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Native Encounters with Europeans in the Sixteenth Century in the Region Now Known as Vermont

The natives who occupied Vermont in the sixteenth century were almost certainly Western Abenaki, and possibly St. Lawrence Iroquoian.

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This paper will examine the identity of the Indians present during the sixteenth century in the region now known as Vermont and the identity of those Europeans who were in a position to have been an influence on these native communities. The discussion will focus on the archaeological evidence concerning the identity of these Indians and on the primary and contemporary documentary evidence that records the presence of Europeans in North America who were in a position to have come into contact with these natives.

NATIVE PRESENCE

Scholars now generally agree[1] that since the late prehistoric era the Algonquians resident in the Vermont area were Western Abenaki. It is still not certain whether there were Iroquoians present in this region at that time, apart from their transient presence, but archaeological findings indicate an Iroquoian presence as well. The spectacular nature of the Colchester pot found in 1825[2] and two vessels found near Bolton, one about 1820 and the other in 1903,[3] have long served to suggest that Iroquoians had been present in this region. That these vessels were intact, or nearly so, as was the case with several St. Lawrence Iroquoian vessels found in rock shelters or shallow caves not far distant in Jefferson County, New York, in the Adirondack Mountains, and further afield in

Gatineau County, Quebec, and Lanark County, Ontario, has sometimes resulted in the attribution of these vessels to transient Iroquoians who took temporary refuge in the region's rock shelters. The fact that one Vermont vessel discovered near Bolton was found in a rock shelter has helped perpetuate the misconception that all three Vermont vessels are rock shelter finds as distinct from their having been excavated on habitation sites. There is evidence, however, that the Colchester pot was unearthed intact.[4] Provenience for the other Bolton vessel is unknown.

But evidence of an Iroquoian presence in Vermont is not limited to the Bolton and Colchester pots. In 1961 Schuyler Miller completed an inventory and analysis of a significant sample of the proto-Iroquoian and Iroquoian ceramics, as well as a small pipe sample from Vermont, in the collections of the Robert Hull Fleming Museum in Burlington, the Sheldon Museum in Middlebury, the Daniels Museum in Orwell, the Kellogg Collection at Amherst College, and the Heye Foundation in New York City.[5] His records indicate the presence of early eastern Iroquois,[6] and St. Lawrence Iroquoians,[7] over a long period of time. With these antecedents it would be unique indeed if in Vermont there was not present the *in situ* development of an Iroquoian people who prevailed into the historic period, when Europeans came into contact with the natives, as did the tribes of the Five Nations.[8]

Some archaeologists believe that the St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics in Vermont are manifestations of their transient presence, so-called "find spot," as opposed to their habitation sites. This was a conclusion reached by several archaeologists at the colloquium held at Campobello, Maine, in July 1987. Nevertheless, the current state of Iroquoian archaeology in Vermont, particularly as regards the unknown nature of the "find spot" materials that Miller examined, would suggest that we adopt a more flexible stance, at least until archaeological excavations can provide evidence on which to premise a definitive conclusion. In the event that these locations have been destroyed, or for any other reason are no longer accessible, in the absence of archaeological evidence it would appear prudent to avoid any inflexible posture. The possibility of there having been a cluster of St. Lawrence Iroquoian villages should remain among the hypotheses to test against the archaeological data when it becomes available. We should defer debate on the size of a St. Lawrence Iroquoian population in Vermont until archaeological investigations confirm or deny the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoians and reveal the size and number of their villages.[9]

One explanation for the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics in Vermont has been advanced by William A. Haviland and Marjorie W. Power. In their pioneer work *The Original Vermonters* they stated

that "it has been well documented that 'Iroquoian' ceramics were made by non-Iroquoian peoples as well."[10] They quoted as an example the similarity between Mahican and Mohawk ceramics in New York State, presumably with reference to Hetty Jo Brumbach's work[11] in which she compared the ceramics from seven Algonquian sites in the Hudson Valley with several Mohawk sites.[12] Richard S. MacNeish[13] also noted the similarity between Mohawk and Onondaga-Oneida pottery and the Algonquian, in this instance the Nehantic (Niantic) of coastal Connecticut and Rhode Island.[14] He also noted similarities between Massachusetts Algonquian ceramics and those of the Onondaga and Mohawk.[15] Iroquois-like ceramics also exist in the New England states adjacent to Vermont. Pottery excavated on the Guida site near Westfield, Massachusetts, several sites on the mid-reaches of the Connecticut River including the Mount Holyoke site, the Bark Wigwams site near Northhampton, Massachusetts,[16] and the Fort Hill site near Hillsdale, New Hampshire,[17] are examples.

Haviland and Power, having weighed the possibility that the St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics present in Vermont could indicate that these people "were in the Champlain Valley before 1603," opted to conclude that it was "more likely, the ceramic similarities merely represent the last prehistoric manifestation of the interaction between peoples of the Champlain and St. Lawrence valleys which began during Archaic times."[18] This reflects, in part, their acceptance of an Iroquoian *in situ* presence in Vermont from the proto-historic Iroquoian period to sometime after A.D. 1400.[19] This conclusion is premised, in part, on James Petersen's work on the Ewing site at Shelburne Pond in Vermont.[20] It also reflects their opinion that the Colchester pot, and presumably by extension the other St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery from Vermont, was "made in the style of the St. Lawrence Iroquois who lived in the St. Lawrence Valley at the time of Cartier's visit."[21] They conclude by attributing the Colchester pot to the Abenaki, expressing the reservation that "we do not know whether Abenakis obtained the vessel [the Colchester pot] in trade, or made it themselves in imitation of a foreign style."[22]

There is, however, another option at least as valid as Haviland and Power's. It is that the St. Lawrence Iroquoian-like ceramics from Vermont are in fact St. Lawrence Iroquoian artifacts. While it would be difficult to argue convincingly in favor of this interpretation on the basis of the Colchester and Bolton pots alone, the sample by Miller,[23] as supplemented by the data of George H. Perkins,[24] makes a *prima facie* case in this regard pending the excavation of these sites. Indeed this sample consisting of some two hundred rim sherds falls well within the

sample size used by MacNeish[25] to postulate successfully his Iroquois *in situ* hypothesis.

A brief discourse on Iroquoian ceramic analysis may help demonstrate the validity of this option. Possibly the most distinctive St. Lawrence Iroquoian collar decorative motif is the "corn-ear."[26] While it is common on middle and late St. Lawrence sites,[27] it is rare elsewhere. Miller recorded seven sherds from different vessels in Vermont.[28] Collarless vessels with an everted lip and decorated with linear stamps on the lip and exterior surface below the lip are common on middle St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeological sites in the cluster of villages near Summerstown, Ontario.[29] Vessels of this shape decorated in this manner are peculiar to the St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Miller illustrates fourteen of these sherds from different Vermont vessels. Other characteristics peculiar to St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery include the presence of complex undulated peaks, so-called castellations, that may sometimes be double and adjacent on high and medium-high collars.[30] Sometimes they are grossly overhanging, sometimes pendulant, even more elaborate than those on the Colchester pot.[31] Almost invariably these complex castellations are decorated with circles, annular impressions made by pressing hollow tubes, possibly bird bone, into the wet clay. A common motif is an arrangement of three circles in a triangle, which is said to represent a human face, although parallel vertical rows of as many as eleven of these circles also occur. When this cluster of castellation attributes occurs on pottery from sites of the Huron, Petun, and eastern Five Nation Iroquois it is considered to be a St. Lawrence Iroquoian import. Perkins, Miller, and Peter Thomas[32] demonstrate twenty-seven sherds of this general nature from Vermont. A particularly distinctive St. Lawrence Iroquoian motif places a punctate-circle face inside a diamond-shaped rectangle or pentagon-shaped polygon. This motif is largely confined to St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites in Jefferson County, New York. Indeed, only one or two examples of this motif have been found elsewhere. Miller depicts one such sherd from Vermont in the University of Vermont's Fleming Museum.[33] A distinct St. Lawrence Iroquoian trait is to execute several of the common chevron-like motifs in a dentate-stamped decorative technique using either a fine or coarse dentate-stamp.[34] Miller illustrates six of these sherds from various locations in Vermont.[35] Low-collared vessels with a wide range of collar shapes decorated on the lip, on the interior, and on the exterior of the collar with a variety of stamped impressions are common on some St. Lawrence Iroquoian vessels.[36] They are common in Miller's inventory from Vermont.

We could extend this inventory of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramic at-

tributes that appear on some Vermont pottery to include other connections between certain pottery from Vermont and St. Lawrence Iroquoian ware, for instance: cross-hatched motifs; impressions made with sticks wrapped with cord; and heavily decorated complexly carinated shoulders similar to those found on the Colchester pot. The quality of these similarities far exceeds the usually vague similarities that characterize Algonquian ware said to be "reminiscent" of some Iroquoian ceramics. This evidence suggests an interpretation that differs from that proposed by Haviland and Power: there was a St. Lawrence Iroquoian presence in Vermont. The crucial test, however, will come when the total assemblage from an excavated archaeological site in Vermont with St. Lawrence Iroquoian-like pottery is compared to contemporary St. Lawrence Iroquoian sites elsewhere and to Abenaki sites in Vermont.

The European Presence

With identification of the natives who occupied the Vermont region in the sixteenth century as almost certainly Western Abenkai, and possibly St. Lawrence Iroquoians, it is time to turn to the question: What Europeans were present in sixteenth century Vermont to come into contact with these natives?

Before proceeding it might be well to introduce a parenthetical note on archaeological convention concerning evidence of a European presence. Archaeological sites that reveal European material predating evidence of European presence in that location are attributed to the protohistoric era. Sites with European material in areas where Europeans are known to be present are attributable to the historic or contact era. Marginal sites can produce anomalies. Sites that are contemporary, or nearly so, can be attributed to significantly different eras simply because one site produced European material and another did not. Clearly the dating of archaeological sites must be premised on evidence more complex than the simple presence or absence of European material.

In considering evidence of a European presence in Vermont during the contact period, we should note the topography of present-day Vermont and peripheral areas. Two major watersheds characterize the region. One drains northward to the St. Lawrence River on the axis of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. The other drains southward to the Atlantic Ocean on the axis of the Connecticut River. Adjacent watersheds, particularly the Androscoggin and the Merrimack rivers, drain peripheral regions southeastward to the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic coastline between the Hudson and Penobscot rivers provides access to these approaches.

Europeans on the St. Lawrence River Axis

First, we will examine the evidence of a European presence in the Strait of Belle Isle, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the St. Lawrence River that

could have resulted in the introduction of European material into Vermont in the sixteenth century via the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. The earliest evidence of Europeans here occurs in the Strait of Belle Isle where the presence of Jean and Raoul Parmentier, early Norman fishermen, significantly predates Jacques Cartier's appearance in 1534. The French poet Pierre Crignon published the first account of the Parmentiers in 1531,[37] two years after the Parmentiers perished in Sumatra in 1529 and three years before Cartier sailed in 1534. E. Guenin estimates the Parmentiers were present in the New World in the Newfoundland latitudes and elsewhere about 1510-20.[38] Battista Ramusio's treatise *Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di mare Francese del Luoco di Dieppa*[39] recounts from the Parmentiers' experience with the natives prior to 1529 that in the Newfoundland latitudes "When the fishing season ends . . . they return with their catch in boats made of the bark of certain trees called *Buil* and go to warmer countries—we know not where."[40]

This explanation closely resembles Jacques Cartier's remarks about the natives he had seen at Blanc Sablon in the Strait of Belle Isle in June 1534.

> There are people on this coast . . . [who] are wild savage folk. . . . They have canoes made of birch-bark [the French text indicates *bouays de boul*] in which they go about. . . . Since seeing them I have been informed [presumably by Frenchmen with experience in this region]: that their home is not at this place, but they came from warmer countries to catch seals and to get other food.[41]

Apparently Cartier had not seen the account of the Parmentiers's experience published in Paris in 1531. Although the east coast of Newfoundland from Cape Race to Cape Bonavista had been discovered earlier by the Corte Real brothers, the coast from Cape Bonavista to the Baye de Chasteau (the Strait of Belle Isle, not present-day Chateau Bay, Labrador) was discovered by the French as early as 1506. In that year a Breton fisherman, Jean Denys, is known to have sailed this shore, and in 1508 a fisherman from Dieppe, Thomas Aubert, took natives from this region back to Rouen.[42] Apparently the Parmentier experiences about 1510-1520 and Cartier's account in 1534 are simply recorded incidents of what was common knowledge among Norman and Breton fishermen at this time. Encounters on the east coast of Newfoundland and in the Strait of Belle Isle had long brought Europeans into contact with the natives. The Parmentier and Cartier accounts suggest that fishermen from Dieppe, and undoubtedly other Norman and Breton fishermen who frequented the Strait of Belle Isle, were familiar with the natives who made seasonal visits to this region. Cartier's having met a ship from La Rochelle in the Strait of Belle Isle in 1534 suggests that travelers from the Bay of Biscay, too, had encountered these natives.

This largely circumstantial and somewhat imprecise evidence does not stand alone. In September 1542 Spanish officials interrogated several Spanish and French Basques who were in the habit of making seasonal trips to the Newfoundland fisheries, particularly to the Strait of Belle Isle. These fishermen gave depositions relating how Indians, including those making seasonal visits, had long come aboard the European ships where they ate, drank, and traded with the crew for European goods. As a result, by 1542 it was alleged that these natives were able to understand French, English, and Gascon (Basque). One of their number was a chief from "Canada," the Stadaconan name for the St. Lawrence riverside region between Isle Coudres and the St. Maurice River. In 1542 these Indians told the Basque fishermen that they had earlier killed thirty-five of Cartier's men in this "Canada" region.[43] These contacts certainly must have introduced European material into the St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Algonquian communities, possibly as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century and, in any event, significantly earlier than 1535 when Cartier first moved up the St. Lawrence River.

Cartier is known to have introduced significant quantities of European material during his expedition up the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, present-day Montreal, and beyond to the Lachine Rapids in 1535, and also as a result of his having wintered over 1535-36 near Stadacona, present-day Quebec City. Attempts by Cartier and Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval to found a colony, near where Quebec City now stands, over the period 1541-43 also provided the Iroquoians and Algonquians in this region with European material. The importance attached to gift-giving by the Iroquoians would soon result in the redistribution of this material, often in fragments, to Algonquians and other Iroquoians over a large area.

After Roberval abandoned his settlement *Charlesbourg-Royal* in the spring of 1543, probably as a result of native hostility, there is no record of European activity on the St. Lawrence River until about 1580. Presumably by then the hostility generated by Cartier and Roberval had subsided. European fishermen and whalers continued to frequent the Strait of Belle Isle, the Grand Baie, and later the lower St. Lawrence, but there is no evidence that Iroquoians from the St. Lawrence valley were in contact with these seasonal invaders, although it seems likely they were.

In 1581 a small Breton ship made a profitable fur-trading voyage up the St. Lawrence River, and for the next three years a syndicate of merchants from St. Malo, France, kept their voyages secret to conceal the lucrative trade they had pioneered. Five Malois ships that made a fur-trading voyage in 1584 brought two Indians back to Brittany in August of that year, and in Paris Richard Hakluyt, the English chronicler who was England's ambassador to France, saw the rich furs the Indians had

traded. In 1585 four ships from the Bay of Biscay traded in the Canada region. By 1587 Jacques Cartier's nephew Jacques Noel had returned to the site of Hochelaga, although he made no mention of it being present at that time. On that occasion he climbed Mount Royal and related that a passage had been discovered on the north side of Montreal Island, which bypassed the Lachine Rapids. In 1588 when Noel obtained a monopoly to trade in furs on the St. Lawrence, the Malois raised a great uproar claiming they, too, had long traded with the natives in this region, and Noel's charter was revoked. In 1600 Pierre Chauvin established at Tadoussac the first year-round fur trading post. It was short-lived, however, closing the following spring. In 1603 François Grave set out with Samuel de Champlain as a passenger-observer to explore and trade on the St. Lawrence. On this voyage Champlain was shown the mouth of a river, the Richelieu, which he was told "leads down to the coast of Florida." It did indeed lead through Lakes Champlain and George to the Hudson River and the Atlantic coast, a portion of *La Florida*, the territory accorded Spain under the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. In 1603 Champlain did not mention the presence of the Iroquoians whom Cartier and Roberval had encountered earlier. Indeed, no records had alluded to the Iroquoians since 1543. The fate of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is a mystery that historians, archaeologists, and ethnohistorians have long sought to explain.

Events that took place in 1613 help to chronicle the presence of Europeans on the St. Lawrence in the sixteenth century. In 1613 Champlain sought to obtain a monopoly on the fur trade as a result, in part, of his claim to have discovered the Lachine Rapids, the site where, by then, a significant portion of the native trade took place. Once again the merchants of St. Malo objected, just as they had earlier to Jacques Noel. This time they presented additional evidence from an atlas published in 1603. The Malois merchants stated:

> In this book is found a map that had been printed in the year 1597 that contained more than two hundred leagues of discoveries in the said St. Lawrence River and many veritable particulars concerning the Indians which lived there *since the time of Jacques Cartier* . . . [they] had entered and penetrated deep into the said river, passing Quebec and lake [Lake St. Peter] and after how many Normans, Biscains, Bretons and amongst them the sires of Pontgrave and Prevert [merchants] of the said Saint Malo and Fabien de Mescorous [otherwise unknown] who for thirty-five or so years [1568], had traded on the said lake *and above* with the said Indians. It is only ten or twelve years [1603] that the said Champlain, as a passenger, had been taken to the first sault [the Lachine Rapids] by the said Sire de Pontgrave of Saint Malo, and in that year [1603] there had been found an infinite number of people from various provinces of

> France up to the number of nine or ten barques who all to-gether had traded at this location. This is to show that this location [the Lachine Rapids] had been [by] then much frequented before having been *discovered* [by Champlain], all the above will be found to be enough evidence required to revoke the commission of the said Champlain.[44]

Champlain did not mention the presence of these traders at the Lachine Rapids in his account of events in 1603.

The sixteenth century closed without any record of a European entering Vermont, although Europeans had long been present not far distant on the St. Lawrence. In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec. In 1609 he ascended the Richelieu River to become the first European on record to sail on Lake Champlain, and, consequently, became the first European to enter the region we now know as Vermont.

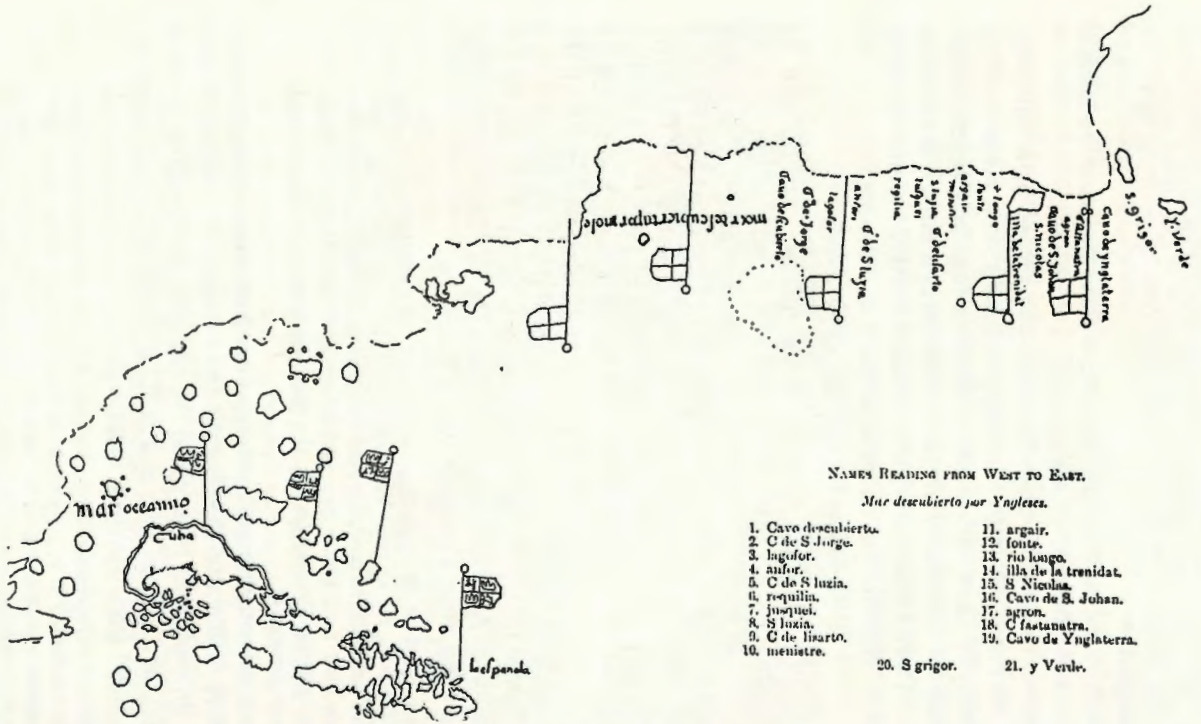
Europeans on the Atlantic Coast

Evidence of a European presence on the Atlantic coast between the Penobscot and Hudson rivers in the first two decades of the sixteenth century is not as plentiful as for the St. Lawrence axis.[45] The earliest claims for a European presence on the coasts of Maine and New England arise from various, often speculative, interpretations of the early Portuguese map attributed to Juan de la Cosa in 1500.[46] The portion of the map that is of concern here[47] is the coast between Newfoundland and Florida. The works of two scholarly authorities illustrate both the divergent opinions regarding the identification of this coast and the nature of the evidence on which this identification is based. Referring to the interpretation by American historian Johann Georg Kohl[48] of this coast on the La Cosa map, Lawrence Wroth speculated:

> One may ask on the basis of it [the La Cosa map] whether John Cabot in 1498 [*sic*], rather than Verrazzano in 1524, was the first to cruise along the southern coasts of New England and Long Island, the first to see New York Outer Bay, and the coast of New Jersey . . . [and] earlier than Gomez to see the eastern coasts of Maine and Massachusetts.[49]

Wroth inferred speculatively, with supporting references to Kohl's work and James A. Williamson's 1929 work, *The Voyages of the Cabots*,[50] that "it is not impossible to believe that the features just described found a place upon the La Cosa map as a result of observation and record by Cabot in 1498" [*sic*].[51] Wroth theorized:

> If the several *speculations* presented above are considered to have a certain degree of validity we have before us [on the La Cosa map] the coast from Cape Cod to New York Bay. . . . Full acceptance of *these speculations* would deprive Verrazzano of the credit of having discovered New York Bay . . . in 1524 and give that distinction to John Cabot some twenty-six years [1498] earlier.[52]



The controversial New World portion of the Juan de la Cosa map, A.D. 1500, shows the Atlantic coast of North America from Florida (lower left) to Newfoundland (upper right). Reprinted from Samuel E. Dawson, "The Voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (1894).

On the other hand, James Williamson's earlier definitive *The Voyages of the Cabots*[53] identified the flag locations on the La Cosa-named coast as Cape Breton Island; Cape Sable, Nova Scotia; and the Maine coast near the Penobscot River where he would have the 1497 Cabot voyage end. He would have John Cabot visit all these locations during his 1497 voyage. On the voyage in 1498 Williamson would have John Cabot retrace this route and go beyond to Cape Cod and Delaware Bay. Subsequently, after Williamson had an opportunity to study the letter from London merchant John Day to Christopher Columbus, which American historian Louis-André Vigneras[54] located in 1956, he rejected these identifications in his work *Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (1962) with the explanation: "This revised view of the nature of this map invalidates arguments, such as my own in 1929, based on the reasons for La Cosa's errors of latitude."[55]

In his 1962 work Williamson noted the distinct natures of the two sections on the east-west flagged coast; one with detailed place names and the other, the *mar descubierto por inglese* (sea discovered by an Englishman), with no place names. He suggested again that this might be a result of the two different sources for the information regarding this region on the La Cosa map, and he asserted that if there were two sources, the second could only be attributed to Cabot's voyage in 1498. But this time he refused to be drawn into speculation regarding Cabot's voyage in 1498, commenting "here we stray into the gaping gulf of supposition . . . and had best draw back."[56] Williamson concluded that "all this map interpretation is hopelessly uncertain, and from it one may argue almost anything that comes to mind. The historian wants written statements."[57] Scholars now generally believe that the coast drawn on the La Cosa map between Newfoundland and Florida reflected the prevailing belief about 1500 that Europeans who landed in North America in these latitudes had, in fact, landed on the east coast of Asia, which, in these latitudes, was a great eastward-pointing peninsula extending to Greenland.[58]

It has been suggested that after 1500 early English, Portuguese, and French fishermen sailed southward from the Newfoundland and Cape Breton fisheries and may have visited the Maine and New England coasts during the first two decades of the century.[59] Unfortunately, there is little evidence to substantiate this theory. Neither the documentary nor the cartographic evidence serve to place the explorers João Fernandes, the Corte Real brothers, or João Alveres Fagundes on the coasts of Maine or New England at this time. Contrary to Samuel Eliot Morison's suggestion in *The Great Explorers: The European Discovery of America*[60] there is no evidence that Miguel Corte Real visited Narragansett Bay.

The voyages of Giovanni Verrazzano and Estevão Gomes over the period 1524-25 stand out as the earliest certain European visits to the Atlantic coast between the Penobscot and Hudson rivers. Verrazzano entered New York Bay in April 1524 and penetrated a short distance up the Hudson River but, contrary to some accounts, he did not go ashore nor did he trade with the natives there who greeted him enthusiastically. He went ashore in Narragansett Bay, which he named his *Refugio*, where he remained for fifteen days. During this time Verrazzano introduced significant quantities of European goods into the native community, which was already in possession of large quantities of copper (possibly native copper). Early in May Verrazzano sailed northward stopping along the Maine coast where he traded European material with the Indians, who were not as friendly as those he had met in Narragansett Bay. At one point he took a patrol of twenty-five men two or three leagues into the interior. As a result of Verrazzano's voyage *Oranbega* first appears as an area in Maine and New England on the map compiled by Giovanni Verrazzano's brother, Gerolamo, in 1529.[61] It had not appeared on the Vespucci map of 1526[62] or on Magiolo's map of 1527,[63] the first map to record Verrazzano's discoveries.

Estevão Gomes, a Portuguese pilot in the Spanish service, concentrated his explorations in the Gulf of Maine, particularly in the vicinity of the Penobscot River, his *Rio de los Gamos*, where he was in contact with "many Indians." He sailed some distance up the Penobscot in search of a passage to Cathay, something Verrazzano did not do in Chesapeake and Delaware bays or on the Hudson River. The Ribeiro map of 1529[64] depicted the territory discovered by Gomes, distinctively marking it the "Terra de Esteva Gomez" with a descriptive cartouche. Those who describe Gomes as having sailed from south to north suggest that on his journey northward from his landfall in the Florida peninsula region, Gomes may have visited either Narragansett Bay or Buzzards Bay and charted Cape Cod.[65]

Several events are noteworthy in the years 1520-80. Pierre Crignon's *Discorso d'un Gran Capitano*, published in 1565,[66] contrasted the hostile nature of the Indians in Newfoundland with those in Norumbega who were "tractable, friendly and peaceful,"[67] although Crignon may here be describing the natives along the entire Atlantic coast. Hakluyt indicates that Crignon refered to places located betwen 40 and 47 degrees,[68] which includes the coast between present-day Atlantic City and Newfoundland. Although Jean Rut, an English pilot, is known to have gone ashore when he sailed along the coast of North America from Newfoundland to Cuba in 1527, locations cannot be identified from contemporary accounts. He may have visited the same regions as Verrazzano, Norumbega in

particular.[69] Jean Alphonse claimed to have visited the vicinity of 42 degrees, Cape Cod, and Narragansett Bay in 1542.[70] Benjamin F. DeCosta indicates that Alphonse spent a month in or near Massachusetts Bay.[71] But there is no evidence to support his having done so. Lawrence C. Wroth believes "without fear of contradiction"[72] that Alphonse's accounts of the Norumbega coast and his sketch map[73] are only reflections of what Alphonse had heard or read.

Francis Parkman's explanation in his *Pioneers of France in the New World* that in 1565 buffalo hides were traded into Chesapeake Bay on the axis of the Potomac River and from there by canoe up the Atlantic coast to the French fishing fleet in the Newfoundland latitudes[74] does not warrant serious consideration here. A comparison of Parkman's account with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's letter to Philip II dated October 15, 1565,[75] from which the Parkman tale is derived, will confirm that the 1565 events did not involve the movement of hides in canoes from Chesapeake Bay to Newfoundland along the New England and Maine coasts.[76] In 1558 the Bay of Fundy first appears on the Diogo Homen map,[77] which suggests activity otherwise unrecorded in this region, which possibly included the coast of Maine.

Over the period 1578-1580 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the English entrepreneur, dispatched three expeditions to the Norumbega coast to reconnoiter locations suitable for founding the colony he planned for 1583. Practically nothing is known of the first voyage in 1578.[78] In 1580 Simão Fernandes (Fernandão) sailed in Gilbert's eight-ton frigate *Squirrel* to explore the coast north of 40 degrees from New York Bay and, in particular, Verrazzano's Narragansett Bay. There is no evidence, however, that Fernandes visited this region.[79] In 1580 John Walker, another English entrepreneur hoping to settle in this region, sailed up the Penobscot River for some twenty-seven miles where he raided an Indian village, probably Abenaki, and stole approximately three hundred hides and "discovered" a silver mine.[80] On the strength of these reconnaissances and under the terms of his 1578 royal charter, Gilbert sold large tracts of land on the Penobscot River to his English countrymen. When Gilbert attempted to colonize this region, his expedition was lost at sea in 1583. This ended his plan to settle Norumbega.[81]

Historians had long suspected that the French, too, were active in the Norumbega region during this period, but it was not until 1962 when historian David B. Quinn discovered a previously unknown account of a journey by a Norman fisherman, Étienne (Stephen) Bellenger,[82] that details became available. By 1583 Bellenger had three times visited the New England and Maine coasts from approximately 42 degrees, Cape Cod, to 44 degrees, modern Portland, Maine;[83] and in 1584 he had

planned a fourth journey to this region. Although Hakluyt indicates in his essay *Western Planting* in 1584 that the fine furs Bellenger brought to Paris in 1583 were from the Grand Bay region in the Gulf of St. Lawrence west of Newfoundland,[84] Bellenger states that they were from Cape Breton.[85] David B. Quinn speculates that Bellenger may have traded as far south as Maine.[86] References to the "great river" also raise the possibility that Bellenger sailed south of 44 degrees to the Penobscot River. Once again we have the information that the natives were "tractable and gentle" in contradiction to the orthodoxy that repeats Verrazzano's account of a Norumbega *Terre Onde di Mal Gente* (Land of Bad People). Possibly Verrazzano's description of the hostile Indians he encountered should now be restated in terms of time and place to confirm that these events did in fact occur in Maine.

In the period 1585-1605 there is evidence of a south-to-north sailing pattern, which could have placed English and French vessels off the New England and Maine coasts occasionally. In one instance a ship was instructed specifically to winter-over on the Norumbega coast. In June 1585, George Raymond, captain of the *Red Lion*, a ship in Sir Richard Grenville's flotilla that brought colonists to Roanoke, Virginia, sailed on from the Carolina Outer Banks to Newfoundland where he hoped to plunder French fishing vessels.[87] On June 8, 1586, Francis Drake's flotilla sailed from Roanoke for England with most of the Roanoke settlers, who no longer wished to remain in the colony. Some of Drake's ships sailed northward to Newfoundland before returning to England.[88] In 1605 the Spanish captured the *Castor and Pollux*, a ship owned by an Anglo-French syndicate, which was trading in present-day Port Royal Sound, South Carolina. Her sailing instructions stated that when trading in these southern latitudes was completed, she was to sail north to the *de la Gama* at 43 degrees, presumably Gomes's *Rio de los Gamos*, the Penobscot River, where she was to winter and search for minerals.[89] David B. Quinn has suggested that during the last decade of the sixteenth century French privateers and pirates, who preyed on Spanish shipping further south, made their way up the coast of North America before joining the French fishing fleet on its homeward journey.[90] Although there is no evidence of these vessels having put in on the New England or Maine coasts, this movement of English and French shipping raises that possibility.[91]

Experiences recorded by Bartholomew Gosnold, the English colonizer, in May 1602, probably near Casco Bay, can serve to close out this account of recorded European activity in the region at the turn of the sixteenth century. Gosnold's experiences also provide a glimpse of the effects of the *unrecorded* European voyages to this coast. Soon after landing, Gosnold encountered six Indians in a Basque shallop with a mast

and sail, an iron grapple, and a copper kettle. One was dressed in a waistcoat and breeches of black serge, hose, and shoes.[92] Usually this encounter is taken to indicate the intensity of European activity and trade in the Norumbega region by 1602. David B. Quinn's comment that these were Micmac who had been in the service of the Basque in Newfoundland waters where they stole these European items[93] illustrates the need to keep an open mind when assessing the impact of these early voyages.

The Cabot Voyages

We now turn to the Cabot voyages. Little is known regarding the exact location of John Cabot's landfall in 1497 and his activities in the one location where he went ashore. At present the evidence indicates that he landed on Cape Breton Island from which he sailed eastward along the south coast of Newfoundland generally between Placentia Bay and Cape Race before returning to England as is suggested by the La Cosa map of 1500, the Paris map of 1544, and the Lok map of 1582. Recently Louis-André Vigneras, who brought to light the previously mentioned letter from John Day to Christopher Columbus,[94] has enhanced this interpretation of John Cabot's 1497 voyage. Other works by several scholars incorporate this important new information.[95] As a result we need to adjust our understanding of John Cabot's discoveries as they are set out in the works of both earlier and some recent scholars.[96] No longer is John Cabot credited with having sailed virtually the entire Atlantic coast from Cape Chudley in Labrador to the Florida latitudes.[97] Nor is there any real basis to speculate that he landed in the Gulf of Maine or anywhere else on the New England coast.

The evidence regarding John Cabot's last voyage in 1498 is unambiguous when speculation premised on "if" or "perhaps" is eliminated. John Cabot sailed from Bristol, England, in May 1498, with five ships in search of a westward passage to the Orient. He encountered a severe storm off the west coast of Ireland, which caused one ship to return to Ireland. Nothing more is known of this voyage. As one wag put it, "The only land Cabot reached was the ocean bottom." Revealing accounts of this voyage that were attributed to surviving members of Cabot's crew have been traced to the crew that turned back. Thus, there is no credible account of Cabot's activities. Conclusions regarding John Cabot's explorations in 1498 along the New World coast between the westernmost English flag and Cuba on the La Cosa map are speculative.

John Cabot's son, Sebastian, also claimed to have made voyages to the New World. The first reference to a voyage is set out in Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Nova Decades, Decades 3*, written in 1516. Martyr records Sebastian's account as follows:

> He [Sebastian] equipped two ships at his own cost in Britain and with

> three hundred men steered first for the north, until even in the month of July he found great icebergs floating in the sea and almost continuous daylight . . . wherefore he was obliged, as he says, to turn and make for the west. And he extended his course furthermore to the southward owing to the curve of the coastline, so that this latitude was almost that of the Strait of Gibraltar [36 degrees, Cape Hatteras, approximately, in the New World] and he penetrated so far to the west that he had the island of Cuba [24 degrees, approximately] almost in the same longditude [*sic*] with himself.[98]

When Peter Martyr repeated Sebastian's account in his *Summario della Generale Istoria dell' Indie Occidentali*, published in 1534, he concentrated on events that took place in the north and made no mention of the voyage to the southern latitudes.[99] Neither does Marcantonio Contarini's account in 1536 mention a southern arm to this voyage.[100] Martyr's reference to Sebastian in his *De Orbe Nova Decades, Decades 7* is brief and provides no details in this regard. Neither Battista Ramusio's first nor third volume of the *Navigationi et Viaggi*, published in 1550 and 1556 respectively, make reference to a southern voyage by Sebastian.[101] Historian Francisco López de Gómara, however, related in 1554 in his *La Historia General des las Indias*: "Cabot then seeing the cold and strangeness of the land set his course towards the west, and refreshing himself at the Bacallaos he followed the coast as far as thirty-eight degrees [*sic*] [Cape Charles, at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, approximately] and returned thence to England."[102]

Essentially these are the primary and contemporary accounts that indicate a voyage by Sebastian Cabot southward on the Atlantic coast from the Newfoundland latitudes. From this evidence scholars have postulated his presence on the coasts of New England and Maine.[103] However, the evidence must be patterned selectively at four crucial junctures to create a particular set of circumstances if it is to be used to substantiate a conclusion that Sebastian Cabot sailed in the New World latitudes south of Newfoundland over the period 1507-1509.

Contemporary documentation having a bearing on Sebastian's alleged voyage indicates that his claim to have discovered a northwest passage through Hudson Strait was a result of a voyage he had undertaken for Henry VII. Upon returning to England in 1509 he found Henry VII had died and Henry VIII had become king on April 22 of that year.[104] At present the principal evidence used to substantiate Sebastian's alleged voyage centers upon Sebastian's failure to pick up the pension payments due him in March and September 1507 and in March 1508 during the reign of Henry VII. Sebastian claimed these payments later on May 7, 1509, although by that date his pension from Henry VII had expired.[105] If indeed Sebastian's failure to collect these payments was caused by his absence on a voyage to the New World, the voyage would have taken

place over the two-year period sometime prior to March 1507 to sometime after April 1509; or, alternatively (and more likely), over the period prior to March 1508 to after April 1509. However, at present we can attribute no certainty to the suggestion that Sebastian's failure to retrieve his pension payments was caused by his absence on a voyage to the New World at that time.[106] If the voyage option, nevertheless, is accepted, we need corroborating evidence for Sebastian's claim to his chroniclers that he had discovered "Nature's secret" northwest passage through Hudson Strait into the intervening sea, the *Mar de Zur*, and on to Cathay. Contemporary cartography offers such an opportunity. The information set out in the cartouches on the map of 1502 by early sixteenth-century chronicler Alberto Cantino indicates the location of the Corte Real discoveries on the east coast of Newfoundland and those further north in Greenland where an unnamed Portuguese explorer, probably João Fernandes, saw this land, modern Greenland, but did not go ashore.[107] Later the Maggiolo (Maiollo) map of 1511 named this Greenland area the "Lands of the English."[108] The Greenland cartouches on the two Diogo Ribeiro maps of 1529 differ slightly. The legend on the Weimar copy of the Ribeiro map states: "This country was discovered by the English and there is nothing there worth having."[109] The legend on the Vatican copy of the Ribeiro map adds the information that these discoveries were made by Bristol sailors. The symbol bearing the cross of St. George shown on the island of Greenland on the Girolamo Verrazzano map of 1529 also indicates that these discoveries were made by the English. This information, which dates from well before Sebastian's alleged voyage during the period 1507-1509, is believed to reflect the discoveries of the *lavrador* João Fernandes about 1500 and the activities of the syndicate of Azorean and Bristol merchants over the period 1502-1505 of which Fernandes was a member. Indeed, it has been suggested that these Bristol activities in the polar regions may have been the genesis of Sebastian's relation.[110] He was in Bristol over this period. These locations in southern Greenland are far from the south coast of Newfoundland where the Portuguese La Cosa map of 1500, the world map of 1544 (the so-called Paris map), and the English Lok map of 1582, as well as the contemporary John Day letter, place John Cabot's discoveries in 1497. Nevertheless the English discoveries attributed to the Labrador coast by the Maggiolo map of 1527 and the Robert Thorne map of 1527, for instance, became the basis for locating Cabot's discoveries in 1497 in this region.[111] Most scholars supported this Labrador coast interpretation until 1956 when the appearance of John Day's letter to Columbus substantiated Cabot's having landed on Cape Breton Island and cruised the south coast of Newfoundland east of Placentia Bay in 1497 as had long been suggested by the La Cosa, Paris, and Lok maps.

Sebastian's having been with his father John on the voyage in 1497 is indicated twice by contemporary cartographers. First, there is a legend on the Paris map of 1544 that reads as follows: "This land was discovered by Juan Cabot a Venetian and by Sebastian his son in . . . 1494 [*sic*] on the 24th of June . . . to which they gave the name of 'land first seen' [*Prima Terra Vista*]".[112] Secondly, the Wright-Molyneux map published by Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations*, 1598, includes the following legend between the south shore of Hudson Strait and the Labrador coast: "This land was discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot for King Henry ye 7 1497."[113] Although this legend adjacent to Hudson Strait might be interpreted to indicate a Cabot discovery in these arctic regions, a legend along the south shore of Hudson Strait on the Gemma Frisius-Gerard Mercator globe of 1537 leaves no doubt. It states that this shore was discovered by the English. If this is an oblique reference to Sebastian's claim it is the only reference to the Cabots' being there. Hudson Strait is named "The Strait of the Three Brothers," leaving the distinct impression that the Azorean Corte Real brothers were credited with this discovery. Subsequently the credibility of an English discovery *in* Hudson Strait is reduced by Mercator's having omitted any reference to the Cabots or English discoveries in this region on his 1538 and 1541 maps, his 1569 sea chart, or his 1595 north pole chart. Indeed the Cabots are conspicuously absent from the legend on Mercator's 1569 chart which notes voyages by the Corte Reals in 1500, the Bretons in 1504, Verrazzano in 1524, and Cartier in 1534.

The location of the Cabot 1497 legend on the Wright-Molyneux map of 1598 adjacent to Hudson Strait in a manner reminiscent of the legend regarding English discoveries in this region on the 1537 globe is significant. It suggests that in 1598, one hundred years after John's voyage in 1497, there was no support for a voyage to these latitudes by Sebastian in the intervening years. Sebastian's claim to fame as late as 1598 was in having accompanied his father to the New World in 1497. And this, too, is open to interpretation premised on Sebastian's young age at that time. Generally, and apart from the La Cosa, Paris, and Lok maps, contemporary cartographers incorrectly located John's discoveries in 1497 on the Labrador coast. Neither does the cartography mentioned provide compelling evidence to substantiate a voyage about 1507-1509 by Sebastian during which he discovered "Nature's secret" passage westward through Hudson Strait. Indeed, subsequent explorations by John Davis, Henry Hudson and others well into the twentieth century serve to demonstrate that Sebastian had not discovered the northwest passage as he had professed on several occasions to his Spanish, Venetian, and English listeners.

It remains necessary to consider the possibility that Sebastian sailed

southward to 36 or 38 degrees (it is uncertain which) and further to the Florida latitudes in 24 degrees as some chroniclers related. Sebastian provided only one first-hand account of his having sailed to these southern latitutes – to his friend Peter Martyr in 1516 soon after Sebastian arrived in Spain. Later accounts as related by historian Francisco López de Gómara in his *La Historia General* in 1552, by André Thevet in his *Singularitez* of 1558, and by António Galvão in his *Tradado* of 1563 are derivative, probably from Peter Martyr's report published in 1516. The account recorded by the chronicler Battista Ramusio that was related by the "Mantuan Gentleman" is patently flawed and need not be considered here.[114] On the other hand, Ramusio recounted at firsthand in 1556 how Sebastian had returned directly to England from the arctic latitudes. The Geneva chronicler Urbain Chauveton's similar relation in 1579 is derivative. To opt in favor of Sebastian's having made a voyage into the southern latitudes would ignore eight accounts that make no mention of it. Three of these, Martyr in 1524 and 1534 and Contarini in 1536, were related by Sebastian himself.

Finally, there is the choice to accept or reject the veracity of Sebastian's largely unsubstantiated claims that he alone related to his chroniclers. Sebastian's record for truthfulness upon occasion during this period is not good. He related that his father had died in 1493 when word first reached England of Christopher Columbus's discovery of America. In reality his father received royal charters to sail to the New World in 1497 and 1498. Sebastian related to Peter Martyr that he had left England in 1509 when Henry VII died. In truth he moved to Spain in 1512 as cartographer to Ferdinand of Aragon. As chief pilot of Spain his duplicity with Venetians regarding his alleged discovery of a northwest passage caused him to seek clemency as a Venetian who had been brought to England as a child. Having left Spain for employment in England, and while drawing both English and Spanish salaries, he avoided extradition to Spain by claiming to be an Englishman born in Bristol.

Unlike the chroniclers who dutifully recorded Sebastian's unsubstantiated claims, his peers in the Spanish pilotage service rejected both his claim to have discovered Bacalaos, the land of codfishing in the Newfoundland latitudes, and his claim to have sailed so far west as to encounter the New World at 36 or 38 degrees and to the Florida regions in 24 degrees. These Spanish pilots were the masters and navigators who had much experience sailing to Spanish possessions in the New World. As Sebastian's personal friend Peter Martyr recorded: "Spaniards are not lacking who deny that [Sebastian] Cabot was the fact finder of Bacallaos and do not allow that he went so far westward [to 24 degrees at Florida]."[115]

Neither were the London merchants prepared to accept Sebastian's claim to have sailed to the New World. When asked in 1521 to invest their money in an expedition led by Sebastian through a northwest passage to the Orient that he professed to have discovered, they refused to believe he had ever been in the New World. In a detailed reply to Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, England's lord chancellor, stating the reasons why they would not support a voyage led by Sebastian, the merchants summed up their scepticism by recounting an old mariner's proverb: "he sayls not surely that sayls by another mannys compas,"[116] a reference to Sebastian's having usurped for himself his father John's earlier discoveries in the New World.

This record of John and Sebastian Cabot's activities should indicate the tenuous nature of the suggestion that some European material excavated on archaeological sites in the eastern United States, and by extension those in Vermont, was introduced by visits to these latitudes by the Cabots. Current evidence does not support this hypothesis.

Conclusion

The evidence at hand does not indicate that there was any contact between natives and Europeans in Vermont in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, a pattern exists which, when placed in tandem with events early in the seventeenth century, can provide a glimpse of Vermont in the sixteenth century contact period.

The ethnohistoric evidence indicates that by 1609 when Champlain entered this region the Lake Champlain valley was uninhabited.[117] On the other hand, there is archaeological evidence to suggest that Abenaki Algonquians, and St. Lawrence Iroquoians, had long been present before this depopulation occured by 1609. Significantly this evidence includes a full spectrum of St. Lawrence Iroquoian ceramics, which suggests that St. Lawrence Iroquoians were present in Vermont over approximately the same period that Iroquoians were present in the nearby St. Lawrence valley. However, because we still have not located St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeological sites in the St. Lawrence valley or in the Champlain-Richelieu valley with European material, we have not been able to categorize unequivocably St. Lawrence Iroquoian archaeological material as late prehistoric, protohistoric, or historic. By extension it is not possible to attribute St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Vermont to these time periods with certainty. Nor is it possible to attribute Vermont St. Lawrence Iroquoian material to a time when Europeans are known to have been present.

The geography of the Northeast indicates that Europeans on the axis of the St. Lawrence River/Gulf of St. Lawrence/Strait of Belle Isle in the sixteenth century were located more advantageously for contact with the natives of Vermont, directly or indirectly, than were the Europeans

who landed on the Atlantic shores between the Hudson and Penobscot rivers. Commencing about 1565 this geographical advantage was enhanced by the growing number of French fishermen and fur traders who made seasonal journeys up the St. Lawrence River to regions not far distant from Lake Champlain.

On the other hand, European visits to the coast between Newfoundland and Chesapeake Bay were episodic, short-lived, exploratory journeys by small parties of explorers. None of these penetrated into the interior any appreciable distance. By 1583, when longstanding English plans to settle the Norumbega coast, Maine, in the sixteenth century were brought to an abrupt end by the loss of Gilbert's flotilla, French fur traders were already firmly established at the Lachine Rapids, some eight hundred miles from the sea and less than one hundred miles from Lake Champlain via the Richelieu River. It remains for the archaeologists to demonstrate whether any of these Europeans entered Vermont from the St. Lawrence River before Champlain in 1609 or from the Connecticut River before about 1633 when William Pynchon of Springfield, Massachusetts, first established trading posts there.[118]

At the risk of taking liberties with Gordon Day's research regarding the Abenaki in Vermont[119] and Bruce Trigger's long-standing opinion regarding the destruction of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians by the Eastern tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy,[120] I would like to present my generalized impression of events in Vermont in the sixteenth century.

Before the Lake Champlain valley was depopulated, it was inhabited by Abenaki and St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Commencing about 1580, when it became known that Frenchmen were trading European goods on the St. Lawrence River as far up-river as the Lachine Rapids on a regular basis, the natives in the Champlain valley began to rely increasingly on Europeans on the St. Lawrence for European material. Prior to 1580 only a random and desultory trade existed to dispose of European material introduced on the lower St. Lawrence. This trade brought Vermont natives into close contact with those natives on the St. Lawrence River. When as early as 1570[121] the Mohawk sought to exploit this unique and burgeoning European trade on the St. Lawrence, they found Abenaki and St. Lawrence Iroquoians astride the water route to the St. Lawrence via Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. Faced with hostile Mohawk determined to obtain European goods from the St. Lawrence, the Abenaki adopted a flexible policy which, in part, entailed their moving from vulnerable locations on the major Iroquois trade routes to more protected and less conspicuous hinterlands. The St. Lawrence Iroquoians in the Champlain Valley did not fare as well. Mohawk hostility toward the St. Lawrence Iroquoians living on the St. Lawrence River was extended to

those in the Champlain Valley, and they were destroyed in a war, which had begun as early as 1570. Champlain's guides recounted that the depopulation of the Champlain valley was complete by 1609.

This hypothesis presumes that archaeological investigations will confirm that the late St. Lawrence Iroquoian artifacts found in Vermont do, in fact, date from the period around 1550-80, and that there was indeed a cluster of St. Lawrence Iroquoian villages in Vermont at this time. The suggestion that the St. Lawrence Iroquoians in the Champlain valley were destroyed by the Mohawk about 1580 should not be confused with the hypothesis that other St. Lawrence Iroquoians in Grenville and Glengarry counties in Ontario, and Jefferson County, New York, were destroyed by the Huron before 1580.[122]

Notes

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[1] See Gordon M. Day, "Western Abenaki," and Dean R. Snow, "Late Prehistory of the East Coast," and "Eastern Abenaki," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978); Gordon M. Day, "Abenakis in the Champlain Valley," in *Lake Champlain: Reflections on Our Past*, ed. Jennie G. Versteeg (Burlington, Vt.: Center for Research on Vermont, University of Vermont, 1987); William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, *The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1981).

[2] Haviland and Power, 163, 168. See also, George H. Perkins, "Aboriginal Remains in the Champlain Valley," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 11 (1909): 621.

[3] P. Schuyler Miller, unpublished manuscript (1961), pp. 91-2, copy of which is held by the author. See also, Perkins, 621.

[4] Perkins, 621.

[5] Miller.

[6] This occupation is known to archaeologists as the Oak Hill Horizon (Donald Lenig, "The Oak Hill Horizon and its Relation to the Development of Five Nation Iroquoian Culture," *Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archaeological Association*, vol. 15, 1965) and Castle Creek, late Owasco, proto-Iroquois periods. The proto-Iroquois period preceeded the appearance of archaeological material that can be attributed to the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Recent archaeological excavations by Peter Thomas on the Donohue Site (Haviland and Power, 135-6) have confirmed P. Schuyler Miller's identification regarding a presence on the Oak Hill Horizon. James Petersen's work on ceramic evidence regarding the sequence in which Vermont was inhabited has enabled Haviland and Power to postulate the presence of a proto-Iroquois population in the Champlain valley throughout the Owasco period, "well into" the Oak Hill phase and during the post-A.D. 1400 period when they identified the presence of Chance-like ceramics (Haviland and Power, 139).

[7] James F. Pendergast, "An *In-situ* Hypothesis to Explain the Origin of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians," *Ontario Archaeology* 25 (1975).

[8] Whether the St. Lawrence Iroquoians not far distant on the Richelieu River and those on the St. Lawrence River at Lanoraie and eastward shared the same Owasco-Oak Hill antecedents remains to be seen. Certainly Michel Plourde's work on the Ouellet site at Baie Sainte-Catherine on the lower St. Lawrence extends the geographical limits of these ancestral Iroquoians far beyond the regions whence came the nomenclature for the current taxonomy. See Michel Plourde, *Fouilles Archéologiques au Site Ouellet [Da Ek-6] Baie Sainte-Catherine, Compte Charlevoix* (Quebec: Municipalité de Baie Sainte-Catherine, 1987).

[9] James Petersen has pointed the way in this regard in his paper "Evidence of the St. Lawrence Iroquois in Northern New England: Population Movement, Trade, or Stylistic Borrowing," presented at the Northeastern Anthropological Association annual meeting in Montreal, March 1989.

[10] Haviland and Power, 133.

[11] Hetty Jo Brumbach, "'Iroquoian' Ceramics in Algonquian Territory," in *Man in the Northeast* 10 (1975): 17-28.

[12] The Getman, Klock, and Garoga sites.

[13] Richard S. MacNeish, *Iroquois Pottery Types: A Technique for the Study of Iroquoian Prehistory*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 124 (1952):87.

[14] Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 161.

[15] Salwen, 88.

[16] Personal communications, Eric Johnson and James Bradley, November 1985. See also, Eric Johnson and James Bradley, "The Bark Wigwams Site: An Early Seventeenth-Century Component in Central Massachusetts," *Man in the Northeast* 33 (1987): 1-26.

[17] James Petersen has examined the distribution of this pottery in some detail. See his "Evidence of the St. Lawrence Iroquois." This phenomenon is not restricted to New England alone. It also exists to the south of Iroquoia as Herb Kraft has demonstrated with his Pahaquarra ware from the Delaware River in the Water Gap region. See Herbert C. Kraft, "Late Woodland Pottery of the Upper Delaware Valley: A Survey and Reevaluation," in *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 3 (1975):101-140.

[18] Haviland and Power, 144.

[19] This period includes what archaeologists know as Owasco through an Oak Hill phase to a Chance-like Iroquois occupation, ca. 1400 A.D.

[20] Haviland and Power, 139.

[21] Ibid, 168.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Miller.

[24] Perkins.

[25] MacNeish, 92.

[26] James F. Pendergast, *Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 208 (1966):9.

[27] Pendergast, Ibid., 9, 117, 201, 213; Pendergast, "An *In-situ* Hypothesis," 54.

[28] Miller, 150-2.

[29] Pendergast, *Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario*, 48, 203, 219.

[30] Miller, 1-5, 10, 11.

[31] William J. Wintemberg, *Roebuck Prehistoric Village Site, Grenville County, Ontario*. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin no. 83 (1936). Pendergast, *Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario*.

[32] Perkins, plates 35, 36; Miller; author's personal communication with Peter Thomas, July 1987.

[33] Miller, 186.

[34] Pendergast, *Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario*, 17. This is MacNeish's Swarthout Dentate pottery type. MacNeish, 61, 149, 150.

[35] Miller, 161-4.

[36] Pendergast, *Three Prehistoric Iroquois Components in Eastern Ontario*, 24, Table 44.

[37] Thomas Dunbabin, "Jean Parmentier," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, genl. ed. George W. Brown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 532.

[38] E. Guenin, *Ango et ses pilots* (Paris, 1901).

[39] Whether the *Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di mare Francese del Luoco di Dieppa* was written in 1539 by Crignon, as Bernard G. Hoffman argues in his *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North American, 1497-1550* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 169, or not, as Henry Harrisse argues in his *Découvert et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des pays circonvoisins* (Paris, 1900), it appeared in the third volume of Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et Viaggi* in 1556 and was reprinted under a slightly different title in 1565. See Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Terzo Volume della Navigationi et Viaggi raccolto gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio nel quale si Contengono le navigationi al mundo nuouvo . . .* (Stamperia de 'Givnti in Venentia, 1565).

[40] Ramusio, 423; Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, 170.

[41] H. P. Biggar, *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, Publication of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 11(1924), 22-3.

[42] David B. Quinn, *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, vol. 1 (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 156.

[43] H. P. Biggar, *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and Sieur de Roberval*, Publication of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 14 (1930):449-65, 499.

[44] Italics added. R. LeBlant et R. Baudry (eds.), "Factum des marchands de Saint-Malo contre Champlain," in *Nouveau Documents sur Champlain et son epoque, vol. 1 1560-1622*, Public Archives of Canada Publication 15(1967): 246-7. See also, James F. Pendergast, "Were the French on Lake Ontario in the Sixteenth Century?" *Man in the Northeast* 29(1985), 79-80.

[45] The claims advanced by Barry Fell in his *America B.C.: Ancient Settlers in the New World* (New York: Quadrangle, 1976) and by others regarding the discovery of America and the medieval claims for

journeys to the New World over the period A.D. 1000-1492 will not be considered here. Neither will the claim aired by Catherine de Medici when she lectured the Spanish ambassador regarding the massacre of Laudonniere's and Ribault's French settlers at *La Caroline* in 1565. She claimed that Frenchmen had discovered the Atlantic coast in 1465. See David B. Quinn, Introduction to *Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) Extra Series, no. 39 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1965), 20.

[46] William P. Cummings, R. A. Skelton, and David B. Quinn, *The Discovery of America* (London: Elek Books, 1971), 36.

[47] Differences of view exist concerning matters of date, scale, and origin. See James A. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, Hakluyt Society, Series 2, vol. 120 (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), 73-83; Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier*, 90-97; Robert H. Fuson, "The John Cabot Mystique," in *Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Explorations*, eds. Stanley H. Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz (Arlington, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1988), 44-45.

[48] Johann Georg Kohl, *A History of the Discovery of Maine with an Appendix on the Voyage of the Cabots by M. D'Averzac of Paris. Documentary History of the State of Maine*, ed. William Willis (Portland, 1869), 141-43.

[49] Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni de Verrazzano, 1524-1528* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 42.

[50] Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*; James A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London: Argonaut Press, 1929).

[51] Wroth, 43.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII*.

[54] Louis-André Vigneras, "New Light on the 1497 Cabot Voyage to America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 36 (1957):503-9. Also published as "The Cape Breton Landfall: 1494 or 1497: Note on a letter from John Day," in *The Canadian Historical Review* 38(1957), 219-28.

[55] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 74, note 1.

[56] Ibid., 82.

[57] Ibid., 108.

[58] R. A. Skelton, "The Cartography of the Voyages," in James A. Williamson's *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 304.

[59] Quinn, Introduction to *Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations*, 136; Quinn, *New American World* vol. 1, 103.

[60] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Great Explorers: The European Discovery of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 156.

[61] Wroth, plate 20; Morison, 136; Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, map 44.

[62] Wroth, plate 18.

[63] Wroth, plate 19; Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 159.

[64] Cummings, Skelton, and Quinn, *The Discovery of America*, 106.

[65] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 273.

[66] Ramusio, *Terzo Volume della Navigationi et Viaggi*.

[67] Bernard G. Hoffman, "Account of a Voyage Conducted in 1529 to the New World, Africa, Madagascar, and Sumatra, Translated from the Italian with Notes and Comments," *Ethnohistory* 10, 1 (1963): 1-79.

[68] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, 78.

[69] Morison, 101.

[70] Willam F. Ganong, *Crucial Maps in the Early Cartography and Place-Nomenclature of the Atlantic Coast of Canada: With an Introduction, Commentary and Map Notes by Theodore E. Layng*. Royal Society of Canada Special Publication no. VII (Toronto, 1964), 197, 377.

[71] Benjamin F. De Costa, "Jacques Cartier and his Successors," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. 4, *French Explorations and Settlement in North America and Those of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Swedes*, ed. Justin Winsor (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884), 59, 69-77.

[72] Wroth, 205.

[73] Ganong, 130.

[74] Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, rev. 25th ed. of 1885; first published 1865 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1909), 203.

[75] Henry Ware, "Letters of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd series, 8 (1894):425-39. Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 2, 400.

[76] The credibility of David Ingram's unsubstantiated account of his overland journey from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Breton Island over the period 1567-1568 remains in doubt.

[77] Cummings, Skelton, and Quinn, *The Discovery of America*, 124, 126.

[78] David B. Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements: The Norse Voyages to 1612* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 387.

[79] David B. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, vol. 1, 2nd series, no. 104 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), 79; Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, 182, 212-23.

[80] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 387; Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, 213.

[81] Among these were Christopher Carliell's plans to settle the coast north of 40 degrees, New York Bay approximately, over the period 1583-1584 and Edward Hayes's plans to settle between 40 and 45 degrees, New York Bay and present-day Halifax, Nova Scotia. Sir George Peckham's plans to establish a colony in Norumbega on land he had purchased from Gilbert was also abandoned as were Thomas Aldworth's plans to explore this coast that same year. Richard Clarke was shipwrecked on this shore in 1583. Wroth, 88; Quinn, *New American World* vol. 3, 34, 218, 236-39.

[82] David B. Quinn, "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger to the Maritimes in 1583: A New Document," *Canadian Historical Review* 43 (1962).

[83] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 389.

[84] H. P. Biggar, *The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1901; New York: Argonaut Press, 1965), 33. Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, 81-82.

[85] Quinn, "The Voyage of Etienne Bellenger." Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, 78, 96, vol. 4, 306-08.

[86] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 467

[87] David B. Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 64.

[88] Ibid., 138.

[89] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 310; Quinn, *North American World*, vol. 5, 123.

[90] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 429.

[91] It is recorded that in 1593 Robert Strong sailed to the Norumbega coast at 44 degrees, north of Portland, Maine. Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 191 footnote.

[92] Cummings, Skelton, and Quinn, 254.

[93] Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 392.

[94] Vigneras, "New Light on the 1497 Cabot Voyage to America."

[95] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*; John T. Juricek, "John Cabot's First Voyage," *Smithsonian Journal of History* 2 (1967-68):1-22; Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlement*, 116; Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 98.

[96] Kohl, *A History of the Discovery of Maine*; Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VII*; Wroth, 42-43.

[97] Henry Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America: A Critical Documentary, and Historic Investigation etc.*, (London, 1892; Amsterdam, 1961), 8, 49.

[98] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 267.

[99] Ibid., 268.

[100] Ibid., 270.

[101] Ibid., 270, 273.

[102] Ibid., 274.

[103] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*; Skelton, "The Cartography of the Voyages"; Wroth; Quinn, *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements*, 132-35; Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1; Fuson.

[104] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 270.

[105] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 122-23.

[106] David B. Quinn, in his *New American World*, vol. 1, p. 121, has suggested equally valid circumstances that would explain this pension hiatus without Sebastian's having to make a journey to the New World.

[107] Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, 67-68.

[108] Ibid., 21, 114.

[109] Ibid., 570.

[110] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 103.

[111] Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, 8.

[112] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, 207.

[113] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 3, map 99.

[114] Possibly the still unidentified "Mantuan Gentleman" was the Carmelite Brother Johann Baptistae Mantuanus (1448-1516), a scholar whose works were published over the period 1497-1526. His interest in the New World is indicated by his having made brief references in his works to recent discoveries

in these regions. Ramusio relates the Mantuan's discourse on Sebastian's voyage in his *Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550:ff398-403) in which the Mantuan claimed to have interviewed Sebastian in Seville some years prior to 1550. Baptistae's death in 1516 may be too early for him to have met Sebastian in Seville, presumably after he joined the Spanish pilotage service. On the other hand, it may simply be yet another example of the Mantuan having grossly distorted the chronology of this period.

[115] Quinn, *New American World*, vol. 1, 125.

[116] Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII*, 289.

[117] H. P. Biggar, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, vol. 2, 91, 93.

[118] Haviland and Power, 211.

[119] Day, "Abenakis in the Champlain Valley."

[120] Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985), 147-48.

[121] Ibid., 147.

[122] James F. Pendergast, "St. Lawrence Iroquoians, Their Past, Present, and Immediate Future," paper presented at New York State Archaeological Association Annual Meeting, 1989, at Norwich, New York.