

CHAMPLAIN AND HIS LANDINGS AT CAPE ANN, 1605, 1606

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INTRODUCTION

IN THIS paper¹ I shall first consider briefly the exploration of the northeastern Atlantic seaboard prior to the explorations of Champlain. The second part will be devoted to the two visits of the French explorer to Cape Ann in the years 1605 and 1606.

The coming of the Norsemen to this region about the year 1000 need not be dwelt on. No student of American history doubts the discovery of northeastern America some five hundred years before the coming of Columbus to the continent. I shall consider the various attempts of different European countries to obtain a foothold in the New World at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in other parts than those being explored and taken over by the representatives of the Spanish crown. After the discovery of America, the northeastern section almost immediately attracted attention. Five years after the epoch-making landfall of Columbus in the West Indies, John Cabot and several of his sons including Sebastian, sailed from England (in 1497), and reached southern Labrador in the neighborhood of the gulf of St. Lawrence. John Cabot was thus the discoverer of the continent of

¹This paper was written for the Sandy Bay Historical Society of Rockport, Cape Ann, in connection with the placing of a Tercentenary marker in Rockport in 1930 to indicate the spot where Champlain made a landing at Whale Cove. The inscription on the tablet reads: "SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. Due east from here on July 16, 1605, the Sieur de Monts sent Samuel de Champlain ashore to parley with some Indians. They danced for him and traced an outline map of Massachusetts Bay. These French explorers named this promontory 'The Cape of Islands.' "

North America. The great island of Newfoundland, the scene of Cabot's landfall, and the adjacent region appears on the earliest maps as the land of the *Bacallao*, the Spanish and Portuguese name for codfish.

The following year, 1498, Sebastian Cabot sailed for the newly found continent, making his landfall considerably north of the region reached by his father the previous year. He was the discoverer of the Polar regions of North America. Kohl, the great German geographer, who has given us a monumental work on the earliest explorations of the North Atlantic seaboard, believes that Sebastian Cabot cruised along the New England coast, perhaps as far south as Long Island, New York.

The Portuguese became very keen to acquire lands in the new world. The navigator Cabral discovered Brazil for Portugal in the year 1500. From Portugal, Gaspar Cortreal also set out the same year, and reached the coast of Nova Scotia. He returned home the same autumn, and soon undertook the outfitting of another expedition to follow up his discoveries. He left Lisbon in May, 1501, probably reaching the coast of Newfoundland. He first sailed north but was turned back by increasing difficulties with the ice. He captured 57 natives, probably Micmacs, on his return to Newfoundland, 50 of whom he took on his own vessel, and the other 7 were placed in his consort. The consort returned safely to Portugal late in the year, but the leader was never heard from again. The disappearance of Cortreal constitutes the most tragic episode in the early exploration of America.

Only recently, Professor Edmund B. Delabarre has attempted to connect Cortreal with the inscription on the famous mysterious Dighton rock near Taunton, postulating that the rock records and commemorates some incidents relative to the fate of Cortreal, but his presentation is not entirely conclusive.

We now come to the voyage of the Florentine navigator Verrazano, who came to America in 1524

under a commission from the King of France. He made a landfall in the region of the Carolinas, cruised south as far as Florida, and then turned his prow northward, following the coastline as far north as Cape Breton. This voyage has been the subject of many controversial studies which cannot be entered into in this paper.

In 1525 the Spaniards sent out a Portuguese navigator and pilot, Juan Gomez. At this time the southern coast of the United States was comparatively well known and, as has been shown, the northern section had not been neglected. The official expedition sent out by the Spanish Government sought to find a passage through the continent between Florida and the land of the Codfish, which would lead to China and the Orient. What they really tried to do was what Verrazano had failed to accomplish the previous year. It is generally believed that Gomez sailed across to the shores of Labrador, which he explored, and then cruised slowly from Cape Race to Florida. He failed naturally to encounter the desired strait, and no detailed account of this voyage is known. In his minute examination of the coast Gomez entered many bays and ports of the coast of New England, and gave names to them, which names appeared for some time in new maps. New England is called The Land of Gomez on early Spanish maps of North America.

A map by Ribiero made in 1529 records his discoveries. From this map, and the descriptions of the coast by Spanish writers soon after, in which mention of his discoveries are made, it is clear that he noted down and named what are now Massachusetts Bay, Cape Cod, Narragansett Bay, and the Connecticut, Hudson and Delaware rivers.

Kohl in his history of the discovery of the east coast of North America writes, "From Cape Cod along the shores of our gulf to the north, we find no other more prominent point than Cape Ann, the extreme point of the rocky peninsula of Essex county. It is high and

conspicuous, and was probably often seen by early navigators. I believe that I have found traces of it in the reports of the old Northmen on our coast, and I suppose that it was the same cape, which, at a later date, the Spanish called "Cabo de Sta. Maria (St. Mary's Cape)."

Kohl in quoting from Oviedo (1537), who in describing the coast bases his description on the lost map of Chaves, 1536, and the map of Ribiero, 1529, writes: "It seems to me therefore very probable, that the Cabo de Arcifes of Oviedo, is our Cape Cod, which may well be called a unique point on the coast, and which would be well named the Reef Cape, as being surrounded by banks and shoals, or reefs. Oviedo's latitude 43° N. is only about half a degree too high. His Cabo de Sta. Maria, which lies twenty leagues from the Reef Cape, and also in 43° N. would then be our Cape Ann. It may justly be said, that across from Cape Cod to Cape Ann, the distance is twenty leagues."

The great map of the Spanish cartographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz, accompanying his *Isolario General*, quarta parte, composed as early as 1541, was published for the first time in 1908 in Vienna, by the geographer Professor von Wiese, in honor of the International Congress of Americanists held in Vienna that year. It was thus unknown to Kohl. I had the privilege of seeing it in company with von Wiese and Joseph Fischer during the sessions of the Congress. On plate III is the map of the northeastern part of the United States, and the territory of New England is denominated "land discovered by the pilot Estevan Gomez." We find designated "cabo de Santa Maria" (Cape of Saint Mary, Cape Ann); a bay just south filled with islands (Massachusetts Bay), and below it the headland marked "Cabo de arrecifes" (Cape of Reefs, Cape Cod). From these credible sources it is clearly evident that Cape Ann was skirted and named Cape Saint Mary by the Spanish explorer, Gomez, in 1525, eighty years earlier than the visit of Champlain.

I have touched briefly on these voyages, calling attention to only the more prominent and important ones, for there are a number of minor voyages of exploration of which we have knowledge, in order to stress the point that the coast of New England had been repeatedly visited and imperfectly mapped, and so was not wholly unknown at Champlain's advent early in the sixteen hundreds.¹ During the sixteenth century also, apart from the geographic voyages of exploration, it is well known that beginning a little after fifteen hundred, French, Spanish and Portuguese fishermen came regularly to fish off the banks of Newfoundland. Indeed, we know, that as early as 1506, the King of Portugal gave order, "that the fishermen of Portugal at their return from Newfoundland should pay a tenth of their profits at his customhouse."

These fishing adventurers have added nothing to our knowledge of the New World. They came solely to fish off the banks of Newfoundland, near the Land of the Bacallao, and were not interested in the geographical exploration of the new continent. In following schools of fish it is not improbable that they cruised as far south as the shores of Cape Ann. It is certain that these rude fisher-folk came in contact with the natives of our New England coast, and bartered with them from the very beginning of the sixteenth century. In this connection the relation of Captain Gosnold's voyage to the lands north of Virginia in 1602 is pertinent. In treating of some Indians encountered somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Ann, at a place called by the English explorer, Savage Rock, at one time thought to be Salvages off Cape Ann, but now not so considered, we read that the said Indians "came in a Biskay shallop, with sails and oars. . . One that seemed to be their commander wore a waistcoat of black cloth, a pair of breeches, cloth stockings, shoes, hat

¹On the subject of the early cartography of the North American coast, the reader is referred to the masterly studies of Prof. E. L. Stevenson. See his paper published in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April 1909, on *Early Spanish Cartography of the New World*.

and band; one or two more had also a few things made by Christians."¹

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, colonizer, and founder of Quebec, and the most prominent figure in the early history of New France, was born in Brouage, France, in 1567. He was the son of a sea captain and must have received a very careful training in the principals of navigation and cartography, as well as in drawing, as his later career reveals. His maps and colored drawings of the fauna and flora of the New

¹Brereton's account of this encounter is as follows:

"But on Friday the fourteenth of May, early in the morning, we made the land, being full of faire trees, the land somewhat low, certeine hummocks or hills lying into the land, the shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky. And standing faire alongst by the shore, about twelve of the clocke the same day, we came to anker, where sixe Indians, in a Balke-shallop (Basque) with mast and saile, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us, one of them apparelled with a wastcoat and breeches of blacke serdge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (sauing one that had a paire of breeches of blue cloth) were all naked. These people are of tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a blacke swart complexion, their eye-browes painted white; their weapons are bowes and arrowes: it seemed by some words and signes they made, that some Balks (Basques) or of S. Iohn de Luz, haue fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees. But riding heere, in no very good harbour, and with-all, doubting the weather, about three of the clocke the same day in the afternoone we weighed, & standing Southerly off into sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of winde, in the morning, we found our selues embayed with a mightie headland."

Brereton, Iohn. *A Briefe and true relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia: being a most pleasant, fruitfull and commodious soile; Made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and diuers other gentlemen their associates, by the permission of the honourable knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. Written by M. Iohn Brereton one of the voyage.* Londini, Impensis Geor. Bishop, 1602. P. 4.

William Strachey in his *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, written between 1610 and 1615, but not appearing in print until published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, gives a somewhat similar account. It runs:

"Caput VI. The success of the good ship called the Concord, set forth by the Earle of Southampton, and commaunded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnoll, for discovery, upon a right lyne, falling about Sachadehoc.

"The good ship the Concord, as you have heard, setting forth with this about the fourteenth of Maye followinge, making land in 43 degrees of the north latitude, had better successe; for the commaunders therein, intending faithfully the end of their goinge forth, discovered many goodly rivers, islands, and a pleasant contynent, and the Indians in the said height, in bark shallops, with mast and sayle, iron grapples, and kettles of copper, came boldly aboard them, apparelled with wastcoats and breeches, some of black serdge, some of blew cloth, made after the sea fashion, with hose and shooes on their feet: a people tall of stature, broad and grym visaged; their eye browes paynted white; and yt seemed by some wordes and signes which they made, that some barks, or of St. John de Luz, had fished and traded in this place.

"But the ship riding here in noe good harborow, and with all the weather doubted, the master stood off againe into the sea southwardly, and soone after found himself imbayed with a mighty headland . . . This headland, therefore, they called Cape Cod." Pp. 155-156.

World, are evidences of a high degree of skill. That he was industrious and a quick worker is shown by the fact that on his first voyage to Canada, he left France on March 15, 1603, landed again in France six months later on September 20th, and the report on "The Savages, or Voyages of Samuel de Champlain of Brouage made to New France in 1603," was composed and ready for the press in five days less than two months after his return, for the license of the King was given at Paris on November 15, 1603. The comprehensive subtitle of contents on the title-page reads: "The customs, manner of life, marriage, warfare, and system of government of the savages of Canada. The discovery of more than 450 leagues in the territory of the savages; what peoples dwell there; of the animals found there; of the rivers, lakes, islands, and varieties of soil, and what trees and fruits these produce. Description of the coast of Acadia, of the lands discovered there, and of several mines to be found there according to the report of the savages."

This shows the systematic training of a scholar. It is not to be doubted that he had consulted and was well acquainted with what had been accomplished and published by the sixteenth century map makers, explorers and writers in regard to North America. His subsequent career in the epoch making explorations he carried on in New France evince powers of observation which place him as the really great pioneer figure, giving to the world its first reliable information of the resources of this portion of our continent. He died in 1635 at the age of sixty-eight.

All that we know of the early life of Champlain is what he tells us in the narrative of his West Indian and Mexican voyage, which he made in the years 1599 to 1601. The English translation of this voyage is, "Brief Narrative of the most remarkable things that Samuel Champlain of Brouage observed in the West Indies during the voyage which he made to them, in the year 1599 and in the year 1601—" This work remained unprinted until 1859 when an English translation was

published by the Hakluyt Society of London. The original ms. is one of the proud possessions of the John Carter Brown Library of Providence. It is accompanied by a portfolio of 62 illustrations of the fauna and flora of the West Indies and Mexico made in colors by Champlain. I quote in full this brief autobiographic record, meager indeed.

Having been employed in the Kings army (King Henry the 4th of France) which was in Brittany, under Messieurs the Marechal d'Aumont, de St. Luc, and the Mareschal de Brissac, in the capacity of quartermaster in the said army for some years, and until his Majesty, in the year 1598, reduced the said country of Brittany to obedience, and dismissed his army, and seeing myself thereby without any charge or employment, I resolved so as not to remain idle, to find means to make a voyage to Spain, and being there, to acquire and cultivate acquaintances, in order, by their favor and intermediary, to manage to embark in some one of the ships to the West Indies; to the end that I might be able there to make inquiries into particulars of which no Frenchmen have succeeded in obtaining cognizance, because they have no free access there, in order to make true report of them to his Majesty on my return. To accomplish my design then, I went to Blavet, where at that time was a garrison of Spaniards, in which place I found an uncle of mine named Captain Provençal, who was considered to be one of Frances first-rate seamen, and who, in that capacity, had been commissioned by the King of Spain as Pilot-General of their sea forces. My said uncle having received command from Marechal de Brissac to conduct the ships in which were embarked the Spaniards of the garrison of Blavet to be taken back to Spain, as had been promised them, I embarked with him in a great ship of 500 tons burden, named the St. Julien, which had been hired and engaged for the said voyage; and having quitted Blavet in it at the beginning of the month of August, we arrived ten days afterwards in the neighborhood of Cape Finisterre, which we could not see on account of a great fog that arose from the sea, whereby all our vessels were scattered. Indeed, the flagship of the fleet was nearly lost, having touched upon a rock, and taken in much water; in which ship, and over the whole fleet, Gen. Zubiaur held command, having been sent

by the King of Spain to Blavet for that purpose. On the following day, the weather having cleared, all our sailors came together again, and we proceeded to the islands of Bayona; in Galicia, to refit the said flagship which was much injured.

Having sojourned six days at the said islands, we set sail, and three days later came in sight of Cape St. Vincent. . . We doubled the said Cape, and proceeded to the port of Cadiz, where, after we entered, the soldiers were disembarked. After landing there, the French ships that had been engaged for transport were paid off, and sent away, each to its own place, except the St. Julien, which as Gen Zubiatur had noticed it to be a staunch ship and a good sailor, he engaged for the service of the king of Spain; and thus the said Capt. Provençal, my uncle, still remained on board. We sojourned at the said town of Cadiz for a month, during which I had an opportunity of examining the island of Cadiz; the picture of which follows.

Departing from Cadiz, we proceeded to Sanlucar de Barrameda which is at the entrance of the river of Seville, where we remained 3 months. During this time I went to Seville, made a drawing of it, and one of the other place (Sanlucar de Barrameda) which I have thought fit to represent to the best of my ability on this and the following page.

During the three months we stayed at Sanlucar de Barrameda, there arrived an advice-boat from Porto Rico, to inform the king of Spain that the English force was at sea, with the intent to capture the said Porto Rico, upon which information, the king of Spain, in order to succor it, had an armament prepared, to the number of 20 vessels and 2000 men, both soldiers and sailors; among which ships that named the St. Julien was retained, and command was given to my uncle to make the voyage in her, which gave great joy to me, promising myself by this means to satisfy my desire; and therefore I very readily resolved to go with him. But whatever diligence could be made to refit, victual, and equip the said vessels, before they could put to sea, and just when we were on the point of taking our departure to go to the said Porto Rico, news arrived by another advice-boat, that it had been taken by the English; in consequence of which the voyage was abandoned, to my great regret at seeing myself frustrated of my hope.

Now at this time the armament of the king of Spain which is wont to go every year to the Indies, was fitting out at the said Sanlucar de Barrameda, and there came from the said king, a nobleman named Don Francisco Coloma, a knight of Malta, to be general of the said armament; who seeing our vessel fitted out and ready for service, and knowing by the report which had been made to him that for its burden it was a very good sailor, resolved to make use of it, and to take it at the ordinary freight, which is one crown per ton per month; so that I had occasion to rejoice seeing my hopes revive, the more so that Capt. Provençal, my uncle, having been engaged by Gen. Zubiaur to serve elsewhere, and unable to make the voyage, committed to me the charge and care of the said ship, which I accepted very willingly; and therefore we sought out Gen. Coloma, to know if it would suit him that I should make the voyage. This he freely granted me, with evidence of being well pleased thereat, promising me, his favor and assistance, which he has not since denied me upon occasions. The said armament set sail in the beginning of the month of Jan. of the year 1599. . . .

This is the brief autobiography, relating to only a short period of Champlain's career, previous to his engaging in the real work of his life, the exploration of the northeastern part of North America. As a preface to the Hakluyt Society publication is an extensive (99 pp.) biographical notice of Champlain by Alice Wilmere.

Champlain came to Canada in 1604 with the Sieur Pierre du Guast Monts, who had been appointed Governor of the French Company of Canada. The Sieur Jean de Biencourt Poutrincourt came at the same time. In 1605 Marc Lescarbot accompanied Poutrincourt to Canada. He returned to France in 1607, and later wrote a book¹ concerning the "dis-

¹Marc Lescarbot, a young Parisian lawyer, accompanied Poutrincourt during the late spring of 1606 to Nova Scotia, where he arrived the end of July. Late in August of the same year Poutrincourt sailed southward in company with Champlain to explore the New England coast, leaving Lescarbot in charge of the settlement at Port Royal. Lescarbot returned to France in July 1607, thus having spent one year in New France. He began to prepare his account of the History of New France in 1608, and it was given to the world in the French language early in 1609. A second edition was brought out in 1611, and

coveries of M. de Poutrincourt," antedating the appearance of the more important book of Champlain by four years. It is, however, a valuable accompaniment to the Champlain narrative, but it seems to have been written in an attempt to place his protector in the limelight, and gives more credit to him than to Champlain.

CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST LANDING AT CAPE ANN, 1605

We shall now consider the phase of Champlain's work indicated in the title of this paper, namely, his landings at Cape Ann in 1605 and 1606. His first trip along the New England coast was a short one. On this voyage he set out early in September, 1604 from the headquarters of the French established in New Brunswick on an island in Passamaquoddy Bay, separating the State of Maine from New Brunswick. He called this island Ste. Croix, but it is now known as Dorchet Island. It lies in close proximity to Eastport, Maine, and Saint Andrews in New Brunswick. Champlain sailed in a small vessel of 18 tons, with 12 sailors, and 2 Indian guides. They cruised as far as Penobscot Bay in the vicinity of Rockland and Camden. The return was made early in October, the ship being absent from its base exactly four weeks.

On the second voyage along the coast made in 1605 he reached the shores of Massachusetts for the first time, and his landing at Cape Ann, at a beach in what is now the town of Rockport, is the first authentic record of the landing of white men in this part of Massachusetts. I shall quote his account of this

it was reprinted again in 1612. A revised and enlarged third edition was published in 1617, and again in 1618, from which the translation by W. L. Grant was made for the Champlain Society, the three volumes appearing respectively in Toronto in 1907, 1911, and 1914. In 1609, the year it was first issued in French, an English translation was published in London of part of the second book and the entire third book, by Pierre Erondelle. This text was published by Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, in London, 1625. The Erondelle edition was reprinted in London and New York in 1928.

event, *verbatim*, from chapter VII, of his personal narrative first printed in 1613.¹

Exploration of the coast of the Almouchiquois as far as the 42nd degree of latitude: and the particulars of this voyage.

On the 18th of June, 1605, the Sieur de Monts set out from Ste. Croix island, accompanied by some gentlemen, twenty sailors, and an Indian named Panounias, with his wife, whom the Indians was unwilling to leave behind. We took along these Indians to serve as guides in the country of the Almouchiquois, in the hope of discovering and learning more exactly by their aid what kind of a country it was, inasmuch as she was a native thereof . . .

On the 15th of this month (July) we made twelve leagues. Coasting along the shore we perceived smoke upon the beach, whereupon we approached as close as we could, but did not see a single Indian, which made us believe they had fled. The sun was setting, and we were unable to find a place in which to pass the night, because the coast was low and sandy. Steering south to get away from the land that we might anchor, after sailing about two leagues we perceived a cape² on the mainland to the south, one quarter south-east of us at a distance of some six leagues. Two leagues to the east we saw three or four rather

¹I shall not attempt here to give the bibliography of the writings of Champlain. In this study I have used the edition of the works of Champlain still in process of publication by the Champlain Society of Toronto. Volume I, comprising the explorations of Champlain from 1599 to 1607, is accompanied by a portfolio of plates and maps. It is the real definitive edition of Champlain rendered indispensable to the student of early American history by the valuable notes and annotations of the editor, Professor W. E. Ganong. It is issued with both the original French text, and an English translation, the French at the upper part, and the English at the lower part of each page. Thus the student can check off the English rendering at any time. The long title of this volume follows:

"The voyages of the Sieur de Champlain of Saintonge, Captain in ordinary for the King in the Navy. Divided into two books. Or a very accurate journal of observations made in the course of discoveries in New France, both in the description of the countries, coasts, rivers, ports and harbors, with their latitude and many magnetic variations, and also in regard to the beliefs of the inhabitants, their superstitions, manners of life and mode of warfare; embellished with numerous illustrations. Together with two maps: the first suitable for navigation, being adjusted by the compasses which point north-east and by which mariners lay their courses: the other set to the true meridian with longitudes and latitudes: to the latter of which is added the voyage to the Strait which the English discovered above Labrador between the 53rd and the 63rd degrees of latitude in the year 1612 when seeking a route to the north of China." Paris: 1613.

²Cape Ann. The name Island Cape as given by Champlain did not persist. In 1614, Captain John Smith dubbed the cape Tragabizanda. Shortly after Smith's return to England, Prince Charles changed it for that of his mother, Queen Ann, wife of James I.

high islands,¹ and to the westward a large bay.² The coast of this bay, ranging around to the cape, extends inland from the place where we were about four leagues. It is some two leagues broad from north to south, and three across its entrance. Not discovering any suitable place to anchor, we determined to proceed to the above-mentioned cape under short sail for part of the night; and approached to sixteen fathoms of water, where we cast anchor to await daybreak.

The next day (July 16) we made our way to the above-mentioned cape, where, close to the mainland, are three islands³ which are *covered with trees* of different sorts, like those at Saco and along this whole coast. There is another low island⁴ upon which the sea breaks, which extends a little farther out to sea than the others, upon which there are no trees. We named this place the Island Cape. Near it we caught sight of a canoe in which were five or six Indians, who came towards us, but upon approaching our pinnace, went back to dance upon the beach. The *Sieur de Monts* sent me ashore to visit them,⁵ and to give to each a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance better than ever. When this was over, I made them understand as well as I could, that they should show me how the coast trended. After I had drawn for them with a charcoal the bay and the Island Cape, where we then were, they pictured for me with the same charcoal another bay⁶ which they represented as very large. Here they

¹The Isles of Shoals.

²Ipswich Bay.

³These three islands are, Straitsmouth, Thachers, and Milk. Nine years after the visit of Champlain, John Smith in 1614 named them the Three Turks' Heads. It will be noted that Champlain states that the three islands were covered with trees of different sorts, like those of Saco. About twenty-five years later, Francis Higginson en route from England to Salem, found the islands still forest covered, for he wrote in his *True Relation*, that on arriving off Cape Ann, June 26, 1629, he saw, "every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees." It is unfortunate that the three islands are no longer wooded like the many islands on the upper Maine coast. In describing Gloucester, as referred to in the account of the second landing in 1606, Champlain notes nut trees, sassafras, oaks, ashes and beeches. In mentioning the trees observed at Saco, just before reaching Cape Ann, he also saw elms, and in wet places willows. At Nausett on Cape Cod, he notes in addition, "very fine cypresses," the red cedar; also pines.

⁴The low island upon which the sea breaks is Salvages, two ledges about two miles east of Straitsmouth. Little Salvages, the northernmost, is covered by the sea at high water.

⁵This beach is now known as Whale Cove. Here we find another striking change in the aspect of the shores of Rockport. As the islands and shores once heavily wooded are now entirely denuded of forests, so too the beach at Whale Cove has lost its covering of sand, and the large popples have never been hidden during the past century.

⁶Massachusetts Bay.

placed six pebbles at equal intervals, giving me thereby to understand that each one of these marks represented that number of chiefs and tribes. Next they represented within the said bay a river¹ which we had passed, which is very long and has shoals. We found here quantities of vines on which the unripe grapes were a little larger than peas, and also many nut-trees, the nuts on which were not larger than musket-balls. These Indians informed us that all those who lived in this region cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others we had previously seen. This place is in latitude 43° and some minutes. Having gone *half a league* we perceived upon a rocky point² several Indians who ran dancing along the shore³ towards their companions to inform them of our coming. Having indicated to us the direction of their home, they made signal-smokes to show the site of their settlement.

We came to anchor close to a little island,⁴ to which we sent our canoe with some knives and biscuits for the Indians, and observed from their numbers that these places are more populous than the others we had seen. Having tarried some two hours to observe these people, whose canoes are built of birch-bark like those of the Canadians, Souriquois, and Etechemins, we raised anchor and with promise of fine weather set sail. Continuing our course to the west-south-west, we saw several islands upon either hand.⁵ Having gone seven to eight leagues we anchored near an island,⁶ where we saw many

¹The Merrimac River.

²Emmons Point, mistakenly named on maps and charts as Emersons Point. Peter Emmons or Emons settled here before 1708, and the point should bear his name. The distance from the basin of Whale Cove to the Long Beach end of Emons Point is approximately one mile and one-half, corresponding roughly to the half league mentioned here.

³Long Beach.

⁴Salt Island near Little Good Harbor Beach and Bass Rocks. The point just opposite Salt Island is now known as Briar Neck.

⁵Possibly Bakers and Misery Islands off Manchester and Salem.

⁶Undoubtedly the peninsula of Nahant. It was long believed that this island was Noddles Island, but it is extremely doubtful if Champlain went so far into Boston Harbor. We agree with Ganong that the voyager mistook the peninsula of Nahant for an island and came to anchor off this place. He says that on the day following, he weighed anchor for a cape which he had seen appearing to lie to the southwest. This cape was doubtless the point at Scituate. He further states that he "passed several islands covered with trees and recognized in this bay (Boston Bay) everything that the Indians at Island Cape (Cape Ann) had drawn for him."

columns of smoke along the coast and many Indians, who came running to see us.

On this first voyage to Cape Ann Champlain did not enter Gloucester harbor, for he must have borne off sharply from the shores of Eastern Point, after leaving Salt Island near Bass Rocks. He relates, as will be seen in the narrative which follows, that he had observed a league distant a place which appeared suitable for vessels, but he had not entered it as he had a favorable wind for pursuing his course. The entering and mapping of Gloucester harbor was accomplished during the 1606 expedition, during the eight days his vessel remained at anchor off Rocky Neck. The account of this second landing at Cape Ann I shall now give *in extenso*, being chapter XIII of his narrative.

CHAMPLAIN'S SECOND LANDING AT CAPE ANN, 1606.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt sets out from Port Royal to make discoveries. Everything we saw and that happened as far as Mallebarre.

On the 21st (of September) we reached Saco . . . Continuing our route we went to Island Cape (or Cape Ann), where we were delayed a little by bad weather and fog, and where we did not see much probability of spending the night, inasmuch as the place was unsuitable for this purpose. Whilst we were in this predicament I remembered that when following this coast with Sieur de Monts, I had noted on my map at a league's distance a place which appeared suitable for vessels, into which we had not entered because, at the time we were passing, the wind was favorable for holding on our course. This place lay behind us, on which account I said to the Sieur de Poutrincourt that we must stand in for a point which was then visible, where was situated the place in question which seemed to me suitable for passing the night. We proceeded to anchor at the entrance, and the next day went inside.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt landed with eight or ten of our company. We saw some very fine grapes which were ripe, Brazilian beans, pumpkins, squashes, and some good roots with a flavor like chards,¹ which the Indians cultivate. They

¹The Brazilian beans are the common bush beans. The root with a flavor like chard was the Jerusalem artichoke. Champlain illustrates many of the plants and vegetables he observed in the region, at the bottom of the general map drawn by him in 1612. The trees mentioned a little later on are all known to occur on Cape Ann. On his previous voyage in describing the flora of eastern Cape Cod (Nausett Harbor) Champlain notes more or less the same things. He writes: "We saw an abundance of Brazilian beans, many edible squashes, of various sizes, tobacco, and roots which they cultivate, the latter having the taste of artichokes." He also mentions the cornfields then in flower and about five and one-half feet in height. Also some less advanced which had been sown later. This was near the latter part of September, to be exact, the day of the autumnal equinox.

These plants and vegetables have been the subject of study and identification by a number of botanists, among them the famous Asa Gray, who published a paper on the subject. I quote here the study made by Merritt L. Fernald of Harvard University of the fruits and plants of New England depicted on the Champlain map above referred to. It was published in the *History of Plymouth Plantation of 1620-1647*, by William Bradford, issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. I, Boston, 1912. The folded plate between pp. 358-359 has the botanical material relating to New England and Cape Ann.

The description of these fruits and plants follows:

AUX. Highly conventionalized. Presumably the Spring Beauty (*Claytonia caroliniana*) which has a short thick root of about this size, edible (when boiled resembling chestnut). The artist was apparently forced, for want of space, to omit the leaves, but the root and the peculiar lopping of the inflorescence suggest the Spring Beauty. It is frequent in bottom-land woods or on rich slopes from Newfoundland to Virginia, though rare near the New England coast, except from the Penobscot to the Piscataqua and locally in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

LA FORME DES SITROULES. Undoubtedly the squash cultivated by the Indians.

PRUNE. From the form of the fruit, the Canada Plum or Wild Plum (*Prunus nigra*), native of eastern Canada and the Northern States and cultivated by the Indians.

ASTEMARA. Possibly meant for the Tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*) which was cultivated by the New England and other Indians. It is equally good as a drawing of one of the large-leaved woodland Asters (*Aster macrophyllus*, *A. Herveyi*, and their allies). The large leaves of these woodland Asters are used by the French of Canada as a substitute for tobacco. . . .

CACH. Difficult to determine: drawing much conventionalized. Probably either one of the Wild Onions (*Allium Schoenoprasum*, which grows on riverbanks from Newfoundland to Maine, or *Allium Canadense*, found in meadows from southern Maine southward) or the Golden Club (*Orontium aquaticum*) which occurs in pond-margins and swamps from Cape Cod and Worcester County, Mass. southward. The Golden Club was highly prized and often planted by the Indians both for its starchy roots and its seeds.

GROISELLE ROUGE. Clearly the Skunk Currant (*Ribes prostratum*) which abounds from Labrador to southern Maine and the hill-country of Mass. and Conn. Champlain specially commented on its abundance on the islands of Kennebunkport, where it still abounds.

PISCUE PENAY. From the root this can only be the Ground Nut (*Apois tuberosa*) so much valued by the Indians for its starchy roots.

CHATAIGNE. The Chestnut (*Castanea dentata*), better identified by the French name than by the drawing.

RAISAINS de 3 sortes. The three commonest Wild Grapes of New England. The smallest fruited one is *Vitis vulpina*, the River-bank Grape, which occurs on nearly all our large rivers eastward to the St. John. The upper leaf and the medium-sized grapes belong to *Vitis aestivalis*, the Pigeon Grape, which occurs in thickets and open woods from southern

presented us with a number of these in exchange for other little trifles which we gave them. They had already completed their harvest. We saw two hundred Indians in this¹ place, which is pleasant enough; and here are many nut-trees, cypresses, sassafras, oaks, ashes, and beeches, which are very fine. The chief of this place, who is called Quiouhamenec, came to see us

New Hampshire southward. The largest fruit and the lowest leaf are of *Vitis Labrusca*, the large Fox Grape of our coastal region from the lower Kennebec southward.

FÈVES DE BRÉSIL, the Brazilian Beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), which the early Europeans found cultivated all over tropical and temperate America.

— Unnamed plant in upper right-hand corner, with heart-shaped root. Too much conventionalized for identification.

— Little berry bearing plant in the lower right-hand corner. This is a fairly good representation of the Checkerberry (*Gaultheria procumbens*), which the early French in America used as a tea, and which was demonstrated by the French Academy as a tea of superior quality. . . .

¹About the Indians living on Cape Ann at that time, Champlain observes: "All the Indians from Island Cape onwards wear no skins or furs (I would add here that of course Champlain only saw them wearing summer clothing. In winter the Indians naturally wore furs and skins for protection). Their clothing was made from grasses and hemp, and barely covered their bodies, coming only down to the thighs. But the men have their privy parts concealed by a small skin. It is the same also with the women, who wear it a little lower behind than the men; all the rest of the body is naked. When the women came to see us they wore skins open in front. The men cut of the hair on top of the heads like those at Saco river. I saw, among other things a girl with her hair quite neatly done up by means of a skin dyed red, and trimmed on the upper part with little shell beads. Some of her hair hung down behind, while the rest was braided in various ways. These people paint their faces red, black and yellow. They have almost no beard, and pull it out as fast as it grows. Their bodies are well proportioned.

"I do not know what government they have, but believe that in this they resemble their neighbors, who have none at all. They do not know what it is to worship or pray. They have indeed sundry superstitions, like the other Indians. For weapons they have spears, clubs, bows and arrows. In appearance they seem to be of good disposition, and better than those of the northward; but the whole of them, to tell the truth, are not worth much. The slightest intercourse with them discloses their character. They are great thieves, and if they cannot lay hold of a thing with their hands, try to do so with their feet. I fancy that, had they anything to barter, they would not resort to thievery. They bartered their bows, arrows, and quivers for pins, and buttons, and had they had anything better, would have done the same with it. One must be on ones guard against these people and mistrust them, yet without allowing them to perceive it. They gave us a quantity of tobacco, which they dry and then reduce to powder. When they eat Indian corn they boil it in earthen pots, which they make in a different way from ours. They crush it also in wooden mortars, and reduce it to flour, and then make cakes and biscuits of it."

Due to the exposed nature of the section of Cape Ann now the town of Rockport, and the evidence that it was densely wooded, it is certain that there were no permanent Indian settlements in this part of the Cape. This is borne out by the extreme sparsity of Indian relics which have been found here. Permanent settlements probably existed around Gloucester Harbor, and at Annisquam, as well as in West Gloucester. The Indians seen by Champlain at his first Cape Ann landing at Whale Cove, Rockport, were probably living in the vicinity during the summer months to engage in fishing. The Indians of this section belonged to the great Algonkin family. The only local Indian name preserved on the Cape is Annisquam.

with another chief, a neighbor of his called Cohouepch, whom we entertained. Onemechin, chief of Saco, also came to see us there, and we gave him a coat, which he did not keep long, but presented to another because being uncomfortable in it, he could not adapt himself to it. At this place we also saw an Indian who wounded himself so badly in the foot, and lost so much blood, that he fainted. A number of other Indians gathered about him, and sang for some time before touching him. Afterwards they made certain motions with their feet and hands, and shook his head; then while they breathed upon him, he came to. Our surgeon dressed his injuries, and afterwards he was able to go off in good spirits.

The next day as we were caulking our shallop, the Sieur de Poutrincourt caught sight in the woods of a great many Indians, who with the intention of doing us some injury were on their way towards a little brook in the strait at the causeway leading to the mainland, where some of our men were washing their clothes. As I was walking along the causeway these Indians caught sight of me, and in order to put a good face upon the matter, since they clearly saw that I at the same time had discovered them, they began to shout and to dance; then they came towards me with their bows, arrows, quivers, and other arms. And inasmuch as there was a meadow between them and me, I made a sign to them to dance again, which they did in a circle, putting all their arms in the center. They had hardly begun when they espied the Sieur de Poutrincourt with eight musketeers, which astonished them. Nevertheless they did not fail to complete their dance, but when it was finished, they withdrew in all directions, being apprehensive lest some bad turn should be done to them. However, we said nothing to them, and showed them only evidences of good will. Then we returned to our shallop and to launch it and to take our departure. They begged us to remain a day longer, saying that more than two thousand men would come to see us; but as we could not afford to lose time we were unwilling to delay any longer. I believe that their plan was to surprise us. Some of the land is cleared, and they were constantly clearing more, in the following fashion. They cut down the trees at a height of three feet from the ground; then they burn the branches upon the trunk, and sow their corn between the

fallen timber; and in course of time they take out the roots.¹ There are also fine meadows for supporting numbers of cattle. This port is very beautiful and a good one, with water enough for vessels, and shelter behind the islands. It lies in latitude 43°, and we have named it the Beautiful Port.²

On the last day of September we departed from the Beautiful Port, and passed cape St. Louis; and we sailed all night to reach the White Cape (Cape Cod). The morning, an hour before daylight, we found ourselves in the White Bay (Cape Cod Bay), to leeward of White Cape, in eight feet of water, at a distance of a league from land.

¹In another place not connected with the description of Cape Ann, Champlain gives us an interesting note concerning their methods of agriculture. "Near Saco the Indians use in digging up the ground, in place of a plow, an instrument of very hard wood made in the shape of a spade. They have cornfields, sowing 3 or 4 grains in one spot, after which with the shells of the *signoc*, they heap about it a quantity of earth." These co-called shells he describes at length in treating of his stay at Cape Cod. He writes; "*Siquenoc* (the Indian name for the horseshoe or king crab) are sometimes as large as a foot in breadth, and a foot and one half long." They used the sharp pointed end also as arrow tips. He continues; "in these cornfields the hills are spaced 3 feet apart. Amongst the corn they plant in each hillock 3 or four Brazilian beans, bush beans, which come up of different colors. When fully grown these plants twine around the aforementioned corn which grows to a height of 5 to 6 feet. They keep the ground free from weeds. We also saw many squashes, pumpkins, and tobacco which they likewise cultivate. The corn is planted in May and harvested in September. We saw many nuts which are small, observed early in July, and have several divisions. (These are the hickory nuts.) We also saw many vines on which were some exceedingly fine berries, (blueberries or huckleberries) and from these we made some good juice."

²Professor Ganong, the chief editor and translator of the definitive edition of the works of Champlain issued by the Champlain Society, comments on the map of Beauport, as follows: "Champlain's map of Beauport, or Gloucester Harbor, is one of the best he made, and as it was one of his latest, this may indicate improvement through practise. Its chief fault consists in its subordination, almost to the omission of the Inner Harbor, which is represented only by its Small River, north. It is evident that Champlain sketched this map either on board the pinnacle at A, (anchorage to the east of Ten Pound Island), or else on some small knoll on the north-west side of Rocky Neck. If this sketching point were in such position that the higher elevation of Rocky Neck concealed the greater part of the Inner Harbor, not allowing the line of sight to range east of Five Pound Island, then the Inner Harbor must be seen to taper away like the valley of a river, which foreshortened, would seem much nearer than it is. This I consider the probable explanation of this feature of Champlain's map. The principal features of the outer harbor, however, Champlain has fixed with remarkable accuracy and vigor, to such a degree that his map to any other than an expert eye, is still a better representation of the surroundings than is a modern chart. Another fault of the map is the too narrow form given to the peninsula between Gloucester harbor and the ocean, an error explained under letter D above. The soundings for the axial line along the harbor are approximately correct, as has been noted in a brief reference to them in the United States Coast Survey Report for 1878, but those which fall near the compass, and some of those far within the Harbor, are much too great, probably because taken under unfavorable conditions." (On map facing p. 401.)

Ganong further says, "the latitude of the anchorage of the pinnacle was a little over 42 degrees 36 minutes, showing that Champlain's calculations were less accurate than usual. The name Beau Port did not persist; but it is strange that so appropriate a name has not been revived for some suburb or public place in Gloucester, such as the public park recently established on the west side of the harbor." (P. 402)

LESCARBOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND LANDING
AT CAPE ANN, 1606

I now give the parallel account of this second landing, contained in the History of New France by Marc Lescarbot, as it furnishes some details not contained in Champlain's narrative. It was first published in French early in 1609. The same year an English translation was issued in London. Recently a new English translation was made for the Champlain Society by W. L. Grant, which text we now use. It is chapter XIV of book IV.

Pursuing his journey thence, M. de Poutrincourt found a very good harbor which had escaped the notice of M. de Monts, and during the voyage they saw frequent columns of smoke and people on the shore who invited them to land, and who, on seeing that they paid no attention, followed the long-boat along the sandy beach, indeed usually outstripped it, such is their agility. They carried bow in hand and quiver on back, and danced and sang continually without any thought of how they should live by the way. Oh, happy race! yea, a thousandfold more happy than those who here make us bow down to them, had they but the knowledge of God and of their salvation.

When M. de Poutrincourt had landed at this harbor, lo and behold, amid a multitude of savages were a good number of pipers, who played, though with less harmony than our shepherds, upon a kind of long flageolet, made apparently of reeds, with designs painted thereon; and to show the excellence of their art, they whistled through their noses, and gambolled after their usual fashion.

And as this folk ran headlong to reach our long-boat, a savage cut his heel so badly against the sharp edge of a rock that he was forced to remain where he was. M. de Poutrincourt's surgeon would fain have given at once to this hurt the assistance of his art, but they would not permit this till they had first made their mops and mows around the wounded man. They laid him down on the ground, one of them holding his head in his lap, and made many howlings and songs, to which the patient replied nothing save "Ho," in a plaintive tone. This done they entrusted him to the care of the said surgeon and

made off, as did the patient also after his wounds had been dressed; but two hours after he returned as jaunty as you please, having tied round his head the bandage in which his heel had been wrapped, to look the prettier fellow.

On the morrow our men went further into the harbor, and, having gone to visit the lodges of the savages, an old woman, a hundred or six score years of age, came and threw at the feet of M. de Poutrincourt a loaf of bread made of that corn which they call maize, and we Turkish corn or buckwheat, and also hemp, both fair and long, beans, too, and grapes freshly plucked, for they had seen them eaten by the French at Chouakoet. On seeing this the other savages, who had been ignorant of this, began to vie with each other in bringing more than was desired; in payment whereof we attached to their foreheads a strip of paper wetted with spittle, whereof they were very proud. We showed them, by squeezing grapes into a glass, that we made thereof the wine which we were drinking. We wished to get them to eat of the grape, but on taking it into their mouths they spat it out again, thinking, as Ammianus Marcellinus tells of our Gallic ancestors, that it was poison, so ignorant is this people of the best gift, next to bread, which God has given to man. Yet they do not lack wit, and might come to something if they were civilized and knew the various trades. But they are crafty, thievish, and treacherous, and, naked though they be, one cannot escape from their fingers; for if one turns away his gaze but for a moment, and they see a chance of stealing a knife, hatchet, or anything else, they will never fail to do so, and will put the theft between their buttocks, or hide it in the sand with their foot so cunningly that one will not perceive it. I have read in a book of travels to Florida that the natives of that province are of the same nature, and use the same industry in thieving. And in truth it is no wonder if a poor naked folk be thievish, but when there is malice in the heart it is no longer excusable. These people are of such a nature that they must be worked on by fear, for if one tries friendship and gives them too easy access, they will plan some treachery, as has frequently been noticed, as we have seen above and shall see again later on. And without going further, on the second day after our arrival, when they saw our men on the bank of the stream busy with their washing, some fifty of

them came in a single file, with bows, arrows, and quivers, intending to play some dirty trick, as we guessed by their behavior. But we were too quick for them, and marched to meet them with loaded muskets and lighted matches. On this some of them fled and the others were surrounded, whereupon they laid aside their arms, and coming to a peninsula where our men were, put the best face on it they could, and sought to barter their tobacco for our goods.

On the next day the chief of the said district and harbor came on board to visit M. de Poutrincourt. We were astonished to see him accompanied by Olmechin, for the land journey thither was exceedingly long, and that by sea much shorter. This gave us cause for suspicion, although he had promised fidelity to the French. Nevertheless they were courteously received, and M. de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete suit, which when he put on he looked at himself in a glass, and laughed at the sight which he presented. But soon after, feeling that it irked him, though it was the month of October, on his return to the lodges he distributed it among several of his people, in order that no one man might be too much impeded by it. And this may well serve as a lesson to the many fops of both sexes in this country, who must needs have suits and corslets as stiff as wood, wherein their bodies are so miserably tormented that when once clothed they are unfit for any good action; and if the weather becomes too hot, the heat which they suffer within these huge thousand-pleated rumps of theirs is insupportable, and surpasses the tortures sometimes inflicted on criminals.

Now while the said M. de Poutrincourt was there, in doubt whether M. de Monts would come to settle a colony on this coast, as he wished to do, he ordered a plot of ground to be prepared, wherein to sow grain and plant vines. This he did with the aid of our apothecary, M. Louis Hebert, a man who, in addition to his skill in his art, takes great pleasure in cultivating the soil. And herein one might compare M. de Poutrincourt to good father Noah, who after having seen to preparing the soil for sowing wheat, that most necessary crop of all, turned next to planting vines, whose effects he himself afterwards felt.

As they were thinking of passing on, Olmechin came to the

boat to see M. de Poutrincourt. Having spent several hours partly in chatting, partly in eating, he said that on the morrow a hundred canoes were expected, each holding six men; but as the coming of such a band would only be a nuisance, M. de Poutrincourt would not wait for them, but departed the same day to Malebarre (Cape Cod), though not without many difficulties on account of the strong currents and the shoal water.

This concludes our presentation of the material relating to the first authentic account of the landing of white men on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. The ethnological notices about the Indians in the narratives of both Champlain and Lescarbot are interesting; we learn a little about the flora of Cape Ann, and the method of agriculture. Strangely missing, however, are notices of the fauna, no mention being made of birds or animals, for we know that during the beginnings of the settlement of Cape Ann, animals were fairly abundant in the heavily-wooded region.

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