any such idea. He simply said "this was the end of *that* northerne colony," and it undoubtedly was the end of it, as that closes the only story he undertook to relate. The Popham interests were evidently prepared to go on but the Gilbert portion of the adventure broke it up temporarily for the reason given. Sir Ferdinando Gorges in commenting on this effort and the occasion of its abandonment said:

By which means all our former hopes were frozen to death though Sir Francis Popham could not so give over but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortune.

This is not the place for a relation of events succeeding this Northern colony or to recount the increasing mass of evidence showing the growth of maritime and commercial activities in more convenient places adjacent to the deserted fort on the rocky promontory of Sabino. The challenge to the primacy of Plymouth will not be stilled.

APPENDIX

It may be desirable to preserve such information as is available regarding the personnel of the Expedition, including those who belonged exclusively to the ships.

GEORGE POPHAM. It is known that this titular leader, called the President of the Colony, was a kinsman of Chief Justice Popham, the patron, and he is probably the George Popham designated as "Captain" son of Edward Popham and nephew of Sir John. It is also known that he was well along in years when he undertook this arduous adventure unsuitable for a man of his age. He is probably the George Popham of Huntworthy, co. Somerset, gentleman, residing in Bridgewater in 1606 who deposed that year as 52 years of age. This brings his birth back to the year 1554 which would make him 53 years of age when he went on the Expedition, about twenty years the junior of his distinguished uncle. He may be identical with George Popham of Bridgewater licensed to marry on 26 Nov. 1593 Anna Stevens, a widow of the same parish. George Popham, Jr. was entered as one of the bondsmen, indicating that it was a second marriage for both parties.

RALEIGH GILBERT. He was the sixth and youngest son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the navigator, who went down with his ship on our Atlantic Coast in 1584 during a violent storm while he assured his companions that "we are as near Heaven by sea as by land." An equally distinguished Devon "sea dog," Sir Walter Raleigh, was his uncle and the traditions of these two great Englishmen must have inspired his decision to follow in their footsteps, but the allurements of property interests detached him from the opportunity he had seized and he spent the remainder of his life in comfortable surroundings as Lord of the Manor of Marldon, Devon. He was born in 1583, the year his father sailed for Newfoundland never to return, and died in 1634 at the early age of 51 years.

THE COUNCIL

Capt. John Elliott, gentleman, of Newland Fee, co. Essex.

Gawen Carew, or Carey, probably of the Devonshire family of that name, as a Carey family lived in Marldon, the home of Gilbert.

Robert Seaman, Secretary.

James Davies.

Edward Harley or Harlow.

OTHER PERSONS

Ellis Best.

. . . . Patterson.

. . . . Digby, a shipwright from London.

Rev. Richard Seymour, chaplain. He was son of Sir Edward Seymour, Bart. cousin of Raleigh Gilbert and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

. . . . Fortescue, probably one of the Devon family of that name.

SHIP GIFT OF GOD

Capt. John Havercombe, probably from Swanage, Dorset.

Peter Grisling of Plymouth, Devon, Master's mate.

John Diamond of Stoke Gabriel, quartermaster. A family of this name came from Dartmouth, Devon, near Marlton and Stoke Gabriel in the next generation, seafaring men, and settled at Kittery, Me.

Timothy Savage from London, quartermaster.

Launcelot Booker from London but a native of Rotheram, co. York. Cooper.

John Fletcher of Limehouse, Stepney, sailor.

SHIP MARY AND JOHN

Robert Davies, Captain.

THE DOCUMENTS

Public Record Office, London (H.C.A. 3. 13/279)

Dmis Franciscus Popham miles filius
 naturalis et ltimus ac Dna Anna Pop-
 ham vid relict et executrix noiat
 Testo sive ultima voluntate honor and
 viri dni Johes Popham militis capitalis
 Justiciarii dni nri Rege ad p . . ta cora
 eo tenta con et adversus
 John Havercome nuper mgr navis vocat
 the *Guift of God* Browne Williamson

Quo die Williamson noie procurio et ut procurator ltimus dei
 Johis Havercome ad omnem juris est . . . ex mde quo vis
 modo sequi valem in omnibus melioribus et efficatoribus via

modo ac Juris forma quibus melius aut efficacius de Juro poterit aut potest debuit . . . aut in debet illegavit articulatum pro ut sequitur /

1. Imprimis vizt qd Anno dni 1606 mensibusque in eod anno ac etiam mensibs Martii, Aprilis, Maij, Junij, Julij, Augusti, Septembris, Octobris, Novembris, Decembris, Januarij et Februarij anno dni 1607 Johes Havercome fuit et erat p honorandu viru dnm Johem Popham militem def pro quodam viagio maritimo a ptibus Angliae ad ptibus ultramarinus vocat et cognit p nomen Virginiae faciend ac ab als ptibus secundum directionem et mandatum Georgii Popham presidies et aliorum consiliario p dni nri Regs in ptibus borealibus regionis pred existen ad hoc Regnum Angliae redeand mgr navarchus sive gubernator navis pred vocat the *guifte of God* rite et ltime constitut et ponit conm dmi et de quolet/

2. Item quod annis et mensibus pred dcus Johes Havercome officium sive . . . cis mgri navis vocat *Guifte of God* pro viagio pred in se suscepit et ut magr sive navarcus dci navis the *guifte of God* durante viagio pred in serviebat ac pro ngro pro toto viagio pred fuit et erat coim ter dcus tentus hitus noiatus ac repulatus pasam pubce et norium et ponit ut supra/

3. Itm qd dcus Johes Havercome anno et mensibus pred seu eorum aliquo cum navi sua pred cui ex fuit a ptibus Angliae pred decessit ac versus ptes ultramarinis vocat et cognit p nomen Verginiae pred navigabat ibimq salvo appulit et ponit ut supra/

4. Itm qd tempe apulsus dci navis in ptibus Virginiae pred dcus Georgius Popham fuit et erat in illis ptibus Preses sive gubinator Consiliarium dni nri Regis in ptibus borealis regionis pred rite et ltime Constitut et allocat et ponit ut supra/

5. Itm that pntly uppon the arrivall of the said shippe the *guift of God* in the North pts of Virginia aforesaid the said John Havercome mr of the said shippe the *guift of god* did comitte himselfe his shippe and Companie and her ladeing unto the Comaund and governance of the sd President and others of the Counsaile aforesaid and did serve him and others of the Consaile boath wth ther boat and men and did all such service and labor as the said President and Counsaile did direct and

appoint them: hocq fuit et est verum pubcum norium manifestum piter ac famosum et ponit et supra/

6. Itm that shortly after the pmisses vizt about the 9th of October the *Mary and John* (wherewith the said Havercombe and the *guifte of God* was consorted) did depte from the sd Havercombe and left the harbor of Sakadahoc in the North pts of Verginia before such time as the said Havercombe had dispatched the said *Guifte of god* either of her victualls or salte and pntly after the unladeing of the salt and victualls aforesaid the said governor and others of the counsaile aforesaid did determine to send the said Havercombe and his said shippe pntly for England but by reason of some spech of the people of that Countrie that gave intelligence to the governor and others of the Counsaile that the French would come and beseige them the said governor and Counsaile comaunded the said Havercombe and Companie to stay longer in the said Countrie and not to depte hocq fuit et est verum pubcum norium manifestum piter ac famosum et ponit ut supra/

7. Itm that by reason of the pmisses in the next pcedent arte menconed the said Havercombe and Companie with the *guifte of God* aforesaid were by comaundment of the President aforesaid and others of the Counsaile aforesaid comanded to stay in the harbor of Sakadahoc aforesaid and there did by appointment of the said Governor and Counsaile remaine wth the said shipp and company and kept watch and warde for the space of 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3 or at least two monethes together hocq fuit et est verum norium pubcum piter ac famosum et ponit ut supra/

8. Itm that dureing the aboad of the said Havercombe and Companie with the *guifte of God* aforesaid in the harbor aforesaid there happened much fowle weather and Ice in the said Countrie the extremitie whereof did much indanger and hurt the said shipp the *Guifte of God* where-uppon the President and others pceaveing it did give directions unto the said Havercombe to ballast the said shipp and delivered unto the said Havercombe such store of victualls as they could well spare: hocq fuit et verum pubcum norium manifestum piter ac famosum et ponit ut supra/

9. Itm that the said President and Counsaile had not sufficient pvision of victualls and other things to furnishe the

said shipp to send for England when the said shipp the *Mary and John* were gone for England but were forced by reson thereof a salfoe for that the said shipp would have bine utterly spoiled by the Ice and fowlnes of weather afore said to send the said shipp for England et ponit ut supra/

10. Itm that the said President and Counsaile did appoint one Capt. Elliott Capt of the said shipp the *Guifte of God* in her return towards England and did give Comaundment and directions unto him and to the said Havercombe and company to depte with their said shipp the *Guifte of God* in her returne towards England and did give Comaundment and directions unto him and to the said Havercombe and company to depte wth their said shipp the *Guifte of God* towards England wth such smal provisions as they could spare and appointed him the said Havercombe and Eliot to dispose of and sell 30 masts, a peece of ordinance and any other thing of goods they had aboard the said shipp at the Island of the Assoraes and appointed them to stay and victuall themselves and Company there and fitt the said shipp the *Guifte of God* wth such necessaries as she wanted et ponit ut supra and at her arrivall at the Assores had but twoo hogsheads of beere two hogsheads of bread and five daies pvisions of meate left and then (sic)

11. Itm that the said Havercombe and Company of the said shipp the *Guifte of God* after their depture from Sakadahoc aforesaid towards England were for need of victualls and for want thereof by the appointment of the said Elliot forced to put into the said Island of Assorees where the said Elliot did by Comaundment of the Governor and Counsaile aforesaid sell certaine goods belonging to the said ship and Companie wth victualls for the releife of the said Companie wch otherwise would have pished for want thereof et ponit ut supra/

12. Itm that before such tyme as the said Havercombe did put into the Assorees wth the said shipp the *Guifte of God* he and his Company were for want of drinke (forced) to drinke water and endured such penury and want that divers of the said company died for lack of food and others for want thereof (yf they had not bine speedily releived died) would likewise pished hocq fuit et ist verum norium manifestum piter ac famosum et ponit ut supra/

13. Itm quod pmissa oia et singula fuerunt vera pubca

noriam manifesta piter ac famosa acq de et sup eisdem laborant et in pum ei laborant pubca vox et fama unde fact de in re in hac pce requisit petit psista pponens jus et justiciam &c/

W. BYRDE

P. R. O. LANCELOTUS BOOKER Civitas London Vietor
 H. C. A. ubi p xv annos moram fecit: natus in vico de
 EXAM. BK. Rotherom in Com Eborum annos agens xxxiiij
 No. 28 vel circa Testis hui pte productus juratua et
 examinatus dicit qd John Havercom a quinto Julij ve . . . &
 Franciscum Popham et visu respective noverit: Annam
 Popham non novit.

ABSTRACT

(Has already answered the first interrogatory ex parte dicti Havercom in hac causa dict.)

(2) (3) . . . that on the vth of July last this exte being in a shipp of London called the *Penelope* belonging to mr Richard Holt homeward bound from the West Indies mett with the articulate shippe called the *Guifte of God* about three Score leages from the Island of Flores bound for Virginia; whereof the articulate John Havercome was Mr & George Popham Captaine and they wanting a Cooper, having lost there consorte intreated this exte to leave the *Penelope* & to goe with them for Virginia, & made wages with him for xxiiij/s the monethes end so this exte wente for Cooper with the said Havercom and knoweth that the said shipp arrived in Savety in the north Partes of Virginia, and that the said Havercom was Mr of the said shipp all the viadge & as Mr behaved him self very painfully & carfully untell the shippes returne into England./

(4) . . . that the said George Popham wente in the said shipp to Virginia to be the Presedent of the Counsell in those partes & at his arrival there he was accepted & allowed for Presedent & so continueth there of this extes certaine knowledge./

(5) . . . that after the arrival of the said shipp the *Gifte of God* at Virginia the said John Havercom with the shipp & company were under the comaund of the said President & Counsell there & did so serve them with their boate & persons in such labour & services as they were appointed unto from tyme to tyme by the said President & Counsell of this exts knowledge beinge one of the company & cooper of the said Shipp./

(6) (7) . . . that the arlate shipp the *Mary & John* consorted with the *Gifte of God*, about the beginning of October last, was by order of the said President & Counsell sente backe for England & the *Gifte of God* was stayed by there order: also to be sente away when yt should seeme good unto them: and shortly after the departure of the *Mary & John* the salvages of the Countrey gave intelligence to the sd President & Counsell that the French men would come & besiege them and thereuppon the said Havercom with the said shipp & company were comaunded to stay longer in the harbour of Sakadahoc & to keepe watch & warde both a shipp bord & a shore, so long as they continued there which was the space of viij or ix weeks as he remembreth for this exte was present on shipp bord & a shore all the said tyme & knoweth that the said shipp the *Mary & John* was sente away from Virginia by the said President & Counsell before the *Gifte of God* was discharged of such salte and victualls as were brought thither from England./

(8) (9) . . . that dureing such tyme as the said shipp the *Gifte of God* remayned in the said harbor of Sakadahoc by appointment of the said President and Counsel there hapened much fowle weather & greate floes of Ise wherewith the said shipp was much endangered and hurte for as he saythe the force of the Ise one nighte struck in a pece of a planck of the said shipp of a foote & a halfe longe, so as if the same had (not) byn presently spied and repayred the shipp had byn in greate danger of sinkinge, and thereuppon the said President & counsell gave directions to the said Havercom to ballast the said shipp & furnishe her to returne for England and delivered him such victualls as they could spare of this extes certaine knowledge./

(10) . . . that the arlate Captaine Elliott was by the said President & Counsell appointed Captaine of the said shipp the *Gifte of God* in her returne for England and for that they were not able to furnishe the said shipp with victualls to bring the company for England the said President & Counsell gave comaundment & directions to the said Elliott & Havercom to returne for England & gave them such victualls as they could spare and gave them directions in writinge to saile to the Islands of Assores or such other Island as they could gett to & there to dispose & sell certaine mastes and a pece of ordinance

& such other things as they had & to furnishe themselves with victualls & reparaire the shippe & fitt her with such necessaries as she wanted: and this he knoweth to be true for he was present in the house of Captaine Gilbert, when as the said directions were given in writinge by the said President and Counsell to the said Capt. Elliott & John Havercom & this exte then reade the same and saw that the said President gave the Captaine a letter in Spanish & lattin which he willed him deliver to the officers of the Island at his arrivall there./

(11) . . . that the said Havercom & company of the said shipp the *Gift of God* after there departure from the harbor of Sakadahoc towards England were for wante of victualls enforced to putt into the Island of Assores by the appointment of the said Captaine Elliott and according to the directions of the said President & Counsell & there the said Captaine Elliott did sell xxxiiij mastes & a cable and layd to pawne a gun belonging to the said shipp to provide victualls & furnishe the shipp for the reliefe of the company and this he knoweth to be true for that he tasted of the said want & saw the said masts and cable sold & the gun pawned to victuall the said shipp to come for England otherwise the company must have perished for wante of his knowledge./

(12) . . . that the said Havercom & company befor they putt into the Assores were by reason of wante inforced to drink and endured such penury & wante that one of the company died before they came to the Islandes & two more died before they came into England of his sight & knowledge & many others had perished also if they had not byn releevd at the Islandes./

AD INTERROGATORIA

(1) . . . that cominge from the West Indies in the *Penelope* & meetinge with the said shipp the *Gifte* bound for Virginia he was hired by Captaine Popham & John Havercom at sea to serve as cooper in the *Gifte of God* for Virginia and promised to have xxiiij/s per moneth so longe as he should serve in the said shippe whereof he hath had as yet no parte./

(2) . . . that this respondent came into the said shipp the *Gifte of God* at sea in the vth of July last & knoweth that the *Gifte of God* arrived in Virginea in August following & came

thence on the xvi of December last bound for England & arrived at Topsham about the last of February last./

(3) . . . that the *Gifte of God* was not coming home above six weekes as he remembrethe./

(4) . . . he was present when as Captaine Elliott & John Havercom had comission & directions from the said President and Counsell to sail to the Islands & sell the mastes sparrs & other things to buy victuals. And the same was don in the house of Captaine Gilbert in the towne newe built there called St. George. And there were present George Popham President Rawleigh Gilbert, Gawyn Cary Robt Seaman James Davies, Edward Harley John Elliott of the Counsell Mr Foscue John Havercom this exte & who els he remembreth not and the said directions were given in writinge & were firmed by the President & some of the Counsell howe many he remembreth not and yet as he saith he had the comission in his hands and read yt./

(5) . . . he doth not know what the mastes were worth but thinketh they were sold for ther most valewe . . . (but) . . . he hath no experience in the valewe of such thinges./

P. R. O. JOHN DIAMAN of Stoke Gaberill in Com Devon
H. C. A. nauta annos agens LV aut eo circa testes in hac
DEP. BK. pte pductus juratus et ex'tus dicit quod John
No. 28 Havercome p duodecim annos bene noverit; ac
Franciscum Popham a mensi Maij ad añum elapsus ex visu
tanta noverit de Annam Popham non novit.

ABSTRACT.

(1) That in the yeres & monthes arlate the arlate John Havercombe was Mr of the arlate shippe called the *Gwifte of God* for a viadge to be made from the parts of England to Virginia arlate and that he was soe hired by the arlate Sir John Popham Knighte, deceased, and as Mr dureinge the whole viadge arlate well and orderly behaveinge him selfe and Sir George Popham arlate went Captaine outwards bounde of the said shippe wch he knoweth to be true being the QrMr of the sd Shippe the sd viadge/

(2) . . . that the arlate John Havercome did take upon him the place & office of Mr of the sd shippe the *Gwifte of God* dureinge the viadge arlate & so was generallye accompted & taken./

(3) . . . that aboute the beginninge of Maye or June last was xij moneths the sd John Havercome this exte & company wth the sd shippe the *Gwifte of God* sett saile from the Sounde of Plimouth for Virginia & arrived there in good safetie about Auguste following./

(4) . . . that the arlate George Popham went in the said shippe from Plimouth to Virginia to be Presidente of the Counsell there and at his arrivall in Virginia he was admitted & allowed for Pressident & so held & accompted there of this exts certaine Knowledge./

(5) . . . being a quarter Mr of the said Shippe and presente in her at Virginia under the comaund of the said Presidente & Consell./

(6) (7) . . . that the arlate shipp the *Mary & John* beinge consorted with the *Gifte of God* was by order of the sd President & Consell sente from Virginia for England before the victualls, salte & other provitions were unladen out of the *Gifte of God* & yt was determined that the *Gifte of God* should be sente after verrey shortly But uppon a reporte that the Frenche men would come & make spoile of them, the said President & Counsell stayed the sd shippe the *Gwifte of God* & her company for a longer tyme who by comaundmente aforesaid kept watche & warde continually for the space of two monethes duringe there continuance there of this exts certaine knowledge./

(8) (9) . . . that the Wentar was verrey foule & the Ise greate whiles the said shipp remayned in the harbour of Sakadahoc in the north pts of Virginia for as he sayth the extremity of the Ise was such that yt bruke in a plancke of the said shipp as she rode in the harbour to the indaungeringe of the said shipp if yt had not been espied and amended of this exts knowledge then beinge in the said shippe And by reason thereof the said President & Counsell gave directions to the said Havercome to provide his shipp & take in his ballast to goe for England & delivered him such victualls as they could spare at that presente./

(10) . . . that the said President & Counsell appointed the arlate Captaine Elliott to be Captaine of the said shippe the *Gifte of God* for England & gave directions in Writinge to the said Captaine Elliott & Jon Havercome the Mr to depte with the said shipp the *Gifte of God* for England with such victualls

as they had, and to putt in to the Islands to refresh themselves of victualls with the sale of such things as were in the shippe, which ke knoweth to be true for that he was presente when as the said Havercome received the said comission of the said Presidente in presence of others of the Counsell & hearde yt reade affirming that the victualls were little & shorte at the said ships arrivall at the Islands as namely there was not a hogs heade of beare then lefte to his knowledge & about a hundred waight of breade & verey little other provitions of his knowledge./

(11) . . . that the said Captaine Elliott John Havercome & Company according with said comission & directions of the said President & Counsell beinge in great wante of victualls putt into the Island of Acesores & there the said Captaine sould a cable of xxxij or xxxij mastes & spares to the Spaniards to buy victualls & pawned also a gun for that purpose accordinge as he was directed by the said President & Counsell of this exts certaine knowledge then beinge presente when as the said things were sold & pawned & victualls bought therewith otherwise the company must needs have perished by the wante thereof as he thinketh./

(12) . . . that two of the company of the said shipp by reason of the wante of victualls to bringe them home were starved & died at sea & a thirde died also a little before the shippes arrivall in England of this exts certaine knowledge Besides many others must of force have perished if they had not byn releevd in the Islands with victualls as aforesaid as he beleveth./

AD INTERROGATORUM

(1) . . . he was a quarter Mr in the *Gifte of God* in the said viadge to Virginia & backe againe & was to have xxv/s per moneth dureinge the viadge whereof he have not received as yet eany penny./

(2) . . . the said shipp the *Gifte of God* wente out of England uppon the said viadge about the beginning of May was xij monethes, and arrived at Virginia in August as he remembereth & stayed thereavboute three monethes & came from thence in december last as he remembreth and arrived at Topsam about the viijth of March last to his best remembrance./

(3) . . . the said shippe was cominge home seven or viij weekes & couldnt have come home much sooner as he thinketh.

(4) . . . that he was present when the said Presidente sayd openly to the Company that they should have comission to goe to the Islands to victuall them selves with the sale of such thinges as they had in the shippe & he afterwards saw the comission and was presente when yt was delivered to the Mr in presence of sondry of the Counsell & others./

P. R. O.
H. C. A.
EXAM. BK.
No. 28

TIMOTHEUS SAVIDGE ex precinctu sancte Katharine nauta ubi p annum et antea apud Horsey Downe p tres annos moram fecit natus in parochie Sancte Brigitte London annos agens quadraginta quinque aut circiter testis in hac causa productus juratus et examinatus dicit qd Johem Havercom a primo Aprilis ad annu elapsus et Sir Francis Popham militem a mensi Martij ad annu respectue noverit et Annam Popham non novit/

(1) (2) (3) . . . that this exte was one of the Quarter Mrs of the arlate shipp the *Gifte of God* in the arlate viage to Virginea, & was hired and appointed to goe on the same viadge by Sr John Popham late Ld Cheife Justice of England, & knoweth that the arlate John Havercome was Mr of the said shipp by the appointment of the said Sr John Popham & so continued all the viadge./

(4) . . . that the arlate George Popham was President of the Counsell in the North Parte of Virginea, and wente over in the said shipp the *Gifte of God* to take upon him the said place, and at his cominge thither he was accepted and taken for President of the said Counsell of this exts certaine knowledge who wente with him in the said shipp./

(5) . . . Who was a quarter Mr of the said shipp & an ey witnes that uppon the arrivall of the said shipp in Virginea the said Havercom comitted him self the shipp and company to the said President & Counsell & all was at there disposinge & what they appointed & comaunded was don by the said Mr & his company./

(6) . . . That the arlate shipp the *Mary & John* was sente backe for England by the said President & Counsell before the salte & victualls were Dischardged out of the said shipp the *Gifte of God*, And yt was intended by the said President & Counsel that the *Gifte of God* should be sent afterward verey

shortly: howebeit a rumor rayzed by the countrey people that the Franch men would come & beseige them the said shipp the *Gifte of God* & the company thereof were stayed for a longe tyme by the said President & Counsell of this exts certaine knowledge./

(7) . . . that uppon the said rumor the said Havercom was comaunded by the said President & Counsell to stay in the harbor of Sakadahoc with the said shipp the *Gifte of God* & company & to keepe watch & ward both a shipp bord & a shore all the tyme they continued there of this exts certaine knowledge./

(8) . . . that there hapened verey foule weather & much ise whiles the said the *Gifte of God* continued in the said harbor of Sakadahoc whereby the said shipp was greatly indangered & hurte, for as he sayth a pece of Ise with the extremity of the frost bruke in a plancke in the said shipp whereby such abundance of water runne into the shipp that yf yt had not byn presently spied & remedied the shipp had byn in perill of sinkinge. And thereuppon the said President & Counsell gave order that the shipp should be balasted & sente away for England & delivered him such victualls as they could spare to bring them home of this exts certaine knowledge./

(9) (10) . . . that the said President & Counsell had not sufficient store of victualls to spare to furnish the said shipp with all to cary her for England & therefore gave comission and comaundment to Captaine Elliott who was sente home in the *Gifte of God*, & to the said John Havercom the Mr to putt into the Islandes of Tresorees & there to sell such thinges as they had on bord & to furnish them selves with victualls to bringe them home. And this he knoweth to be true for that he was presente in the hous of Captaine Gilbert in Virginea when as the comission was writte & made & signed & sealed by the President & counsell and openly spoken what the effecte thereof was, but he cannot remember that the said comission was given to the said Mr at that tyme . . . Saving he sayth that at their arrivall at the Islandes there was none or verey little beere left unspente and only a hogshead of breade left that he knows of./

(11) . . . that the said Mr by the appointment of the said Captaine Elliott, in his journey towards England putt into the

Island of Treseres & there sold xxxij mastes and a cable and pawned a gunn & therewith bought victualls accordinge to there comission, otherwys they had perished at sea for want of victualls of his knowledg/.

(12) . . . that theire wante of victualls was so greate that one of the company died for wante of victualls before they came to the Islands, & two others were so weakened also that they died before they come into England & many others had perished likewise if they had not byn releived with victualls at the Islandes as he verily beleveth/.

AD INTERROGATORIA

(1) . . . he went quartermr in the *Gifte of God* interrogated the viadge aforesd and was soe placed by appointment of John Havercom Mr of the sd Shippe the sd viadge. And he was to have xxxij/s p moneth and did receive one moneths wadges of the Lord Popham deceased & rec'd of Sir Francis Popham ij li more in parte of his wadges for the sd viadge/.

(2) . . . the sd shippe went forth on her viadge aboute the firste of Maie was xij moneths & arrived in Virginia in August followinge, & staid there aboute fower moneths, & arrived backe againe for England at Helford in Cornewall in Februarie last past, And saith that he was in the *Guifte* dureinge all the viadge both outwards & homewards untill her comeinge to Topsham uppon the xth of Marche laste, and there the sd Sir Francis promised to paie this rendent & the rest theire wadge wch was unpaide, but as yet hath not paid this rendent nor anie of the rest to his knowledge . . . /

(3) . . . they came from Virginia the xvth of December & arrived at Helford aboute the viij of Februarie & might have come sooner if they had not wanted victualls, And came as directlye & as fast as they could & as winde and weather dide give them leave . . . /

(4) . . . that Captaine Elliott & the Mr had order by writeinge from the President & Counsell at Virginia to go to the Treseras & to sell anie thinge in the shippe to buy victualls to bringe them home, for this rondent was in Captaine Gilbert Chamber at Virginia when the sd order was a writeinge & sawe Capt Gilbert write the same together with the Counsell & sawe it sealed./

- (5) nescire.
 (6) reddit ut supra.

P. R. O. JOHANNIS FLETCHER de Lymehouse sailor annos
 H. C. A. agens xxvij, Testis in hac parte productus juratus
 EXAM. BK. et examinatus dicit quod Johem Havercome a
 No. 28 mense Martij ad annum ult elapsus D. Franciscum
 Popham p spacium unius anni respective noverit aut eo circiter
 Do Annam Popham non novit./

(1) (2) (3) . . . for this exte was hired by the late Lord Popham to serve in the arlate shippe the *Guifte of God* the viadge arlate & continued in her all the viadge outwards & homewards, And knoweth that the arlate John Havercome was Mr of the said shippe the sd viadge by order & appointment of the sd Lo. Popham & soe continued all the viadge./

(4) . . . That the arlate George Popham at such time as this exte & companie arrived at Virginia was President & Governor of the Englishe Companie there & soe remained at their comeinge from thence which he knoweth to be true for that he was there & sawe the sd Capt George Popham execute the place as Presidente & Governor there./

(5) . . . That the sd Havercome this exte & companie presentlye upon their arrivall at Virginia did comitte the sd shippe the *Guifte of God* to the order and directions of the sd George Popham together with themselves & the shippis ladeinge, which he knoweth to be true beinge one of the companie & an ey wittness of the premisses./

(6) . . . that the *Mary & John* arlate was sent for England from Virginia before the *Guifte of God* dischargd her ladeinge wch she carried thither, And the President & Counsell did reporte theye would send the *Guifte* after the *Mary & John* soe soone as they coulde but in the meane tyme there was a speeche that certaine Frenchmen woulde beseidge the Englishe companie at Sakadahoc in Virginia And upon that reporte the *Guifte of God* was staid there for a longer tyme by the President & Counsell there, wch he knoweth to be true./

(7) . . . that by the reason of the rumer aforesd the sd Havercom & companie were enforced & comaunded by the President & Counsell to stave in the harbor of Sakadahoc with the shippe the *Guifte of God* & to kepe watche & warde on borde

all the tyme they continued there of this exts certaine knowl-
edge beinge one of the companie as aforesd./

(8) . . . that in the meane tyme of their stay as aforesd
there happened greate ice & indangered the shippe the *Guifte
of God* and the President & Counsell there perceaving it
caused the sd Havercome to ballaste his shipp & stored them
with such victualls as they coulde spare & sent them to the
Islands to provide more victualls & soe to come for England
. . . /

(9) (10) . . . That the President and Counsell had not
sufficient store of victualls to furnishe the *Guifte of God* to send
her for England, and thereupon they gave comission to one
Capt. Elliott whoe came alonge in the sd shippe & to the Mr to
goe to the Islands of Assores & there to sell suche mastes &
other thinges as they had on borde & coulde spare & to provide
victualls therewith to carrie them for England wch he knoweth
to be true for this exte heard the President give the sd order
unto the Mr soe to doe, and afterwards sawe the President &
Counsell's handes & seale to a writeinge on borde in the Mrs
Hands whereby it appeared that the sd Elliott & the Mr were
authorized as is arlated, & afterwards hee heard the sd Mr &
the companie saye that hee hadd dd the sd Comission to
Captaine Elliott at the Assores./

(11) . . . that the sd Mr by appointment of the sd Elliott &
the Mr sould certaine mastes and other thinges to buye
victualls to releive them & to bring them home otherwise they
mighte have perished of this exts certain knowledge beginge
one of the companie as aforesd./

(12) . . . that one of the companie died before they came
to the Islands for wante of victualls & two more were verie
sicke & coulde never returne but died before they came into
England, and manie more woulde have perished if they had not
putt in to the Ilands aforesd & there provided victualls as
aforesd of this exts certaine knowledge because their provision
was soe scante before./

AD INTERROGATORIA

(1) . . . hee was hired by the Lo Popham deceased to serve
in the sd shippe as a comon man the sd viadge & was to have
xx/s p moneth, but as yett hath recd but sixe pounds & maketh

acompte to have sixe pounds & ten shillinges more for after that rate & time he served in the shippe./

(2) . . . the *Guifte of God* went out of England aboute the beginninge of May last was xij moneth & arrived in Virginia in August followinge & staid there untill December followeinge, & arrived backe againe at Topsham aboute the viijth of Marche last past./

(3) . . . the *Guifte of God* might have come for England sooner then shee did if theye had not wanted victualls & gone to the Islands as aforesd but coulde not haye come aney sooner howsoever as he beleveth./

(4) . . . he was presente in the old Storehouse at Sakadahoc when as the President appointed th Mr to sell mastes & other things aborde the *Guifte of God* at the Treasures & to buy victualls as aforesd, and afterwards the Presdent & Counsell gave comission to the same purpose under their hands & seale as aforesd./

(5) rondet se nescire.

(6) ut supra.

P. R. O.
H. C. A.
EXAM. BK.
No. 28

TESTIS
POPHAM

die Sabbato xxiiij die Junij 1608

JOHANNES ELLIOTT de Newland Fee in Com
Essex generosus annos agens xxiiij eo circiter,
Testis in hac parte productus, juratus et exam-
inatus dicit quod Franciscus Popham militem p
spacium unius anni et Johem Havercombe p idem
tempus respective noverit Do Annam Popham non novit/

(1) . . . that the arlate Lord Popham deceased in the yeres & moneths arlate was acompted owner of the arlate shippe the *Guifte of God* & of her tackle apparrell & furniture and was sett out for Virginia by the said late lord cheife Justice & the rest of the Adventurers in that action./

(2) . . . he knoweth the said shipp was sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for the viadge outwards of his knowledge who wente from England in the said shippe to Virginia. And the cable & sacre & a roule of canvas mentioned in the sedle? arlate were in the said shipp outwards bound of his knowledge./

(3) . . . he knoweth that the arlate John Havercom was appointed Mr of the said shipp the *Gifte of God* for the said viadge by the said Sr John Popham, And according to his

directions the sd Havercom wente Mr of the said shipp in the said viadge of this exts certain knowledge./

(4) . . . that after the arrivall of the said shipp at Virginea the said shipp stayed there from the xiiijth of August to the xvth of December following & then the President & counsell there gave directions to the said Havercom to sayle directly for England with the said shipp & fifty men & boyes and a proportion of victualls for six weekes according to the said number of men by haverdepois waighte was allowed to the said Havercom to bringe the said shipp & company for England And this exte being appointed to returne home in the said shipp told the said President that the said shipp was coming from England ten weekes & od dayes, & he feared the said proportion of victualls would be little to bringe them for England, & he answered that they had the sea, the Banks for fisheing & the Islandes to frende if they were scanted of victualls, & appointed him to sell anything in the shipp rather then they should be in want in their returne which he affirmeth to be true./

(5) . . . that the said Havercomb havinge his directions to come for England came from Virginea, and kepte his directe course towards England, untill he & company were come on the heighte of the Islandes or thereabouts and then there was a generall mutiny in the shipp amongst the company that they wanted victualls & should be starved if they had not supply./ Wherewith this exte beinge appointed Captaine of the shipp, was made acquainted therewith and tould the Mr & company that they were appointed to goe directly for England, & that if they should goe for the Islandes & make any stay there, they should greatly wrong the company left in Virginea for that their want of victualls there required all hast that could be made for England to send them supply, and the company of the shipp answered that their wante being at sea was more desperate, & that they should perishe if they were not releevd. Whereuppon this exte consented they should goe for the Islandes of Treserues & sayled thither accordingly & stayed there viij dayes, & in that tyme there was sould by the consente of this exte, the said Havercom & the officers of the shipp one cable one sacre xxx spars that this exte knewe of one roule of canvas & some ropes belonginge to the said sacre & nothinge else to his knowledge, & xxxij li ster made thereof as he re-

membreth & bestowed all in victualls togeather also with three pound of this exte money for the use of the said shipp & company. Ac als nescit. Savige he thinketh that they mighte have come for England with the victualls that they brought out of Virginea if the Mr & company had byn spareinge & would have dealte honestly with the said victualls, & the rather for that they had three barreles of breade & a busshel of pease in the shipp as he hath heard, more then this exte had knowledge of & . . . them selves with drinkinge of whole cans of beere not to confesse yt as he hath byn told by Peter Grislinge of Plymouth Mrs mate & John Diamand one of the quarter Mrs./

AD INTERROGATORIA

(1) . . . he hath knowen Sr Francys Popham Knighte aboute a yeare & cometh to speake his knowledge in this cause by the meanes of the said Sir Francys ac als rondet negative.

(2) . . . he was appointed by the late L cheife Justice to goe on the said viage, & knoweth that the said L cheife Justice, Sr Ferdinando Gorge Sr Francys Popham, Sr Bartholomew Michell & others are Adventurers in the said viage./

(3) . . . the said shipp arrived at Sakadahoc in the north parts of Virginea & a Presidente & counsell were sente over to continue there, And uppon the arrival of the said shipp there the said Havercom submitted him self to the comaundment & directions of the President & counsell & he & the company served them with the boat and their persons in such service & labor as they were appointed to./

(4) . . . he knoweth not whether the *Mary and John* was sente backe for England before the *Gifte of God* was unladen of all her ladinge for as he remembreth the salte for the most part & the beere was unladen out of the *Gifte* with some bread after the *Mary and John* was gone. And sayth yt is true the *Gifte* & company thereof were stayed in the cuntrey for a longe tyme uppon a rumor spread that the French would come and beseedge them./

(5) . . . that the said Havercom & his company were comanded to kepe watch duringe the tyme they stayed in the river of Sagadahoc and in that tyme there hapened greate

store of ice which did harm the said shipp as the said Havercom complayned And uppon consideration had by the President & counsell the said Havercom was sente away for England with the said shipp & had such victualls as ys before declared.

(6) . . . he hath answered his knowledge before to this interrogatory whereunto he referreth himself.

(7) . . . that the saylors in the said shipp under hand as he beleeveth consumed and spilte more victualls than necessary to, . . . drank in excesse and by reason thereof the rest were in wante and a mutiny grew amongst them when they perceved they were come unto the height of the Islandes & thereuppon they putt into the Islands with this respondents consent to make supply of victualls./

(8) There was no salte water droncke in the viadge to his knowledge neyther doth he knowe what victualls were lefte when they arrived at the Islandes. And sayth that one of the Company died before they came to the Islandes, partly for wante of victualls & partly by his owne beastlines in not cleneinge him selfe of lise & vermyn, & two others died afterwards in the like maner./

(9) . . . he thynketh that many more mighte have died if they had not byn releevd at the Islandes for that they had wastefully spent there victualls before./

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