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The Anglophone Toponyms Associated with John Smith's *Description* and Map of New England

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This article clarifies a well-known but hitherto unexamined phenomenon: the Anglophone toponyms imposed on Captain John Smith's map, *New England* ([1617]). It explains names that are otherwise obscure to modern historians and geographers, it considers the pattern of the new toponyms, and it allocates responsibility for the names not only to the future Charles I but also to Smith himself. It also lists the indigenous place and polity names recorded by Smith in his *Description of New England* (1616). It concludes with a cautionary tale concerning historiographic presumptions about the map's efficacy in shaping the adoption of toponyms by subsequent English colonists.

KEYWORDS Captain John Smith, Charles I (Great Britain), New England, Cartography, Colonization, Promotional propaganda

Introduction

Captain John Smith's map *New England* (Figure 1) has long been famous for the manner in which its Anglophone toponyms were selected by the then fourteen-year-old future Charles I (Edney, 2010). Smith had developed the idea of a colony in 1614 when he had voyaged quickly down the east coast of northern Virginia from Mt Desert Island to Cape Cod; he called this putative colony New England by analogy to the Nova Albion previously declared by Sir Francis Drake on the west coast of North America. To promote this colony, he prepared both *New England* and a letterpress pamphlet, *A Description of New England* (Smith, 1616: 3).

Thinking to curry favor with the heir to the throne, Smith sent Prince Charles his manuscript map via an otherwise unspecified intermediary at court, together with a petition whose substance was subsequently repeated in the first of the three dedications with which he prefaced his *Description*. Addressing the prince, Smith claimed that he had in 1607 named the promontories on either side of the entry to Chesapeake Bay after Charles and his deceased older brother, Prince Henry. (Barbour in Smith,

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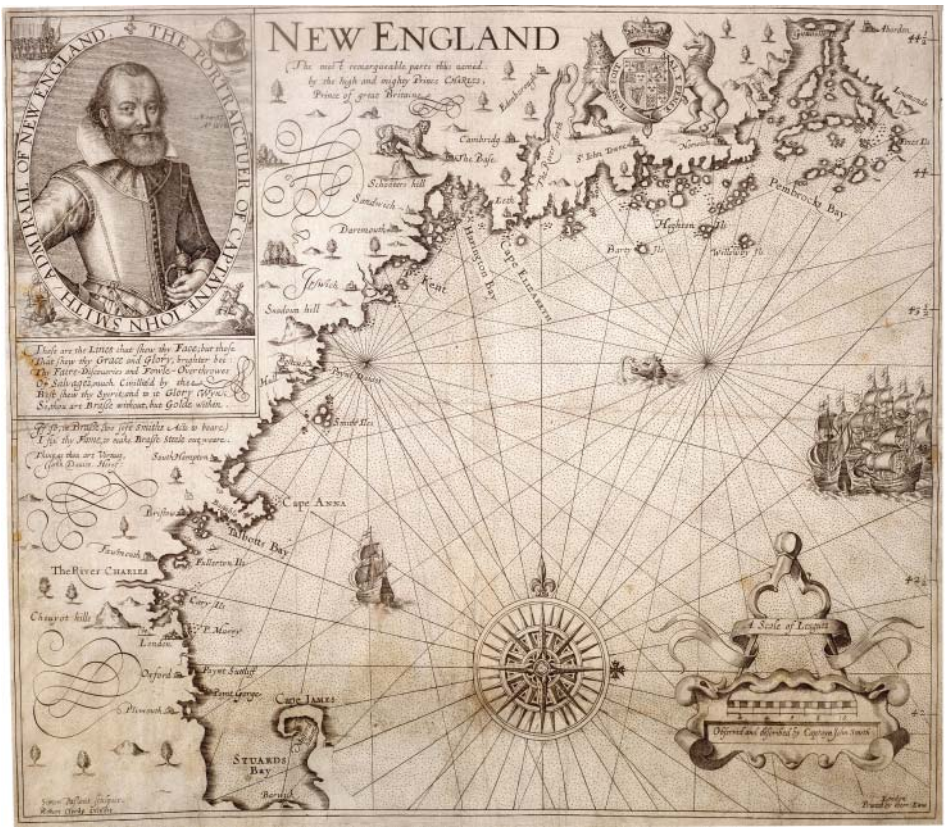

FIGURE 1 John Smith, *New England The most remarqueable parts thus named by the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of great Britaine*, engr. Simon de Passe (London: Robert Clerke, [1617]). First state. Copper engraving, 30 cm × 35.5 cm.
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1986: 1:309n1, noted that Smith was actually in chains below decks when Cape Henry was named.) Smith now presented Charles with a manuscript map of "some other parts of *America*" and his "humble sute" that the prince "would please to change their Barbarous names, for such *English*, as Posterity may say, Prince *Charles* was their Godfather" (Smith, 1616: sig. ¶2r–v).

When *New England* was finally engraved and printed in early 1617, it bore only one of the toponyms that Smith had previously recorded in the *Description*. Three of the map's new names, in addition to the regional appellation of New England, were eventually adopted by English colonists and stuck: Cape Ann[e], Plymouth, and the Charles River. Despite the attention that has been given to this obviously imperialistic act of naming (most recently by Harley, 1994; Brod, 1995; Baldwin, 2007), no study has been made of the names that were applied to the map, their meaning, and their sources. Some of the newly applied toponyms, especially "The Base" and "St Johns Town," are also obscure to modern readers. I have found only one historian who has considered the significance of the names that the prince applied to the map:

De Costa ([1886]: 198) noted that several of the newly applied toponyms were of Scottish origin. This paper accordingly provides a listing of the names as applied to the two states of the map that were printed in 1617 (Appendix B), together with an analysis of their significance.

For the sake of completeness, the paper also provides a list of the place names recorded by Smith in his *Description of New England* (Smith 1616), most of which were of indigenous origin although some were impositions by Smith and a few others were derived from earlier English voyagers (Appendix A). It makes little sense to identify precise modern locations for most of these indigenous names. For example, we might equate Aggawom/Angoam (Appendix A, no. 13) to modern Ipswich, Massachusetts; after all, this English colonial settlement just north of Cape Ann, established by John Winthrop Jr in 1633, was originally known as Agawam. But, first, each band of the Wabenaki peoples native to this region occupied an extensive region around which they moved on a seasonal basis (Cronon, 1983), so that the toponyms recorded by Smith could apply to a large area rather than to a specific site. Second, the "towns" formed by colonists in New England were not nucleated settlements but were extensive areas, generally extending over thirty to fifty square miles, across which the English scattered. There is thus absolutely no guarantee that the English town ever coincided with an Indian territory. When a small nucleated port-settlement did develop on the coast, it was associated with the town name of Ipswich, while local usage continued to refer to the town's poorer inland district as Agawam. (One still encounters the Agawam Diner after leaving I-95 for Ipswich.) That is to say, the labels recorded by Smith were imprecise and the vagaries of colonial and post-colonial settlement practices give only the impression of spatial precision.

Smith's concordance of old and new toponyms

To permit the mostly indigenous toponyms recorded in Smith's *Description* to be related to the entirely Anglophone toponyms on *New England*, Smith added a letterpress concordance to late copies of the *Description* to connect the two sets of toponyms. He later incorporated the concordance, with some alterations and additions, into the text of his *Generall Historie* (Smith, 1624: 205). The concordance begins with an explanation of the situation: "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreate the Reader, peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new" (Smith, 1986: 1:319; Smith, 2006: iii). It then laid out pairs of old and new toponyms in a geographical sequence running from south to north, from Cape Cod to the eastern shore of Penobscot Bay (Table 1). With this concordance, the reader could for example see that when in his *Description* Smith referred to "Aggawom," he meant the place labeled "Southhampton" on *New England*. However, the concordance does not completely reconcile the two sets of toponyms.

There are a total of sixty-two "old" toponyms distributed throughout the text of the *Description* and the two versions of the concordance; these toponyms include the separately identified "peoples" of mid-coast Maine and also further "peoples" intermixed with more precise "countries" and "habitations" around Massachusetts Bay (Smith, 1616: 8). Uncertain locations, or locations that fall beyond the extent of Smith's printed map, form distinct categories in Appendix A. Overall, twenty-four of

TABLE 1

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PAIRS OF TOPONYMS AS IDENTIFIED IN SMITH'S CONCORDANCE OF "OLD NAMES" IN HIS *DESCRIPTION* AND THE "NEW NAMES" ON HIS MAP, WITH CROSS-REFERENCES TO THE LISTS IN THE APPENDICES, IN THEIR ORIGINAL ORDER.

# in Appendix A	The old names	The new	# in Appendix B
1	Cape Cod	Cape Cod	4
		Milford haven	25
18	Chawum	Barwick	7
11	Accomack	Plimouth	29
32	Sagoquas	Oxford	27
20	Massachusets Mount	Chevit hill	9
21	Massachusets River	Charles River	2
36	Totant	Fawmouth	21
6	A Country not discovered	Bristow	18
26	Naemkeck	Bastable	16
4	Cape Trabigzanda	Cape Anne	1
13	Aggawom	Southhampton	33
3	Smiths Iles	Smiths Iles	43
28	Passataquack	Hull	22
12	Accominticus	Boston	17
33	Sassanowes Mount	Snodon hill	32
35	Sowocatuck	Ipswitch	23
17	Bahana	Dartmouth	20
		Sandwich	30
15	Aucociscos Mount	Shooters hill	31
14	Aucocisco	The Base	8
16	Aumoughcawgen	Cambridge	19
19	Kinebeck	Edenborough	11
31	Sagadahock	Leeth	13
29	Pemmaquid	S. Johns towne	15
25	Monahigan	Barties Iles	34
34	Segocket	Norwich	26
22	Matinnack	Willowby's Iles	47
24	Metinnicut	Hoghton's Iles	40
23	Mecadacut	Dunbarton	10
30	Pennobscot	Aborden	6
27	Nusket	Lowmonds	14

the "old" toponyms recorded in the *Description* are repeated in the concordance; thirty appear only in the *Description*; six are recorded only in the original concordance (1617); and two were added to the reprinted concordance (1624).

By contrast, *New England* featured forty-eight "new" toponyms, with two more soon added in 1617 to make the map's second state. However, the concordance contained only thirty-two pairs of toponyms. There is no reason to presume that the excess of Anglophone toponyms on the map were intended specifically to replace any of the excess of toponyms recorded in the *Description*. I therefore provide complete lists of Smith's "old" and "new" toponyms in the appendices, with cross-references to flag the thirty-two pairs of toponyms identified in the concordance (see also Table 1).

Analysis

Most of the printed map's toponyms were undoubtedly assigned by Charles. They fall into several categories. Most obviously, Charles derived five of the new names from his immediate family: Cape Anna after his mother, River Charles after himself, Cape Elizabeth after his beloved sister, Cape James after his father, and Stuards Bay after his family (Appendix B, nos 1–5). These features comprised the major capes, the principal river, and the sea adjacent to the area Smith thought most suitable for a colony. This strongly suggests a mapping of the royal family onto the land itself, to make Smith's putative New England properly *English*; it also indicates that Smith provided Charles with more information about his proposed colony than just a manuscript map. Ten of the new toponyms were taken from Scottish sources: the prominent towns of Aberdeen, Berwick, Dunbarton, Edinburgh, Leith, and Perth (anciently known as St John's Town), all set amongst the various physical features of "The Base" (i.e., Bass Rock), the Cheviot Hills, the River Forth, and the Lomond Hills (Appendix B, nos 6–15). The clustering of these Scottish names in the northern parts of the map suggests an attempt by Charles to replicate the geography of the British Isles, with Scottish places to the north, English places mostly to the south.

More generally, the prince named features in New England after like features in Britain: all four of the labeled hills on the map were named after British hills (Appendix B, nos 9, 14, 31, and 32), and all twenty-two labeled native settlements after principal British towns, ports, and fortresses (Appendix B, nos 6–8, 10, 11, 13, 15–27, 29, 30, 33). The latter featured a group of five prominent West Country ports that were home to merchants and gentry interested in the prospect of colonizing northern Virginia: "Bastable" (Barnstaple), "Bristow" (Bristol), "Dartmouth," "Fawmouth" (Falmouth), and "Plimouth" (Plymouth) (Appendix B, nos 16, 18, 20, 21, and 29). Four of these were also included in Smith's third dedication of his *Description*, to the "Right Worshipfull Adventurers for the Countrey of New England, in the Cities of London, Bristow, Exceter, Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastable, Totneys, etc." (Smith, 1616: sig. ¶4r–v). Of all the transplanted toponyms used for settlements on the map, only "London" was not matched explicitly with an indigenous settlement in Smith's concordance of old and new names; does this mean that Charles anticipated the creation of an entirely new and strictly English settlement to be the capital of any new colony? (The town-symbol marking the location of "London" is also the largest and most complex of all the town-symbols on the map.) Conversely, the printed map features three lightly engraved town symbols that were not named. These perhaps indicate that the map was at least partially engraved before Smith received Charles's

toponymic substitutions, a suggestion reinforced by the manner in which the toponyms "Dunbarte" and "Bostou" were each crammed into the limited space available between the coast and hills. Overall, the prince's choice of names reflected not his personal self — in particular, he declined to select names based on his several personal titles — but a clear consciousness of his place within a royal family, of his Scottish heritage, and of his future as king of both England (including Wales) and Scotland. There are no place names of Irish origin.

But Smith did not allow his own colonial vision to be completely subordinated to the prince's. Historians have previously recognized that some of the toponyms on the printed map were coined by Smith, but have understood them as being only the few that Charles did not — or would not — replace (e.g., Fite and Freeman, 1926: no. 34). The general discussion of three such names has derived in a confused manner from Winsor (1880: 53), who was only interested in toponyms around Massachusetts Bay itself. Stewart (1945: 39) did identify more of Smith's creations and asserted that they can be distinguished from Charles's creations by their smaller size of their lettering on the map, although this is not really the case.

It is nonetheless clear that of *New England's* fifty toponyms, including the two added later in 1617, fourteen were applied by Smith himself. In effect, the map bears two tiers of place names. The main tier comprises the indigenous settlements on the mainland for which Smith had collected (or had wanted to collect) indigenous names, geographical features that had already received names from English sailors, and other features sufficiently prominent for Smith to apply his own names in 1614. It was this main tier of names that presumably appeared on the manuscript map sent to Prince Charles and that the prince then replaced. In 1616–1617, Smith took the opportunity provided by the printed map to apply toponyms to a lesser tier of small islands and headlands that had presumably not warranted naming in 1614. Smith's names for these lesser geographical features evidently flattered and cultivated a number of active and potential supporters of his colonial endeavors.

Smith did apply toponyms to four of the features that he had named in 1614 and that accordingly appear in the concordance (see Table 1). First, "Smith^{s} Iles" survived from the original manuscript into print, the only such toponym to do so; Smith did not claim to have named these islands after himself and there remains the possibility that he had originally named them after Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the Virginia Company and one of Smith's primary supporters (Appendix A, no. 3; Appendix B, no. 43). Then, as Smith (1624: 205) later revealed, the prince had "omitted" to rename a group of three named islands so Smith took the opportunity to apply new toponyms to them himself. He renamed both Monhegan and Matinicus islands for Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby; Bertie was a close friend and probable financial backer who "seems to be standing by at nearly every event in John Smith's eventful life" (Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:xxx–xxxi, also 1:319n5 and 2:402n7) and who might have been the intermediary at court who passed Smith's materials on to Prince Charles (Vaughan, 1975: 97). The intervening island of Metinic, Smith named for Sir John Holles, created Baron Haughton only in July 1616 (Appendix B, nos 34, 47, and 40).

The remainder of the toponyms applied by Smith were not replacement toponyms and so do not appear in the concordance. Ten can be connected to some of Smith's patrons and supporters. Four celebrated Smith's specific friends: John Davies and

Richard Gunnell, who wrote commendatory poems for the *Description* and for *New England* itself; and Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Dean Matthew Sutcliffe, two avid West Country supporters of colonization (Appendix B, nos 36–38, and 44). Another six toponyms, including one of those that were added to the second state of the map, seem to prefigure the 1620 roll of the Adventurers for Virginia and as such perhaps indicate an active interest in colonization on the part of some individuals (Appendix B, nos 35, 39, 41, 42, 45, and 46) (see Smith, 1624: 130–138). It is possible that we should also include "Pembroks Bay" (Appendix B, no. 28) in this category, which might well have been named after the earl of Pembroke, another of Smith's patrons (Armstrong, 2007: 180); however, the prominence of this geographical feature suggests that the toponym was probably coined by Prince Charles.

Finally, there are three toponyms on the printed map whose origins are uncertain. My sense is that two of these — "Fullerton Ils" and "Gerrards Ils" — commemorated other supporters of Smith (Appendix B, nos 49–50). The last toponym to be discussed is, appropriately enough, "Fines Ils"; this toponym might be either a marker of the limits (ends) of Smith's exploration or perhaps another unidentified supporter (Fiennes) (Appendix B, no. 48). Its reappearance on the schematic map on the title page of Smith's *Generall Historie* in 1624 — among a limited selection of key toponyms — suggests that Smith used it not for an otherwise minor supporter but to indicate the proper limits of English colonization, with French settlements beyond.

If the majority of toponyms imposed on the map by Prince Charles construed the putative colony of New England to be a recreation of Britain and an extension of the English (and Scottish) monarchies in the New World, then the minority of toponyms imposed by Smith should be read as a more focused effort by Smith to speak directly to active and potential supporters. More than a simple reward for their support, these toponyms insert the supporters into the colony and so strongly suggest that these individuals would indeed share in the prestige and glory that would accrue from future colonial aggrandizement.

The putative effect of the toponyms of Smith's *New England*: a cautionary tale

The many brief commentaries on Smith's map reveal a persistent conviction in its efficacy, that, as a chart, *New England* would have certainly been used by subsequent mariners and that English colonists subsequently adopted some of *New England's* toponyms for their own settlements. It is supposed, for example, that the name of the colonial settlement of Ipswich was derived from the "Ipswich" on the map (Appendix B, no. 13), even though the map sites this toponym in modern Maine, in the region of Biddeford and the mouth of the Saco River (Sowocatuck; Appendix A, no. 35). This conviction rests first upon the fact that some of the map's toponyms were undoubtedly preserved and second upon the presumption that the agents of preservation were the colonists on the ground. As will become clear, this presumption is false.

Most commentators on the map have observed that the *Mayflower* colonists named their settlement "Plymouth" in 1620 after the label for the site on Smith's map. At least, they have done so since the first publication in 1856 of William Bradford's history of Plymouth Colony, in which Bradford (1952: 61) admitted to the use of

Smith's map; previously, there had been some debate whether the name came from Smith's map or from the English port from which the *Mayflower* had sailed, starting with Morton (1669: 25). In following Bradford's statement, modern historians have taken the derivation of the name of Plymouth colony to indicate the map's more general efficacy. Suárez (1992: 129), for example, argued "that the Pilgrims used a copy of Smith's map during their fateful crossing of 1620 is clear evidence that it [the map] was successful"; for Krieger, Cobb, and Turner (1999: 82), the manner in which the "Pilgrims retained the map's name for their eventual landing site at Plymouth" was "testimony to the influence of Smith's map and book"; for Lemay (1991: 208), the map "proved of more value" to the Plymouth settlers "than they had originally intended."

The causality is, however, not quite so simple. Bradford's passing reference to "Charlton" as lying south of the Charles River indicated that he had subsequently referred to an impression of the eighth state of the image, probably within a late edition from *c.* 1631–1632 of the *Generall Historie* (Smith, 1624) or perhaps of Smith's *Advertisements* (Smith, 1631), so perhaps his reference to the naming of Plymouth was confused (Bradford, 1952: 82 and 305). Smith's own claim that the *Mayflower* colonists had been instructed by his "books and maps" is unreliable: he made it only after the colonists had rejected his offer to guide them personally and it might well have been an attempt to assuage wounded pride (Smith, 1630: 46; 1631: 17 and 21; see Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:319n8-1 and 2:402n7). Furthermore, we cannot really say that the *Mayflower* colonists were actively *guided* by Smith's works, if only because they initially spent so much time investigating other sites that Smith had accurately described as being inappropriate for settlement. Indeed, the famous compact they had signed aboard the *Mayflower* still referred to the region as "northern Virginia" rather than New England, and Bradford would admit that Smith's label of Cape James could not displace the seamen's established name of Cape Cod (Rutman, 1960: 165–166; Conforti, 2001: 17; Bradford, 1952: 60–61; see Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:319n8 and 2:402n1; cf. Lemay, 1991: 208). Finally, Smith's geographical conceptions did not supplant, in the opinion at least of one *Mayflower* colonist, the older European conception of Norumbega as comprising an island: in perpetuating that idea, Robert Cushman could hold that New England was indeed truly a *new* England even to having the same geographical form as an island (Canup, 1989: 21; see McManis, 1972).

Historians have also routinely noted that the map's toponyms of Cape Ann and Charles River were also preserved by later Puritan colonists, and they have generally done so to demonstrate that *New England* was actually used to guide colonial settlement (e.g., Winsor, 1880: 51–53; Fite and Freeman, 1926: no. 34; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, 1972: 343; Vaughan, 1975: 96; Allen, 1982: no. 11; Suárez, 1992: 128; Emerson, 1993: 99). Yet the persistence of these toponyms would seem not to be a function of the colonists' actions, especially given that from the evidence of John Winthrop's journal no "published map or chart of the New England coast" was on board the *Arbella* (Morison, 1932: 286). Instead, we need to look to the legal adoption of these place names in England. The regional label of "New England" was established in more common usage via the name of the twenty-member Council for New England (1621–1635), some of whose members were close to Smith and were evidently motivated by his colonial imaginings. In June 1628 the council made a large

grant to the "New England Company," which in 1629 recast itself by means of a royal charter obtained directly from the Crown as the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." Legally entrenched, the regional name stuck. "Charles River" was in turn enshrined in that 1629 charter when it was used to identify the principal river emptying into the innermost part of Massachusetts Bay (B. Smith, 1953: 245–247 and 251; see Bradford, 1952: 305). "Cape Ann" was similarly concretized in the acts of Council for New England, when in January 1623 it confirmed a grant made of a "certain Tract of Ground . . . in a knowne place there commonly called Cape Anne" to some of the Plymouth colonists (Thornton, 1854: 31). The colonists inevitably perpetuated these metropolitan legal creations.

The supposition that the three toponyms were adopted by the Plymouth and Puritan colonists directly from *New England* has underpinned the general historiographic sentiment that the presence of English place names on the map led the colonists to adopt those same names for their settlements. Levermore (1912: 571) noted that the map was "filled with English names which those who followed [Smith] used, altho' they took the liberty to change some of their locations"; some seven decades later, McCorkle (1999: 24) wrote that "the prince's legacy was preserved when the names were eventually assigned to individual settlements." This idea perhaps began with Lenox and Deane (1854: 219) and was thereafter rehearsed by Drake (1875: 21), De Costa ([1886]: 198), Adams (1921: 58), Streeter (1966–1970, 2: no. 610), Black (1978: 108–109), Krim (1982: 71–72), McCorkle, Miles, and Sammons (1985: no. 33), and most recently by Hoobler and Hoobler (2006: 226). In particular, many historians have explicitly tied "Boston" on the map to the Puritan port on the Shawmut peninsula (e.g., Drake, 1875: 21; Winsor, 1880: 53; Morison, 1930: 11; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, 1980: 98; Benes, 1981: no. 3; Deetz and Deetz, 2000: 71). A subtle expression of this conviction is the common identification of Plymouth, Cape Ann, and Charles River as being those of *New England's* toponyms that remain in their "original locations" (Fiske, 1899: 75 and 82; see also Winsor, 1880: 53; Fite and Freeman, 1926: no. 34; Morison, 1930: 11; Stewart, 1945: 39; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, 1972: 343; Black, 1978: 108–109; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, 1980: 98; Allen, 1982: no. 11; Danforth, 1988: no. 74). In other words, the belief is that English colonists were subsequently guided and informed in their choice of names for their settlements by *New England*.

An alternative argument, which at least maintains the conviction that the map was initially efficacious, posits that *New England's* toponyms were at first generally accepted as definitive place names and were then progressively discarded by the English settlers until only a few remained (e.g., Clark, 1970: 6; Vaughan, 1975: 97; Klemp, 1976: no. 34; Cumming, 1980: 80; and Benes, 1981: no. 3). The strongest instance of this argument is the poetic but utterly unfounded claim, made by Oldmixon (1741: 1:42) and much later by Stewart (1945: 38), that "the men who settled New England bore no love to the House of Stuart and would rather displace" the names on Smith's map "than keep them."

A related position is the surprise shown by map historian William Cumming (1980: 80) that "in spite of its frequent reprinting in England, Smith's map of New England did not have much influence on continental map makers of the time." In this, Cumming took for granted *New England*'s efficacy for English map users, so why did it not have an influence on later maps? In fact, most of the maps that used the toponyms

from Smith's map were of Dutch origin; English maps did *not* reproduce them (Winsor, 1880). The culmination of the Dutch tradition was Pieter van der Aa's historical map of Smith's travels, published in 1707, in which the indigenous toponyms from Smith's *Description of New England* and the records of other voyages jostled with the English toponyms from *New England* as well as several Dutch toponyms (Aa, 1707).

The fact that English maps — both manuscript and printed — failed to reproduce the place names from *New England* should be evidence enough that Smith's map was never as efficacious an image as historians have supposed. Conversely, many of the toponyms on *New England* were *not* used by early English colonists. Several historians have properly observed that every act of colonial place naming was subject to the contingencies of English settlement and interactions with the indigenous peoples, so that there was no necessary causal connection between the map's toponyms and the eventual settlements (Belknap, 1794–1798: 1:305–306; Simms, 1845: 339; Winsor, 1880: 53 and also 61–62; Brown, 1890: 2:780; Chatterton, 1927: 240–241; McManis, 1972: 46; Gerson, 1978: 186 and 188; Cumming, 1980: 79–80; Allen, 1982: no. 11; Pritchard, 2002: no. 6).

Generally, we must recognize that the similarity in names between those on Smith's map and those on the ground today is coincidental rather than causal in nature. As Daniel Neal observed early in the eighteenth century, "but 'tis more probable, that most of the Towns which the Captain mentions, received their Names from those Places in Old-England, from whence the first Planters of them came" (Neal, 1720: 1:19). Barbour (in Smith, 1986: 1:319n3) was more absolute when he simply stated — with perhaps a certain frustration — that the Boston on the map "has nothing to do with modern Boston." (To be precise, the map could not have guided subsequent action in this particular instance: the map's label for the settlement that historians have consistently read as "Boston" was in fact written "Bostou": Appendix B, no. 17). We must rethink the nature of the causality. When Lenney (2003: 42) reflected on the map's "remarkably prescient names," he wondered "whether these places (mostly ports) were in some other way destined to be honored." This is precisely the point. In the case of Boston, for example, Prince Charles selected "Boston" as a suitable toponym for a port settlement in a putative colony after the port of Boston, Lincolnshire, that had been made wealthy and prominent by the wool trade; it was the same trade that promoted the formation of a strongly Protestant community in the port, under Dutch influence, and the same wealth that subsequently permitted that community to translate itself to the New World, taking the toponym with it.

Once again, the actual study of the selection and adoption of place names is revealed to be a messy and complex process that is not easily reduced to simple cause and effect, no matter how tempting, satisfying, and apparently logical it might be to do so.

Appendix A: The "old" toponyms recorded in Smith's *Description of New England*

[#] page number in Smith's *Description* (1616) where a toponym is found

[C] toponyms found on the concordance tipped into Smith's *Description* (1616) (see Table 1)

[Aa] toponym included on Pieter van der Aa's 1707 map
[C†] variant spelling appearing in the concordance in Smith's *Generall Historie* (1624: 205) [invariant spellings not flagged: see C]

Toponyms applied by John Smith and other English voyagers

1. **Cape Cod** [7, 8, 9, 27, 28, C], **C. Cod** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 4**. This toponym, still in use, was coined by Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602 (Brereton, 1602; Quinn and Quinn, 1983: 142–203).
2. **Elizabeths Isles** [4], **Elizabeths I.** [Aa]. Another of Gosnold's toponyms; the islands, still known by this name, lie just west of Cape Cod and Martha's Vinyard and off Smith's printed map (Brereton, 1602; Quinn and Quinn, 1983: 142–203). Van der Aa confused the islands with Martha's Vinyard itself.
3. **Smyths Iles** [28], **Smiths Iles** [C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 43**. Probably named after himself, but see App. B, no. 43. Modern Isles of Shoals.
4. (Cape) **Trabigzanda** [C], **Tragabigzanda** [26, 28, Aa], **Cape Tragabigsanda** [C†]=**App. B, no. 1**. Named after Charatza Trabigzanda, who had freed Smith from slavery in Turkey (Smith, 1630: 23). Barbour opined (in Smith, 1986: 1:319n2) that the spelling in the concordance was more correct than that in Smith's text. Modern Cape Ann.
5. **Turks Heads** [26, 28], **3 Turkse Hoofden** [Aa]. Smith's name for the islands off Cape Ann referenced the three Turkish warriors he had defeated in single combat during the relief of Vienna, as symbolized on his claimed coat of arms. Lenney (2003: 25) suggested a further dimension for "Turks Heads" within the common naming practices of English taverns and inns.
6. "A Country not discovered" [C], "A great Bay by Cape Anne" [C†]=**App. B, no. 18**. Smith (1616: 26) also referred to this area as lying to the "north" of Cape Ann/Tra[ga]bigzanda, but the sequence of his geographical account clearly indicated that he meant the bay around Salem and Marblehead to the south of the cape.
7. "The Harbor at Cape Cod" [C†]=**App. B, no. 25**. Probably modern Wellfleet Harbor.
8. "A good Harbor within that Bay" [C†]=**App. B, no. 30**.

Indigenous toponyms recorded for sites that lie beyond the printed map

9. **Capawack** [27]. Modern Martha's Vinyard (Barbour in Smith, 1986 1:341n5).
10. **Isle Nawset** [8], **Ile of Nausit** [27], **Nawset I.** [Aa]. Modern Nantucket (see Smith, 1616: 27).

Indigenous toponyms applied by Smith to precise locations

11. **Accomack** [8, 27, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 29**. Although this toponym occurs in Smith's intermixed list of "peoples" and "places" in the Massachusetts Bay area, Barbour noted (in Smith, 1986: 1:340n1) that the toponym is in fact locational — "land or place on the other side" — and suggests that there were several villages at this site.
12. **Accominticus** [8, 25, 28, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 17**.
13. **Aggawom** [8, C, Aa], **Angoam** [25], **Augoan** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 33**. Smith (1616: 8 and 25) used the same locational description for both Aggawom and Angoam. This was recognized by the close location by Pieter van der Aa on his historical map of 1707 of the "two" settlements.
14. **Aucocisco** [8, 24, 29, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 8.**
15. **Aucociscos Mount** [C]=**App. B, no. 31.**

16. **Aumoughcawgen** [8, C], **Aumuckcawgen** [24], **Amoughcowgen** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 19.**
17. **Bahana** [C], **Bahanna** [C†]=**App. B, no. 20.**
18. **Chawum** [8, 27, C, Aa], **Chawun** [28]=**App. B, no. 7.** A "people" in the Massachusetts Bay, given precise location by Smith.
19. **Kenebeck** [8, Aa], **Kinnebeck** [24], **Kinebeck** [C], **Kenebecka** [C†], **Quenobequin R.** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 11.**
20. **Massachusets Mount** [C]=**App. B, no. 9.**
21. **Massachusets River** [C]=**App. B, no. 2.**
22. **Matinnack** [28, C], **Matinack** [C†, Aa]=**App. B, no. 47.**
23. **Mecadacut** [8, C, Aa], **Mecaddacut** [24]=**App. B, no. 10.**
24. **Metinicus** [28, Aa], **Metinnicut** [C], **Metinacus** [C†]=**App. B, no. 40.**
25. **Monahiggan** [1], **Monahigan** [28, C], **Monachigam** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 34.**
26. **Naemkeck** [8, C, Aa], **Naimkeck** [25]=**App. B, no. 16.**
27. **Nusket** [C]=**App. B, no. 14.** De Costa ([1886], 198) suggested that Smith applied Nusket to Mt Desert, but it seems clear from the map that Smith meant hills on the mainland.
28. **Passataquack** [8, 25, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 22.**
29. **Pemmaquid** [4, 8, 24, C], **Pemmayquid** [C†], **Pemaquid** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 15.**
30. **Penobscot** [8], **Pennobscot** [7, 8, 9, 23, 24, 29, C, Aa], **Pennobskot** [27, 28]=**App. B, no. 6.** Barbour (in Smith, 1986: 1:328n11) identified this site "with minimal likelihood of error" as the Castine peninsula.
31. (River) **Sagadahock** [4, 5, 8, 9, 24, 28, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 13.**
32. **Sagoquas** [8, C]=**App. B, no. 27.** A "people" in the Massachusetts Bay area, given precise location by Smith.
33. **Sasanou** (mount) [29], **Sassanowes Mount** [C], **Sassanows Mount** [C†]=**App. B, no. 32.**
34. **Segocket** [8, 24, C, Aa]=**App. B, no. 26.**
35. **Sowocatuck** [9, C], **Sowocotuck** [24], **Sawocatuck** [Aa]=**App. B, no. 23.** The area of the Saco River.
36. **Totant** [8, C, Aa], **Totan** [C†]=**App. B, no. 21.** A "people" in the Massachusetts Bay area, given precise location by Smith.

Otherwise unlocated "peoples" in the mid-coast Maine region

37. **Masherosqueck** [8], **Masquerosqueck** [Aa].
38. **Moshoquen** [8, Aa].
39. **Nassaque** [8, Aa].
40. **Paghhuntanuck** [8, Aa].
41. **Passharanack** [8], **Pasharanack** [Aa].
42. **Pocopassum** [8, Aa].
43. **Segotago** [8, Aa].
44. **Taughtanakagnet** [8, Aa].
45. **Wakcogo** [8], **Wakoogo** [Aa].
46. **Warbigganus** [8, Aa].
47. **Wawrigweck** [8].

Otherwise unlocated "peoples" in the Massachusetts Bay region

48. **Massachuset** [8, 9, Aa], **Massachusets** [26, 27], **Massachewset** [28], **Massachusit** [29], **Massasoyts** [Aa]=see App. A, nos 20–21.

49. **Nahapassumkeck** [8].
50. **Nasnocomacack** [8, Aa].
51. **Pocapawmet** [8].
52. **Quonahassit** [8, 26], **Quonahasit** [Aa]. (Perhaps) modern Cohasset (Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:340n10).
53. **Seccasaw** [8, Aa].
54. **Topeent** [8], **Topent** [Aa].
55. **Totheet** [8, Aa].

Other indigenous toponyms

56. **Damerils Iles** [28], **Damerils I.** [Aa].
57. (Isles of) **Mattahunts** [8, 26, Aa]. Islands just south of Cape Ann, near Salem.
58. **Monanis** [28, Aa]. An island near Monhegan.
59. **Nusconcus** [8, 24], **Nuscoucus** [Aa]. Muscongus, on Muscongas Sound, in Maine (Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:328n2).
60. **Pawmet** [8, 27, Aa]. Probably the elbow of Cape Cod (see Smith, 1616: 27).
61. **Satquin** [28, Aa]. Modern Seguin Island.
62. **Sorico** [28, Aa]. Modern Isle au Haut in Penobscot Bay (Barbour in Smith, 1986: 1:341n8).

Appendix B. The "new" toponyms applied to *New England*

* variant spelling used in the concordance tipped into Smith's *Description* (1616)
† variant spelling used in the concordance in Smith's *Generall Historie* (1624: 205)
[2nd] toponym added to the second state of *New England* (1617)
[Aa] toponym included on Pieter van der Aa's 1707 map

Royal Family

1. **Cape ANNA, Cape Anne*†=App. A, no. 4.** Prince Charles's mother: Anne of Denmark.
2. **The River CHARLES, Charles Riuer*, Charles River†=App. A, no. 21.** Prince Charles himself.
3. **Cape ELIZABETH** [Aa: C. Elizabet]. Prince Charles's beloved elder sister. Fiske (1899: 75) seems to have begun the mistaken equation of "Cape Elizabeth" on the map with present-day Cape Elizabeth, Maine, to constitute an apparently fourth preserved toponym from map to settlement. But this supposition is incorrect: "Cape Elizabeth" corresponds to present-day Small Point, at the other end of Casco Bay, whereas the map labeled present-day Cape Elizabeth as "Point Kent." Fiske's error was subsequently perpetuated by Stewart (*Names on the Land*, 38–39) whence it seems to have been copied by Benes (1981: no. 3), Danforth (1988: no. 74), Quinn ("Early Cartography of Maine," 58), Conforti (2001: 15), and Lenney (2003: 42). The error might stem from the engraved title page to Smith (1624), in whose small map of the Virginia coast the label "C. Elizabeth" is perhaps indeed applied to what is today Cape Elizabeth.
4. **Cape IAMES, Cape James†=App. A, no. 1.** Prince Charles's father, James VI of Scotland, I of England.
5. **STUARDS Bay.** Prince Charles's family name.

Towns, Ports, and Geographical Features in Scotland

6. **Aborden, Aberden†=App. A, no. 30.** Aberdeen, Scotland: county town and port.

7. **Barwick=App. A, no. 18**. Berwick, the long-disputed town on the English-Scots border; placed on the map near the Cheviots, mimicking the town's location in Britain
8. **The Base=App. A, no. 14**. Bass Rock, or the Bass Rock, is a prominent, craggy, and largely inaccessible island that rises 350 ft [107 m] just off the coast of Lothian. It was labeled "The Base" on seventeenth-century maps as, for example, on Timothy Pont's manuscript maps, dating from the 1590s, that were published in Willem Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam, 1654). Irvine (1682: 20) recorded "*Bassa*, The Island of *Baß*." Charles's application of this name to an indigenous settlement rather than a hill probably reflected not the physical stature of the island, but the significant status of the fortification built on its southern edge. King James had apparently coveted the fortress, and Charles would, when king himself, also seek to control it. The fragments of the island's early history were established by M'Crie (1847) and Reid (1885), both of whom stressed the significance of the island's fortress. Gray (1948) summarized the earlier essays.
9. **Cheuyot hills, Cheuit hill***, **Chevit hill†=App. A, no. 20**. Cheviot Hills, on the English-Scottish border.
10. **Dunbarte, Dunbarton***†, [Aa: Dubarton]=**App. A, no. 23**. Dunbarton: port on the west coast of Scotland, west of Glasgow.
11. **Edenborough, Edenborow†** [Aa: Edenborow]=**App. A, no. 19**. Edinburgh: capital of Scotland.
12. **The River forth**. The River Forth itself, in Scotland.
13. **Leth, Leeth*=App. A, no. 31**. Leith, Edinburgh's port on the coast of the Firth of Forth. Irvine (1682: 124–25) recorded "*Letha*, the Town of *Leith*."
14. **Lowmonds, Low mounds†=App. A, no. 27**. Lomond Hills, Fife, just south of Perth and to the north of the Firth of Forth.
15. **S^t^ Iohn Towne, S. Iohns towne***, **Saint Johns towne†** [Aa: S. Iohntowne]=**App. A, no. 29**. Perth, the second city, old capital, and significant royal residence in Scotland; commonly called St John's Town in the medieval and early modern periods after its major church, dedicated to St John the Baptist (Cowen 1904).

Towns, Ports, and Geographical Features in England and Wales

16. **Bastable=App. A, no. 26**. The port of Barnstaple, Devon. Watts (2004: 37) records "Bastable" among several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century variants of "Barnstaple."
17. **Bostou, Boston***† [Aa: Bostou]=**App. A, no. 12**. The port of Boston, Lincolnshire. The "u" of "Bostou" was probably an engraver's error; other terminal "n"s were properly engraved. The error remained uncorrected on the map, despite the spelling of the toponym in the concordance. "Bostou" persisted even in the map's ninth state (1635), when another toponym, "Boston," was added beside a lengthened Charles River to reflect the actual Puritan settlement.
18. **Bristow=App. A, no. 6**. Bristol, Somerset: county town and major port in western England. Watts (2004: 88) recorded the variants "Bri-Brystow(e)" in use for "Bristol" between the twelfth and late seventeenth centuries.
19. **Cambridg, Cambridge***† [Aa]=**App. A, no. 16**. Cambridge: university and county town in England.
20. **Dartmouth** [Aa: Dartmout]=**App. A, no. 17**. The port of Dartmouth, Devon.

21. **Fawmouth, Famouth†=App. A, no. 36**. The port of Falmouth, Cornwall. Watts (2004: 224) does not record "Fawmouth" as a variant for "Falmouth." However, the town was called "Faulmouth" by Saxton (1570s) and "Famouth" by Norden (1597).
22. **Hull=App. A, no. 28**. The port of Kingston-upon-Hull, Yorkshire.
23. **Ipswich, Ipswitch*=App. A, no. 35**. The port of Ipswich, Essex.
24. **London** [Aa: London]. London, capital and major port of England. Shown on the map with the largest town symbol at the heart of the area promoted by Smith for English settlement, but not replacing an indigenous settlement.
25. **Milford hauen, Milforth haven†=App. A, no. 7**. The port of Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire, Wales.
26. **Norwich** [Aa: Storwich]=**App. A, no. 34**. Norwich, major town in eastern England, second in size only to London.
27. **Oxford=App. A, no. 32**. Oxford, university and county town in England.
28. **Pembrocks Bay**. Pembroke Bay, Wales. If like "River Forth," another toponym unconnected with an indigenous toponym, this was specified by Prince Charles. However, the earl of Pembroke was also an old patron of Smith so this might have been added by Smith.
29. **Plimouth** [Aa: neu Pleymout]=**App. A, no. 11**. The port of Plymouth, Devon. "NEW" was added in a later state of the map, published in 1631, reflected in Van der Aa's work.
30. **Sandwich** [Aa: Sandwick]=**App. A, no. 8**. The port of Sandwich, Kent. One of the original "cinque ports."
31. **Schooters hill, Shooters hill***, **Shuters hill†=App. A, no. 15**. Shooters Hill, near London.
32. **Snadoun hill, Snodon hill*, Snowdon hill†=App. A, no. 33**. Mt Snowden, tallest mountain in Wales.
33. **South Hampton, Southhampton*†=App. A, no. 13**. The port of Southampton, Hampshire.

People (certain and probable)

34. **Barty Ils, Barties Iles†=App. A, no. 25**. Robert Bertie, one of Smith's leading supporters. Barbour suggested (in Smith, 1986: 2:402n6) that Smith's use of "Bartie" for "Bertie" reflected his Lincolnshire accent.
35. **Cary Ils**. Perhaps Sir George Cary, Sir Henry Cary, or Lady Cary [Virginia Adventurers].
36. **Poynt Dauies**. John Davies of Hereford, who wrote the poem on the map and one of the commendatory verses for the *Description* (Smith, 1616).
37. **Poynt Gorge**. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, major supporter of colonial endeavors (Smith, 1616: 49). Note that Winsor (1880: 53) misinterpreted the form of the letter "G" and so misread this toponym as "Poynt George."
38. **Gunnells Ils**. Richard Gunnell, dramatist, who wrote one of the commendatory verses for Smith's *Description*.
39. **Harington Bay**. Perhaps Edward Harrington, a Jamestown colonist in 1607, or Sir John (Lord) Harington [Virginia Adventurers].
40. **Hoghton Ils, Hoghton's Iles***, **Haughtons Iles†=App. A, no. 24**. Sir John Holles, Lord Haughton, supporter.
41. **P. Kent**. Perhaps Henry Kent [Virginia Adventurer].

42. **P. Murry** [Aa: P. Murry]. Perhaps Sir David Murrey [Virginia Adventurer]. The possibility that this toponym was derived from Murray, Scotland, is discounted by the general pattern of the toponyms, in which only native settlements were labeled with the names of British settlements, whereas the small headlands were probably named by Smith after potential supporters.
43. **Smith[s] Iles** [Aa: Smiths I.]=**App. A, no. 3**. The modern Isles of Shoals. It is probably correct to assume that Smith named these islands after himself; after all, this is the only "old" toponym to be preserved on the map. Other than the brief notice in Smith (1616: 28), the only other reference by Smith to "Smiths Isles" in New England was in Smith (1631: 22), complete with a late and bitter claim that these "barren rocks" were the sole lot granted him by the Council for New England. There is a possibility, however, that the name was intended to commemorate Sir Thomas Smith/Smythe, treasurer of the Virginia Company and a major supporter and patron of the captain. Certainly, the captain never claimed to have named them after himself, unlike his claim to be the progenitor of "Smith's Isles" at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay (Smith, 1624: 21; but not in Smith, 1612: 2), which *do* appear however to have actually been named after Sir Thomas (Andrews, 1943: 39n, citing a June 1613 letter by Samuel Argall).
44. **Poynt Suttliff**. Dr Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, and Smith's patron (Smith, 1616: 49).
45. **Talbotts Bay**. Perhaps Mary Talbot [Virginia Adventurer], countess of Shrewsbury and widow of Gilbert Talbot.
46. **P Travers** [2nd]. Perhaps John Travers, prominent cleric within the diocese of Exeter and possibly connected to Smith via Sutcliffe.
47. **Willowby Ils, Willowby's Iles†=App. A, no. 22**. Robert Bertie (see App. B, no. 34) was ennobled as Lord Willoughby.

Uncertain

48. **Fines Ils**. Probably indicated the (northern) limit [end] of Smith's travels, but might perhaps have been named after some supporter by the name of Fiennes, or both? The toponym was repeated, in the same location, on the schematic map in the upper register of the engraved title page for Smith's *Generall Historie* (1624); this map features a number of toponyms referring to the English royal family and some of Smith's important supporters (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979: ch. 15).
49. **Fullerton Ils** [Aa: Fullerton I.]. Uncertain.
50. **Gerrards Ils** [2nd]. Uncertain.

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