THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.

(Read at Crediton, July, 1883.)

CONSPICUOUS in the annals of English colonization in North America is the name of the "Plymouth Company." Yet there is no portion of our local history about which our information is more fragmentary. Plymouth itself yields but one single trace in her records of the existence and operations of this once notable organization, which undertook and partially accomplished the settlement of New England; and for some of the leading facts of its career we must cross the Atlantic.* I purpose therefore to bring together such materials as may afford a clear idea of the character of the Company, and of the nature of its work. This must be prefaced by a brief sketch of the relations borne by Devon at large, and Plymouth in particular, to the great work of American discovery and plantation.

There was a time when the ancient seaport of Bristol seemed destined to lead the van of Western adventure. Thence John and Sebastian Cabot sailed in 1497 (some authorities say 1496), on the famous voyage in which they discovered the American mainland, nearly a year before Columbus. Sebastian Cabot was the worthy son of an enterprising sire. In subsequent expeditions he explored the coast of North America; several years later he visited Brazil. Other voyages must have been made to the West, probably

* The narratives of the early voyagers to the American coasts have been carefully examined for this paper, and I am largely indebted to the *Transactions* of the Maine and Massachusetts Historical Societies, and Professor Arber's valuable reprint of Prince's *New England Annals*. There is much uncertainty as to some of the dates, and the new style has been followed wherever practicable.

from Bristol, which under the patent of Henry VII. had a monopoly of the trade with the discoveries of the Cabots. North American Indians were exhibited in London for a show as early as 1502, possibly the three men brought by Sebastian Cabot from "the Newfoundland islands," and within the first decade of the sixteenth century the foundations of the Newfoundland fishing trade were laid. Yet when Sebastian Cabot entered the Spanish service, Bristol, notwithstanding its mercantile status and reputation, ceased to take an active interest in the work of discovery. It was then that Devonshire and Plymouth came to the front.

Two Englishmen "somewhat learned in cosmographie" sailed with Sebastian Cabot in the Spanish expedition which made the discovery of the river Plate, and it is but a natural conclusion that the information thus or previously obtained led to the first systematic English trading expeditions to the Brazils, the voyages of William Hawkins, in the *Paul* of Plymouth, in the years 1528 (?), 1530, and 1532. And the first English denizen of South America was undoubtedly that Martin Cockrem of Plymouth, who was left by Hawkins on his second voyage in pledge for the safe return of an Indian whom his captain brought back with him to these shores, and who lived on till late in the reign of Elizabeth, "an officer of the town," and the patriarch of Plymouth seamen.

The history of maritime adventure in Devon begins then with these voyages of "old William Hawkins," the pioneer of the noblest band of daring seamen the civilized world has known, men in whom there lived again all the spirit of the Northern vikingr, whence, in part at least, they claim descent.

For nearly a century from the date of these Brazilian voyages the work of Western and Southern discovery and settlement was carried on almost wholly by Devonshire men, sailing from Devonshire ports; while from the waters of Plymouth Sound more expeditions set forth than from all the other harbours in the kingdom put together. Carew of Antony, an eye-witness of these glorious days, waxes eloquent as he declares of Plymouth:

"Here, mostly, haue the troops of aduenturers made their *Rendezvous*, for attempting newe discoueries or inhabitances: as *Tho. Stukeleigh* for Florida,* Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* for Newfoundland, Sir *Rich. Greynuile* for Virginea, Sir *Martyn Frobisher* and Master *Dauies* for the North-west passage, Sir *Walter Raleigh* for Guiana, &c. . . . Here, Sir *Fra. Drake* first extended the point of

* This was a pretence on Stukely's part. He obtained aid from Elizabeth for that object, and turned his hand to piracy instead.

that liquid line, wherewith (as an emulator of the Sunnes glorie) he encompassed the world. Here, *Master Candish* began to second him with a like heroicall spirit, and fortunate successe. Here *Don Antonio*, King of Portugall, the Earles of *Cumberland*, *Essex*, and *Nottingham*, the Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Sir *Iohn Norrice*, Sir *Iohn Hawkins* (and who elsewhere, and not here?) haue euer accustomed to cut sayle in carrying defiance against the imaginarie new Monarch; and heere to cast anker, vpon their returne with spoyle and honour. I omit the infinite swarme of single ships, and pettie fleetes, dayly heere manned out to the same effect."

The French were the first nation who definitely attempted to colonise North America. Cartier's description of the St. Lawrence, discovered by him in 1534, led to an unsuccessful effort—after Cartier had wintered in Canada in 1535—to plant a colony near what is now Quebec, by Francis de la Roque, or Roche, lord of Roberval, in 1542. The French did contrive to effect a settlement on the coast of what is now called Carolina, but was then known under the general name of Florida, by John Ribault, as early as 1562. But the efforts were not properly supported, and all came to grief, Ribault and his company being massacred on a subsequent voyage by the Spaniards. The failure of an attempt under M. Rene Laudonniere, in 1565, brings into honourable prominence the name of Hawkins. When the Frenchmen were in great distress Sir John Hawkins, with a fleet of four vessels, put in to water, and "being moued with pitie," gave them wine, provisions, shoes, and other necessaries. He offered to take them back to France, but eventually it was arranged that he should sell them a ship, which he did at their own valuation —700 crowns—receiving guns and powder. M. Laudonniere notes: "We receiued as many courtesies of the Generall as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing." The Frenchmen went back a month after Hawkins's visit. These attempts of the French were always opposed by the Spaniards, who had a special reason for assailing the Floridan settlement in the fact that it had been formed by Calvinists. In 1568 the massacre of Ribault was avenged by Dominic de Gourges, who destroyed the Spanish settlement and returned to France. And thus the French attempts in Florida came to an end.

Dartmouth was the first Devonshire port that sent forth a colonising expedition. Sir Humphry Gilbert wrote a discourse to prove a passage by the North-west to Cathay and the East Indies, and obtained a patent from Elizabeth, empowering him to discover and settle in North America any

savage lands. His first voyage (1579) was unsuccessful. In his second (1583), while Dartmouth was still his headquarters, "Causet Bay, neere vnto Plimmouth," was his final point of departure. He then took possession of Newfoundland,* which had long been a fishing station for various nations, but was drowned before he could turn this formality to any practical account. His brother Adrian next solicited a patent for the search and discovery of the North-west Passage. All the traffic of his new discoveries was to be conducted either at London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth, where the Queen's tenth was to be paid. Dartmouth was also the port whence John Davis set forth on his voyages of 1585, 1586, 1587; in the second of which Exeter merchants and others joined.

Plymouth became the headquarters of Raleigh's efforts to colonise Virginia, or, as it was for a short time called, after its intending founder, Raleana. His patent was granted March 25th, 1584; and his first expedition left the Thames in the April following, under Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. Virginia was then formally and feudally taken possession of for him. Next Sir Richard Grenville sailed from Plymouth, April 9th, 1585, with a fleet of seven vessels —the *Tyger, Roebucke, Lyon, Elizabeth, Dorothie,* and two small pinnaces, his biggest ship being 140 tons. A settlement was planted by Ralph Lane, and of the 107 who took part therein several by their names were evidently from the West Country. This first practical effort by the English to colonise North America was, however, of short duration. It continued only from August 17th, 1585, to June 18th, 1586, when Drake, cruising on the coast, gave the colonists a ship to return home in. Raleigh had in the meantime sent out a vessel for their relief, and Grenville, visiting the deserted settlement of Roanoke shortly after they had left, landed 15 men there.†

Another attempt was made in the following year (1587), when Raleigh sent out a well-appointed party, under John White as governor, and twelve assistants. The expedition sailed from Plymouth May 8th, and consisted of three ships. On arrival at Roanoke only the bones of one of the fifteen were found. This second colony consisted of ninety-one men,

* The scene of an unsuccessful attempt at settlement in 1536.

† Roanoke was situated in what is now North Carolina, Virginia being then a general term for the American coast north of Florida, itself of much larger dimensions than the present state of that name.

seventeen women, and nine children; and the chief fact worthy of note connected with it is, that on the 18th August, at the "City of Raleigh," there was born Virginia Dare, daughter of Ananias Dare and Eleanor, daughter of Governor White, the first American-born child of English descent. But this effort was likewise doomed to failure. March 20th, 1590, White, who had come home for supplies, sailed from Plymouth with three ships and two shallops, and when he reached the infant settlement found it destroyed.

All present hopes of settling Virginia were then abandoned. Raleigh had done his best. His individual efforts cost him £40,000. He formed a company under his patent, which was no more fortunate than himself, but which became the germ of the more notable Plymouth and London Companies. Five times he searched for the missing colonists, whom Indian tradition asserts to have been adopted in their distress into the Hatteras tribe. The last search was made by Bartholomew Gilbert, who sailed from Plymouth in May, 1603, and, with four of his men, was killed by the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay.

To Captain Bartholomew Gosnold belongs the honour of the next colonising expedition. In March, 1602, he sailed from Falmouth with thirty-two persons, coasted along the shores of New England, discovered Cape Cod, and built a fort on Elizabeth Island, near Martha's Vineyard, returning to Plymouth (or Exmouth) in the following July, as the men who had gone out to settle refused to stay. Had he succeeded the colonization of New England would have been antedated nearly twenty years. His reports were confirmed by an expedition under Martin Pring, of Bristol, who sailed under licence of Raleigh in the following year.

There was thus no English settlement on the North American coast when, in November, 1603, Henri Quartre granted a charter of Acadie, now Nova Scotia, extending from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude, to the Huguenot Du Mont, who, with Champlin and others, planted a colony in 1604 at the mouth of the St. Croix. This was the first permanent European settlement in North America. Thence the French extended their plantations in various directions. Dislodged from St. Croix in 1613 by the English, they held tenaciously to their claims, and eventually the English occupied the country as far east as the Kennebec, the French as far west as the Penobscot, the intervening territory being considered debateable.

Meanwhile the English adventurers had been by no means daunted. Captain George Weymouth, in 1605, coasting New England, discovered the St. George's River, and the Penobscot —"the most excellent and beneficyall riuer of Sachadehoc." He brought back with him to Plymouth five natives of Pemaquid, three of whom, Manida, Shetwarroes, and Tisquantum, he gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then governor of Plymouth Fort, who from that time became one of the most energetic promoters of North American adventure and settlement. This voyage by Weymouth was the immediate occasion of the formation of the Plymouth Company, and itself the direct result of efforts made to follow up Raleigh's patent, which had passed into various hands.

In April, 1606, James I. granted two charters for the colonization of the North American coast, between Canada and Florida, then known by the general name of Virginia; Chief Justice Popham being the moving spirit of the scheme. South Virginia, between the 34th and the 38th degrees north latitude, he assigned to the London Company. North Virginia, between the 41st and 45th degrees, to the Western, afterwards known as the Plymouth Company. Each association had an equal right in the intermediate district, but their colonies were not to be planted within 100 miles of each other.

The Plymouth Company was composed of adventurers not only of Plymouth, but of Bristol and Exeter. Its earliest promoters were Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham. Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were also much concerned, and in the same year (1606) sent out a small barque on an expedition of discovery, the *Richard*, from Plymouth, under Captain Henry Challons. He was, however, taken by the Spaniards, who still claimed the exclusive right of navigation in American waters. Another vessel, sent from Bristol to second Challons, under Thomas Hanham and Martin Prinn, reached the coast safely, but not finding Challons there, returned.

The first attempt to settle New England under the auspices of the Plymouth Company was made in 1607. Lord Chief Justice Popham, that "honourable patron of virtue," as he is called by Captain John Smith, fitted out two vessels, which sailed from Plymouth on the last day of May. Of this expedition Captain George Popham was president; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, master of the ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, sergeant-major; Captain

Elis Best, marshal; Mr. Seaman, secretary; Captain James Davis, captain of the fort; and Mr. Gome Carew, chief searcher—these being members of the Council. Two of the natives brought home by Weymouth were taken as interpreters. The colonists came to land August 11, and planted themselves at the mouth of the Kennebec. The winter was so cold, and their provisions so small, that all the company were sent back but forty-five. Then their president, George Popham, died, and subsequently learning by the ships sent out with supplies that the Chief Justice was dead, and also Sir John Gilbert, whose lands the adventurers were to possess, and thus "finding nothing but extreme extremities," all the rest returned in 1608. "Thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky, desert." The colonists erected a fort called St. George, which stood on or near the site of the present United States fortification, called, in memory of the first active head of the Plymouth Company, Fort Popham. The 225th anniversary of the landing was commemorated in 1862 by placing a memorial stone in its walls.

The only written record of the existence of the Plymouth Company that I have been able to find among the Plymouth Archives is a letter, dated February 17, 1608, from the London Company to the Mayor and Commonalty. The London Company say that they had heard of the ill success of the attempt of the Plymouth Company to plant a colony; that they on the contrary had been successful in their venture; that in the month of March they intended to send a large supply of 800 men under the Lord de la Warre (Delaware); and that, "nothing doubting that the one ill success hath quenched your affections from so hopeful and goodly an action," they still hoped and desired that the Corporation should participate in this new venture by individual investment for the fitting out of a ship to join the new expedition. The shares were £25 each, and all who were disposed to invest that sum would come in on equal terms. The Earl of Pembroke, as warden of the Stannaries, had been asked to help in providing one hundred labouring men. I cannot say if, or to what extent, these overtures were entertained. They were not, it will be seen, made to the Plymouth Company, but to the Plymouth Corporation.

The ardour of the Plymouth Company had indeed been quenched. As an association it ceased for the time to do

anything beyond warning off foreign interlopers. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who now comes into special prominence, had, it is true, other views. Failing in his efforts to stimulate the enterprise of his friends, he says, "I became an owner of a ship myself, fit for that employment, and under cover of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others, my own servants, with their provisions for trade and discovery, appointing them to leave the ship and the ship's company to follow their business in the usual place."

The London Company had in the meantime founded Jamestown, and some of their trade was carried on by way of Plymouth. Hence it chanced that the western port became associated with the romantic history of Pocahontas, "the nonpareil of Virginia," daughter of Powhattan, who saved the life of Captain John Smith, and ever proved the firmest friend of the white man. "The Lady Rebecca," as she was afterwards known, landed at Plymouth with her husband, John Rolfe, "an honest gentleman," June 12, 1616. She died at Gravesend, when about to return to her native country, and her little child, Thomas Rolfe, was left at Plymouth with Sir Lewis [Judas] Stukely. At Plymouth, too, landed the envoy, Vetamatomakkin, whom crafty old Powhattan sent over to reckon the strength of the English. When he landed the innocent savage got a large stick, intending to cut thereon a notch for every Englishman he saw, "but," as the chronicler naively notes, "he was quickly weary of that task."

For some years after this no attempt seems to have been made at settlement; though vessels continued to be sent to the New England coast for fishing and trading purposes, and there were expeditions to discover mines of gold and copper. Fish and fur, however, were the chief objects of traffic, and these proved very profitable to merchants of London, Plymouth, the Isle of Wight, and elsewhere. The Earl of Southampton joined with "those of the Isle of Wight," in a voyage made in 1611 by Captain Harlow, who brought five Indians back to England; and Sir Francis Popham sent Captain Williams several times for trade, "but for any plantations," says Captain Smith, "there was no more speeches." The chief undertakers in the trade at this date were Sir F. Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Nor did the course of traffic run smooth. The French were

also in the field; and the first expedition to New England in which Capt. John Smith took part, in 1614, was marred by the conduct of one Thomas Hunt, master of the second of the two ships of which the little fleet consisted. He was left behind by Smith to fit with dry fish for Spain; but "to prevent that intent I [Smith] had to make there a plantation, thereby to keep this abounding country still in obscurity, that only he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade and profit of this country, betrayed four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly for their kind usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gain sold those silly savages for rials of eight; but this wild act kept him ever after from any more employment to those parts." The base treachery of Hunt indeed cost not only him but the English dear, and put an end for the time to all prospects of friendly intercourse.*

According to Smith, when he returned to Plymouth from this voyage, the patent of the Plymouth Company was virtually dead. He gave, however, such an account of the resources of the district, which he was the first to name New England, that he stirred the patentees to new life, and they promised to fit out an expedition for a fresh plantation, and put it in his charge. Meanwhile he went to London, and thence, in consequence of his report, the London Company sent out a fishing fleet of four vessels, under one Michael Couper, master of Smith's vessel. When Smith came back to Plymouth, however, he found nothing done.

Not long before Smith's return from New England, a bark had sailed from Plymouth to discover a gold mine, which Epenow, one of the Indians brought home by Harlow, had reported to exist. The object of the crafty red man was, however, to get home. He had been exhibited as a giant, and resenting his treatment contrived this fable of the gold mine to secure his return.

Thus the expedition was a failure, and this being learnt while Smith was in London, the West Country folk were too much discouraged to make any of the preparations they had promised. "The most of them that had made such great

* The first expedition to South Virginia of the London Company under their new patent, granted in 1609, sailed from Plymouth June 2nd in that year, under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. It was on the arrival of this party that Capt. Smith returned to England. There were about five hundred colonists in the fleet.

promises, by the bad return of the ship that went for gold, and their private emulations, were extinct and qualified."

But Smith was not easily daunted. He had taken much pains to get the Londoners and the Plymouth men to join together, because the "Londoners have most money, and the Western men are more proper for fishing." Besides, it was "near as much trouble but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to New England," so that half the voyage would be saved by making Plymouth the headquarters. Both parties were too desirous to be "lords of the fishing" for this end to be accomplished. Nevertheless Smith brought down with him from London "two hundred pounds in cash for adventure, and six gentlemen well furnished," and Sir Ferdinando Gorges persuaded Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and several Western merchants, "to entertain this plantation." Arrangements were made that Smith should settle in New England with sixteen companions; and in 1615 he set sail in a vessel of two hundred tons, with a consort of fifty, to make the second attempt to plant a colony in the territory of the Plymouth Company. Ill-fortune still dogged his efforts. A violent storm so shattered his ship that he had to put back (his "vice-admiral," not knowing of this disaster, proceeding on the voyage), and it was not until the 24th of June that he could again sail, this time in a small bark of sixty tons only, with but thirty men. Once more disaster. He was taken by French pirates or privateers of Rochelle; and though his vessel and crew after a while returned safely to Plymouth, he was kept captive by the Frenchmen, partly in consequence of the mutiny of some of his men, until he could make his escape to Rochelle, and thence to Plymouth once more, where he "laid by the heels" such "chieftains of this mutiny" as could be found.

Thus ended abortively the second attempt to settle New England. The efforts made were not, however, wholly thrown away. The four ships sent from London under Couper, and Smith's vice-admiral, made good voyages. So more were sent in the following year, and this led, as in the case of Newfoundland, to the establishment of small trading ports of a temporary character. There is reason to believe that the first trading outposts, as distinct from settlements, on the coast of New England were those formed by Plymouth merchants, as we shall see anon. The regular traders were accustomed to frequent the same harbours; and Sir Francis Popham had for years, even at this time, occupied one near the island of

Monhegan. The Trelawnys of Plymouth too must have been actively engaged in the trade, even at this early date.

Smith still persevered. On his return from France he raised £100 in London, and finding Plymouth ill-prepared for another expedition at the moment, he spent the summer of 1616 in visiting Bristol, Exeter, Barnstaple, Bodmin, Penryn, Fowey, Millbrook, Saltash, Dartmouth, Absom (Topsham), and Totnes, and "the most of the gentry in Cornwall and Devonshire," trying to enlist support for further efforts. Another expedition was in consequence projected, and the Plymouth Company agreed that Smith should be admiral of New England during life, and that the profits should be equally divided between the patentees and Smith and his associates. Again well-laid plans came to nothing, and Smith remarks of the Company: "I am not the first they have deceived." Even in matters of ordinary trading arrangement there seem to have been peculiar difficulties; for it is noted that various disagreements at different times prevented vessels prepared at Plymouth from sailing, though those that did so had good profits.

We need hardly wonder that Smith had little love for the Plymouth Company. "No man," says he, "will go from hence to have less freedom there than here . . . and it is too well known there have been so many undertakers of patents, and such sharing of them, as hath bred no less discouragement than wonder to hear such great promises and so little performance; in the interim you see the French and Dutch already frequent it, and God forbid they in Virginia, or any of His Majesty's subjects, should not have as free liberty as they." And again, "But your home-bred engrossing projectors will at least find there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing, or those that think their directions can be as soon and as easily performed, as they can conceit them; or that those conceits are the fittest things to be put into practice, or their countenances maintain plantations."

In his day Smith was probably England's most energetic and earnest advocate of colonization. He did his utmost, by tongue and pen, to stir up his countrymen. Even the "ever-living actions" of the Portuguese and Spaniards "will testify with them our idleness and ingratitude to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our piety and religion. We owe our God, our king, and country and want of charity to those poor savages, whose country we challenge, use, and possess; except we be but made to use, and man, what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteem ourselves too

good to take the like pains." Moreover, the way had been prepared by Providence. "God hath laid this country open for us, and slain the most part of the inhabitants by civil wars and a mortal disease.

> "They say this plague upon them thus sore fell,
> It was because they pleased not Tantum well."

Smith was not the only man in these or later days who has regarded the disasters of the Indians as providential dispensations.

In 1615 Sir Richard Hawkins sailed with a commission from the Council of Plymouth to do what he could in New England. He found the natives at war, and passed along the coast to Virginia. In the following year, however, four ships from Plymouth and two from London made good voyages. One of the former was sent out by Gorges, under the charge of Richard Vines. Other captains for Gorges were Edmund Rocroft and Dermer, or Dormer, who in 1619 went out with Squanto, one of the Indians who had been taken by Hunt to Malaga, to act as interpreter. But the natives remained irreconcileable, and the operations of the Company continued to be confined to ordinary trade. This indeed grew to somewhat important dimensions. In 1619–20 the merchants of London and Plymouth had eight vessels trading to New England; and the voyages were so profitable, that Smith notes that seamen working on shares were able to earn £17 in six months—or, say, £85. Meanwhile the Company did all they could to keep the trade to themselves, and in 1618 a French trader from Dieppe was seized by a vessel sent out by Gorges under Rocroft (also called Stallings). Both Rocroft and Dermer died in the service.

This brings us to the date of the revival of the Plymouth Company on an enlarged basis and with far wider powers. Experience had taught the promoters of New England colonization some lessons from which they were not slow to profit. Sir Ferdinando Gorges had become the moving spirit, and to his experience of Western adventure and traffic, and his influence at the Court, we may fairly give the chief place among the causes which led to the reconstruction of the Company. On the 3rd November, 1620, James granted a new charter to Lodowick Duke of Lennox, George Marquis of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and thirty-four others.

They were incorporated as being "the first modern and present Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America;" and the patentees were "to elect and choose others to the number of forty persons, and no more, to be of that Council" so incorporated "by the name of the Council established at Plymouth for the governing of New England, in America."

"The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute perpetuity, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these states, comprising, and at the time believed to comprise, much more than a million of square miles, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals. The grant was absolute and exclusive; it conceded the land and islands, the rivers and the harbours, the mines and the fisheries. Without the leave of the Council of Plymouth, not a ship might sail into a harbour from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; not a skin might be purchased in the interior; not a fish might be caught on the coast; not an emigrant might tread the soil. No regard was shown for the liberties of those who might become inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consents, by the corporation in England." Civilized monarchs have always had a fancy for giving away other people's property; but in the words of Bancroft, from whom I have just been quoting, this grant, in the whole "history of the world, has but one parallel." James and the Company overreached themselves; so huge a monopoly, even in these days, could not pass unchallenged. The pretensions of the patentees were laughed to scorn and ignored. Their vast designs dwindled into a scramble for individual interests and proprietorships. The settlement of New England was effected without their knowledge or intervention. The "Council of Plymouth" does not fill a very important niche in history. It might have advanced the development of New England at least half a century.

But before we proceed to trace the Company's brief career, its second founder claims a few words of personal notice.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the younger son of Edward Gorges, of Wraxall, Somerset, probably born *circa* 1565–7. He served with distinction in France, and was one of the knights made by the Earl of Essex at the siege of Rouen, in 1591. He was also sergeant-major to the earl in the Cadiz expedition, and was imprisoned for his share in that ill-fated nobleman's rebellion. His direct connection with Plymouth appears to have begun with his appointment as Governor of the Fort, in opposition to the wishes of the townsfolk, who wished to have its custody themselves. This was in 1596. In 1603 Gorges was deprived of his post in July, but re-appointed in September, and continued to hold it for several years, during almost the whole of which he was the mainstay of the Plymouth Company, and active in all projects of adventure, discovery, and trade.

Sir Ferdinando was four times married. His first wife was Mary Bell, of Essex; his second, Mary Fulford, whose sister Bridget was wife of Arthur Champernowne, mother of Francis Champernowne, hence called Sir Ferdinando's nephew; his third, Elizabeth Gorges, daughter of Tristram Gorges, of Butshead; his fourth, Elizabeth Gorges, daughter of Sir Thomas Gorges. The last two had been married previously. Sir Ferdinando had no issue except by his first wife—two sons, John and Robert; and two daughters, Ellen and Honoria. John Gorges succeeded his father as patentee of Maine, and through him the line continued until it ended on the male side, in 1737, in Ferdinando Gorges, of Wraxall.

Sir Ferdinando died at Long Ashton, and was buried there May 14th, 1647. His last public service was his participation as a Royalist in the defence of Bristol.

Though Sir Ferdinando Gorges was himself of a Somersetshire stock, the name had long been connected with the neighbourhood of Plymouth. A family of Gorges, giving three gurges or whirlpools as their arms, was settled at Warleigh for several descents. The estate came to them (*temp.* Henry III.) by marriage with the heiress of the Foliots, who gave the Tamerton parish in which Warleigh is situate its distinctive suffix. From the Gorges it passed by successive female heirs to the Bonvilles, Coplestones, and Radcliffes. But there was a much later settlement of the Gorges' family, and nearer Plymouth, before Sir Ferdinando's day. Sir William Gorges married Winifred, daughter and heiress of Roger Budockshed, the last of an ancient family which took

its name from the ancestral seat at St. Budeaux, and in her right succeeded to that estate in 1576. Tristram Gorges, whose daughter, Elizabeth, became Sir Ferdinando's third wife, was Sir William's son. Sir Ferdinando himself had a residence at Kinterbury.

We now return to the fortunes of the Plymouth Company. Great as were the powers conceded, the work of settlement was not to be initiated by them. The story of the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers is too familiar to need recapitulation. Before the Company had renewed its operations, "on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail from the waters of Plymouth Sound for a new world." Bound for the district of the Hudson, in the territory of the London Company, they landed (November 9th) in the domains of the Plymouth Association, and thus founded New Plymouth, the first permanent settlement in New England.* The Huguenots were then at Port Royal or Annapolis (founded 1604), the London Company at Jamestown (1607), the Dutch at New York (1614).

The large concessions made by James provoked hostility. The Plymouth Company were first assailed in their attempt to limit the right of fishing. Coke declared their charter void. Two years after it was granted there were as many as thirty-five vessels from the West of England fishing on the New England coasts. An appeal from the Company to James procured a proclamation forbidding all access to the "northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the Company of Plymouth, or of the Privy Council." It was alleged that the "interlopers" sold arms to the natives and taught their use." In 1623 Francis West was commissioned as Admiral of New England to put an end to unlicensed fishing. His efforts failed, for the fishermen were "stubborn fellows," too strong for him. Nor was the appointment of Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando (who had a grant made him in Massachusetts Bay), as Lieutenant-General of New

* The place is called Plymouth in the map in Smith's *First Account of New England, 1616—four* years before the arrival of the Pilgrims, and probably, therefore, had been early frequented by Plymouth ships. Whether the Pilgrims continued the old name or gave it anew is doubtful, but the latter seems more probable. The coincidence, if so, is very curious.

England, one whit more effectual in restraining "interloping." Meanwhile the House of Commons took the matter up in earnest, and a bill was passed declaring that fishing should be free, Coke telling Gorges to his face "The ends of private gain are concealed under cover of planting a colony"—an assertion which, with the full facts before us, it is impossible wholly to deny.

Indeed, this was much too near the truth to be pleasant. It had been found much easier to trade than to settle. Nevertheless settlement was encouraged, though the patentees took chief care of themselves. The earliest grant I have been able to trace under the Council of Plymouth is one made on June 21st, 1621, to John Pierce, of London. A hundred acres of land were allotted by the Company for every person Pierce took with him, and a grant of 1,500 more in consideration of Pierce and his associates undertaking to build churches, hospitals, and bridges. Pierce settled at Pemaquid, subsequently joining with one John Brown, who on July 15th, 1625, bought a tract of land there, eight miles by twenty-five, of two Indian chiefs, for fifty skins. It was through Pierce, in 1622, that the patent was granted under which the Plymouth colony was formally chartered.

In the following year a patent was granted to Master Weston for the first plantation in Boston Bay. Weymouth was settled, but came to grief in less than a twelvemonth. His colonists were sent out in two vessels, about 60 men, "many rude and profane fellows." Thus in spite of their bountiful equipment they failed, when the Pilgrims by dint of force of character and rectitude succeeded. In 1623 another attempt was made at the same spot by Robert Gorges, but "he did not find the state of things to answer his quality," and returned to England.

Then two of the leading members of the Plymouth Council proceeded conclusively to justify Coke's allegation of the paramount influence of "private gain." On the 10th of August, 1622, Sir F. Gorges and Capt. John Mason obtained a grant of all the lands between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec, "extending back to the great lakes and river of Canada." They commenced to settle in the following year on the Piscataqua river by David Thompson, Edward and William Hilton, and others. This patent either was or in some way became inoperative, in whole or in part, but it was renewed in due form several years later, and in 1634 the lands were divided. Gorges took the lands east of the Piscataqua, the province of Maine,

or, as he called it, New Somersetshire; Mason, the lands on the west, to which he gave the name of New Hampshire.

It will have been observed that the enlarged limits of the Plymouth charter included the French territories. These, however, were granted with the consent of the Company, under the name of Nova Scotia, to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, September 10th, 1621. Alexander had a further grant from the Company, immediately before the surrender of its charter, of the land from St. Croix to Pemaquid and up to the Kennebec, to be called the country of Canada. He expelled the French, and they made reprisals.

"The Plymouth colony established a trading house [under Edward Ashley and Thomas Willet] at Penobscot in 1630, where they carried on an extensive traffic with the natives for five years, when D'Aulnay, a subordinate commander under Razillai, the Governor of Acadie, took possession of the country by virtue of a commission from the King of France. Four years previous the French had obtained entrance into this trading house by means of stratagem, and robbed it of goods to the value of five hundred pounds. An attempt was made by the Plymouth men to displant the French, and regain their possession, but it failed through the incapacity of the director of the expedition dispatched for that purpose. . . . D'Aulnay retained the control of Acadie until 1654, when it was conquered by the English."*

There is not, so far as I am aware, any complete record of the land grants made by the Council of Plymouth, but I have been enabled to trace the following:

1621. John Pierce, of London, liberty to settle—Pemaquid.

1622. Patent to Weston for Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbour, abandoned in 1623.

1622. Sir F. Gorges and Capt. Mason, lands between the Merrimac and Kennebec, inoperative wholly or in part, but afterwards confirmed.

1623. Robert Gorges, lands in Massachusetts.

1623. Patent to John Pierce, for the Plymouth colony. He subsequently obtained another in his own favour, but meeting with disaster, sold it for £500 to the adventurers who had set out the Plymouth colony in England.

* JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, *Maine Hist. Soc. Papers*, vi. pp. 109–110.

1626. Grant of a tract on the Kennebec to the Plymouth adventurers, subsequently enlarged.

1628. Charter to the Massachusetts Company, the foundation of the state of Massachusetts.

1629 (?) Alderman Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of Bristol, 12,000 acres at Pemaquid.

1630. William Bradford and his associates, new patent for the Plymouth adventurers, intended to place Plymouth on the same footing as Massachusetts, but failing confirmation of the King.

1630. Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonighton, four miles by eight on the east side of the mouth of Saco river.

1630. John Oldham and Richard Vines, four miles by eight on the west of the Saco.

1630. Sherley and Hatherly, of Bristol, Andrews and Beauchamp, London, lands at Penobscott.

1630. John Beauchamp, London, and Thomas Leverett, Boston, ten leagues square on the west of the Penobscott.

1630. John Dy, Thomas Luke, Grace Harding, John Roach, John Smith, Brian Brinks—most, if not all, of London—the province of Ligonia, between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth, extending forty miles from the coast. This is commonly known as the Plough Patent. An unavailing attempt at settlement was made in the following year.

1631. Sir F. Gorges, Capt. Mason, and others, a small tract on both sides of the Piscataqua.

1631. Thomas Cammock, 1,500 acres, Black Point.

1631. Richard Bradshaw, 1,500 acres, claimed to be at Spurwink. Bradshaw was said to have been settled there by Capt. Walter Neele on behalf of the patentees.

1631. Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, of Plymouth, a tract between Spurwink river and Casco Bay.

1631. Walter Bagnall, Richmond Island, and 1,500 acres.

1631. John Stratton and his associates, 2,000 acres on the south of Cape Porpus river.

1631. Edward Godfrey, a grant on the river Agamenticus, now York.

1632. Robert Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, an additional tract on Pemaquid Point.

1632. George Way and Thomas Purchase, between the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers and Casco Bay.

1634. Edward Godfrey, Samuel Maverick, William Hooke, and others, 12,000 acres north of the Agamenticus.

1634. Ferdinando Gorges (grandson of Sir Ferdinando), 12,500 acres west of the Agamenticus. (Grants were also made to Thomas, William, and Henry Gorges, Sir Ferdinando's nephews.)

1635. Sir F. Gorges, the territory between the Piscataqua and Kennebec.

1635. Capt. Mason, the lands between Kennebec and Pemaquid.

1635. Sir W. Alexander (Earl of Sterling), the territory between the Pemaquid and St. Croix. The lands east of the St. Croix and south of the St. Lawrence had been relinquished in his favour under Royal grant in 1621.

Under these grants, or some of them, a large amount of property in New England is still held.

The most important work effected under the immediate auspices of the Council of Plymouth was the foundation of the colony of Massachussets. Reference has already been made to the failure of the attempts of Weston and Robert Gorges to plant settlements at Weymouth. The first permanent plantation in Massachusetts Bay was that of David Thompson, who removed thither in 1624, the year after he had settled at Piscataqua, and possessed "a fruitful island and a very desirable neck of land." He was a Scotchman, and was speedily followed by the pioneers of the Massachusetts colony, who began a plantation at Cape Ann. White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, was the original promoter of this undertaking. The Cape Ann patent belonged to Plymouth colony, and the Dorchester plantation was at first held of them, the Plymouth settlers having a "fishing work" there also. But independent action was soon taken. Differences arose at New Plymouth, and several persons removed thence and settled at a Plymouth trading port at Nantasket, at the entrance of the bay of Massachusetts. Among these was one Roger Conant, whom White and his co-adventurers chose to manage their affairs at Cape Ann, where he with some companions settled in 1625. In the same year another plantation was commenced in the north of the Bay, at Braintree, by Capt. Wollaston and others. Among these was the afterwards notorious Thomas Morton, who so sorely offended all the Puritanism of New England by setting up a maypole at Merry Mount, whence he and his comrades, Master Endicott's rebuke failing, were subsequently ejected by the Plymouth forces under Capt.

Miles Standish. The great grievance against Morton was less his merry doings than his selling arms to the Indians, and making Mount Dagon, as the Puritans called it, the refuge of all the colonial rascaldom. He was shipped to England, but returned for further mischief in the following year, and eventually was transshipped back in 1630, after his house had been burnt down in sight of the Indians, for his misconduct towards them.

Conant, after sundry removes, selected Salem as the most fitting site for the Dorchester colony, which was in the end to lead to the extinction of the Plymouth Company itself, and become the germ whence sprung the wide liberties of the New England States. The territory comprised under the charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay included all the lands in the bottom of the Bay from three miles north of the Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles, and westerly to the Pacific. The original grantees were Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb; but the interest of the first three was purchased by Winthrop and the other leading Massachusetts founders. Endicott planted the colony at Salem in 1628, and a royal charter was granted in 1629. The Massachusetts Company prosecuted the work of colonization with great activity, a large proportion of the early colonists coming from Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. Plymouth is specially associated with their operations by an entry that early in 1630 "a Congregational Church is, by a pious People, gathered in the New Hospital at Plymouth [*i.e.* the Hospital of the Poor's Portion, which afterwards became the workhouse, a Puritan foundation], in England; when they keep a Day of solemn Prayer and Fasting. That worthy man of GOD, Master WHITE, of Dorchester, being present, preaches in the fore part of the day; and in the after part the People solemnly choose and call those godly Ministers, the Reverend Master JOHN WARHAM, a famous Preacher at Exeter; and the Reverend Master JOHN MAVERICK, a Minister who lived forty miles from Exeter, to be their Officers; who, expressing their acceptance, are, at the same time Ordained their Ministers." This party sailed from Plymouth in the *Mary and John*, March 20th following. Southampton was, however, the chief rendezvous of the Massachusetts Company. Fifteen hundred colonists were brought over in twelve ships in 1630—five other vessels arriving later in the same year—and Charlestown founded as the capital. This year also Boston, Dorchester, and Water-

town were named and finally settled. Within the next two or three years the work of settlement and forming new plantations went rapidly on. Roxbury, Cambridge, Medford, Ipswich, Marblehead, and other towns sprang up in Massachusetts; and Duxbury became the second town in the district of the Plymouth colony. Connecticut was first settled by the English from New Plymouth at Windsor in 1632, after sundry trading voyages.

Thus within a dozen years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth, settlements dotted the whole coast from Cape Cod to the Bay of Fundy. "They were indeed few and far between; but an intercourse was kept up among them by their common weakness and wants, as well as for the purposes of trade. And although Massachusetts was the most powerful of the whole, and from motives of religious zeal, no doubt sincere, discountenanced the less strict settlers on the coast, who on such matters differed from them both in doctrine and practice, she fain would profit by their fish and fur, which enabled her to procure from Europe articles of the first necessity for the infant colony."*

The charter of the Plymouth Company was surrendered June 7th, 1635. Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, gives the reason as follows:† "The country proving a receptacle for divers sorts of sects, the establishment in England complained of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and he was taxed as the author of it,‡ which brought him into some discredit, whereupon he moved those lords to resign their grand patent to the king, and pass particular patents to themselves of such parts along the sea coast as might be sufficient for them."

Accordingly on the 3rd of February, 1635, the patentees made such division as they desired by lot, finally settling the grants on the 22nd April. Sir F. Gorges thus obtained, as already noted, the territory from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec or Sagadahoc. Captain Mason had what was estimated at 10,000 acres between Sagadahoc and Pemaquid,

* W. Willis, *Maine Historical Soc. Trans.* vi. p. 60.

† *America Painted to the Life.*

‡ The Massachusetts company on their part charged Gorges, Mason, and their associates with attempting to take away their liberties. A petition was presented by Gorges and his friends against both the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies to the Privy Council; and much to their discomfiture, determined in January, 1633, in favour of the settlers. English politics made themselves felt on the further shore of the Atlantic as well as at home.

which was called Masonia. The land from Pemaquid to the St. Croix was given to Sir William Alexander, in whose favour in 1621 the Company had relinquished their patent for the lands lying east of the St. Croix and south of the St. Lawrence, embracing what are now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The reasons for the surrender of the Plymouth charter were set forth at length by the Council at a meeting in Whitehall, April 25th of the same year, three days after the confirmation of the division. "Forasmuch," they say, "as we have found by a long experience, that the faithful endeavours of some of us, that have sought the plantation of New England, have not been without frequent and inevitable troubles as companions to our undertakings, from our first discovery of that coast to this present, by great charges and necessary expenses; but also depriving us of divers of our near friends and faithful servants employed in that work abroad, whilst ourselves at home were assaulted with sharp litigious questions both before the Privy Council and the Parliament, having been presented as a grievance to the Commonwealth . . . the affections of the multitude were thereby disheartened, . . . and so much the more by how much it pleased God about this time to bereave us of the most noble and principal props thereof, as the Duke of Lennox, Marquis of Hamilton, and many other strong stayes to this weak building . . . then followed the claim of the French Ambassador, taking advantage of the divisions of the sea-coast between ourselves, to whom we made a just and satisfactory answer. . . . Nevertheless these crosses did not draw upon us such a disheartened weakness till the end of the last parliament" when the Massachusetts Company obtained their charter, and afterwards thrust out the undertakers and tenants of some of the Council "withal riding over the heads of those lords and others that had their portions assigned to them in his late majesty's presence." These and other things were too grievous to be borne, putting the Council in "so desperate a case" that they saw no remedy for "what was brought to ruin;" and so—"After all these troubles, and upon these considerations, it is now resolved that the patent shall be surrendered into his majesty."

Accordingly on the 7th June the charter was surrendered, and the king somewhat spitefully urged at the same time to take away the charter of Massachusetts, and appoint a general governor for the whole territory, to be taken from

among the lords proprietors. Charles, not unnaturally, agreed to this; but Puritan Massachusetts and her sister colonies made such opposition that ere the plan could be carried out the Civil War commenced, and the affairs of New England had to give place to nearer concerns. Ferdinando Gorges the grandson, was indeed appointed general governor of New England in 1637, but never assumed the duties.

I do not trace the fortunes of the colonies founded under the auspices of the Plymouth Company further than the death of their parent. Mason died in the November following the surrender, and his interest in New Hampshire immediately declined. Gorges placed New Somersetshire under the governorship of his nephew, Captain William Gorges, and his title was confirmed by Charles in 1639. He then received powers of government which were almost as absolute as those claimed by Charles himself. He had the appointments of all officers, the right to found cities, levy customs, raise troops, build a navy, erect courts of judicature of which he was the final appeal, and with the assent of the majority of the freeholders to make laws. He was in fact king in intention, if not in name, of that fair province—then first called Maine, after the Maine of France, in compliment to queen Henrietta. Forty years later (1677) Ferdinando, the grandson, was glad to sell the state, "because of the contentions of the authorities of Massachusetts," for £1,250. The Gorges aimed too high, and their "vaulting ambition overleaped itself."

We have yet to trace the special personal relations of the Western Counties to New England settlement. In Western Maine, and the lower districts of Massachusetts, the population to this day largely retains the characteristics of the men of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset, from which it principally springs, and is spoken of as "the pure English race." "The importation in the first instance was made by the English proprietors, who sent the farmers, mechanics, and adventurers, who lived in and about Devonshire, to cultivate and improve their large and vacant grants."* Massachusetts generally drew from a much wider field. Of early Devonian and Cornish adventurers whose names have been preserved, apart from the Plymouth contingent, which demands special mention, we have, Roger Clap, of Salcombe, captain of Boston Castle; John Warham, minister, Exeter; John Maverick, minister (?); George Mountjoy, Abbotsham; Edmund Green-

* W. Willis, *Maine Hist. Soc. Trans.* vi. p. 4.

leaf, Brixham; Robert and Abraham Drake, Devon; John and Nathaniel Wallis, and Richard Bonython, Cornwall; while we can also claim as undoubted western names those of Jordan, Madiver, Gendall, Lybbey, Edgcombe, and Nicholls. As many as eighty emigrants left Plymouth in one ship in 1622, Philemon Powell being purser.

Plymouth men played a prominent part in the work of actual settlement. The little island of Monhegan, a place of resort for fishermen at least as early as 1618, on which Gorges had a plantation in 1621 or 1622, afterwards became the property of Abraham Jennings, a Plymouth merchant. He sold it, in 1626, to Abraham Shurt, agent for Aldsworth and Elbridge, merchants of Bristol; but in all probability continued to trade. A daughter of Jennings married one Moses Goodyear, another Plymouth merchant trafficking to the New England coast; and Goodyear and Robert Trelawny, a third Plymothian, in 1631, commenced the work of plantation, and led to the foundation of the town of Portland. The Council of Plymouth made them a grant of lands adjoining other lands previously granted to Thomas Cammock, at one shilling a year rent, "because they and their associates had adventured and expended large sums of money in the discovery of the coasts and harbours of those parts, and were minded to undergo further charge in setting a plantation." Whether Goodyear or Trelawny was the leader in the scheme we do not know; but in the end it was carried on by the latter alone.*

Robert Trelawny came of a good stock. In the days of Elizabeth it was counted no degradation for Western men of family to engage in trade. Country gentlemen were content to live at home upon their estates, and farm them for themselves; and if their families grew too rapidly, they planted some of their children in the towns. Hence the very large proportion of the issuers of the tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century, who placed their family arms upon their coins. To the changes that have taken place in our national customs in this respect we owe the enormous number of decayed manor and barton houses which have fallen into ruin, or become degraded into mere tenanted farms. The modest but sufficient properties of the sixteenth century do not suit the larger wants of the nineteenth. An illustration of the olden practice is afforded by the case of Robert Tre-

* Goodyear was made freeman of Plymouth 1599-1600; Jennings paid £5 for his freedom 1605-6; Robert Trelawny was admitted 1626-7.

lawny, senior, father of the Robert with whom we have to do. The record is still extant in the municipal archives of Plymouth, which sets forth how, in the mayoralty of George Maynard, 1578, "Robert Trelawney the son of Robert Trelawney of St. Germanes in the county of Cornewall gent put himself apptice w^th^ George Burgoyne & Agneis his wief for VIII from the date of the same Indent to be enstructed in the trade of merchandize & the said George and Agnes to kepe and maynteine the said Robert a convenyent tyme in Spayne or Portugall & in France and to make hym free of the Company of fiskemongers of the cytye of London and in thence double apparell." This Robert Trelawny was mayor in 1607–8, 1616–7, and 1627–8, dying before his last mayoralty was over. His son Robert, the New England planter, was mayor in 1633–4; and was elected member in 1640. His Royalist sympathies led to his downfall and death. He was expelled from Parliament and imprisoned, on the charge of having said the House of Commons had no power to appoint a guard for themselves without the king's consent. In prison he died.

In an official list of letters of marque issued to Plymouth vessels 1625–1629, Robert Trelawny and Bartholomew Nicholls are entered for the *St. Turian* (*Centurion?*), 100 tons; Nicholas Opie and Robert Trelawny for the *Confidence*, 50 tons, and her pinnace of 30; and Robert Trelawny for another pinnace. Abraham Jennings and others have the *Little Ambrose*, 60 tons, and the *Thomas Discovery*, 30. John Winter, a Plymouth man—of whom more anon—is set down as the captain of the *Consent*, 120 tons, owned by John Jabe and others. The largest vessel entered is one of 400 tons, belonging to Edward Ameredith and John Smarte.

John Winter was sent out by Trelawny and Goodyear, to take possession of the lands granted them between Spurwink river and Casco Bay. When he arrived he found George Cleeves, another Plymothian, and Richard Tucker, without doubt a Devonian, in possession, having erected at Portland the first house built there by European hands. Winter ejected them, and thus initiated a controversy which lasted many years. Winter claimed the land as Trelawny's; Cleeves and Tucker insisted that it was theirs. In an action between Cleeves and Winter in 1640, Cleeves stated that for more than seven years he had possessed a neck of land in Casco Bay, called Machigonney, taking it at first under a proclamation of James I., which gave 150 acres to every person for himself and those whom he might transport to the colony;

after four years he had had a lease of enlargement from Gorges. Winter claimed that the land was included within the Trelawny grant; but the court ruled otherwise, and likewise allowed Cleeves his claim to his improvements on the Spurwink. Cleeves had a lease from Gorges for 2000 years in January, 1637; and a subsequent commission from him in the following February to let or settle any of his lands between Cape Elizabeth and Sagadahoc, and up into the mainland sixty miles.

The disputes between Winter and Cleeves and their respective parties greatly troubled the peace of the infant settlements. Winter kept a store, and the fashion of his dealings caused Cleeves and others to charge him with the Dutchman's fault (according to Canning) of

"Giving too little and taking too much;"

while Winter denounced Cleeves for scandalous conversation, in saying that Winter's wife, who had been left behind at Plymouth, was "the veriest drunkenest whore in all that town," and further alleging that there were not "four honest women there." However, a peace was patched up, which lasted until Winter's death.

Winter, who is described by Royalist Josselyn as "a grave and discreet man," was entrusted by Trelawny with the sole management of his affairs, and had a tenth of the patent when it became Trelawny's sole property. For some years a large trade was carried on by Trelawny with his New England possessions, among the ships engaged being the *Agnes*, *Richmond*, *Hercules*, and *Margery*. The cargoes consisted chiefly of pipe-staves, beaver-skins, fish, and oil. Winter made his first plantation, on behalf of Trelawny and Goodyear, at Richmond Island in July, 1632. Two years later Richmond was a place of such trade, that as many as seventeen fishing ships are recorded to have visited it and the Isle of Shoals as early as the 1st March. In 1638 Winter had sixty-one men engaged in fishing. In this year Trelawny shipped wine to the plantation, and in the course of trade some of his vessels used to take their cargoes thence directly to Spain. Trelawny's family did not benefit by his transatlantic estates—probably in consequence of his early death in prison—and they eventually passed into the hands of a certain Rev. Robert Jordan, who married Winter's daughter. Jordan in all likelihood was a Devonshire man, and he went over to the colony in the *Richmond*. His business capacities are undoubted; for he obtained an award of the Trelawny

property in 1648 in satisfaction of the claims for management put in by him on behalf of Winter's estate, which he increased by charging a legacy from Trelawny to Winter as a debt due to himself!

Cleeves became a man of great note in the infant colony. Colonel Rigby, a staunch Republican, bought the "Plough Patent" in April, 1643. Cleeves is supposed to have suggested this purchase, and was appointed Rigby's first deputy. Directly, however, he attempted to exercise authority his rights were denied by Richard Vines, as deputy for Gorges. Both parties appealed to the authorities of Massachusetts without result. Vines was succeeded by Henry Jocelyn as deputy-governor in 1645, and the dispute was settled by the triumph of the Republican party in England, in favour of Rigby and Cleeves. The social position of Cleeves is shown by the fact that in a grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges he is described as "esquire," his partner, Tucker, being set down as "gentleman."

Two other Plymothians are named among the earlier settlers—Richard Martyn, cousin of John Martyn, mayor in 1634–5; and Winthrop, "a decayed merchant," whose name is associated with a tragical story. Returning from Casco to England, he left his two daughters, Mary and Lydia, in the care of one Michael Mitton, who is said to have come over with Cleeves. Mitton seduced Mary, who killed her child to hide her shame; and was hung at Boston in March, 1647. The other daughter married one Robert Corbin.

Such, briefly as may be, are the leading features, general and local, in the history of the once famous Plymouth Company.