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SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN



ACADIENSIS

Contents.

De Monts and Champlain.	173
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	
Champlain's Narrative of the Exploration and First Settlement of Acadia.	179
<i>W. F. Ganong,</i>	
Aubrey, A Ballad of Acadie.	217
<i>James Hannay,</i>	
Flag, The, of Champlain and its History.	221
<i>George Stewart,</i>	
Rapids, The	225
<i>John W. Gray,</i>	
Brouage, The Birthplace of Champlain.	226
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	
St. John, The	234
<i>James Hannay,</i>	
St. John River, The, and its Past History.	236
<i>George F. Matthew,</i>	
Some Prominent Acadians.	257
<i>James Hannay,</i>	
Annapolis.	265
<i>R. R. McLeod,</i>	
Colonists at St. Croix, The	274
<i>Edwin Asa Dix,</i>	
Indians in New Brunswick in Champlain's Time.	280
<i>Montague Chamberlain,</i>	
Champlain.	296
<i>S. E. Dawson,</i>	
Fictitious Portrait, A, of Sieur de Monts.	303
<i>Victor Hugo Paltsits,</i>	
Critical Examination, A, of Champlain's Portraits.	306
<i>Victor Hugo Paltsits,</i>	
Men-ah-quesk.	312
<i>W. O. Raymond,</i>	
St. John, Past and Present.	320
<i>F. B. Ellis,</i>	
Samuel de Champlain.	331
<i>James Phinney Baxter,</i>	
Saint Croix.	355
<i>James Vroom,</i>	
Editorial.	360
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	
Book Reviews.	362
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	

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ACADIENSIS

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DAVID RUSSELL JACK, Honorary Editor

De Monts and Champlain.



THE first effort by the French to colonize what was for many years known as Acadia, was made, so we read, in 1598, six years prior to the discovery of the River St. John, and the attempted settlement at Saint Croix Island. In that year King Henry, grateful to those who had assisted him in his stern struggle for the throne of France, more in Brittany, gave to the Marquis de la Roche the vice-sovereignty over a large territory on the American continent. It was one thing, however, to make such a grant, but a very different and more difficult undertaking to obtain possession of and successfully colonize this vast area.

The attempt of la Roche, while unsuccessful, is worthy of mention. The colonization schemes of those days differed greatly from similar enterprises of the present time, for, instead of trying to enlist the coopération of practical farmers and sturdy me-

chanics, la Roche gathered about forty men, mostly convicts. With this element, difficult to control even in well regulated communities, he crossed the Atlantic ocean and made an effort to lay the foundation of a new empire. The first land which he sighted was Sable Island, then of considerably greater area than at present, but which has ever been regarded as something to be avoided by all the navigators of succeeding years. Here he landed his cargo of human beings and left them to an experience such as no man, brave though he might be, would willingly undertake.

Forced back to France by stress of weather, de la Roche himself was called upon to meet troubles pecuniary and otherwise, which probably banished all thoughts of the unfortunates at Sable Island from his mind, or at least placed it beyond his power to render them any assistance.

By Lescarbot we are informed that it was five years, but Champlain states that it was seven years before the French Government, aroused in some way by circumstances of which it is now difficult or perhaps impossible to learn, sent a vessel to their relief.

Mr. Edwin Asa Dix, in his recently published work on Champlain thus describes the condition of affairs found by the rescuing party:

"Of the two score men scarce a dozen remained
" alive; the rest had died of hardship and hunger, or
" had been killed in brutal quarrels. For food, the
" castaways had had only fish, supplemented for a time
" by a few stray cattle found on the island, survivors
" of some previous shipwreck; for clothing, the skins
" of seals; for shelter, some weather-beaten timbers
" from former wrecks. With wild eyes, and with

"Champlain, the Founder of New France," by Edwin Asa Dix, M. A. L.L. B., New York. D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

“unkempt hair and beards, they looked, as an old chronicler vividly says, like river-gods of yore, and so they seemed to the king when they were brought before him. Henry did what he could to recompense these ex-convicts for their terrible experiences; he gave them each a sum of money, and set them free forever from all further process of law.”

It was on the fifteenth of March, 1603, that Champlain set out on his first voyage for New France. He had associated with soldiers and sailors from his youth up, and was not without that practical experience which is of great value to a man who is daily called upon to encounter new dangers and difficulties.

Crossing the Atlantic he spent the summer in cruising along the shores of Newfoundland, Anticosti and Cape Breton and exploring the great river, the Saint Lawrence.

On the sixteenth of August following, the *Bonne Renommée*, with a cargo of valuable furs, started on the return voyage to France, and in little more than a month's time anchored safely at Honfleur.

Among those high in favor at the French court at this date was one Pierre de Guast, familiarly known to readers of Acadian history as the *Sieur de Monts*. De Monts was from the old Province of Saintonge, now a part of the department of Charente-Inferieure. He was a Huguenot, and in later years an important Governor in that part of France.

About this time, de Monts with Samuel Champlain, who was from the same part of France as himself, made an offer to the king that he would personally organize and lead another attempt to colonize a portion of the French dominions in America. He was gazetted Lieutenant-General of New France, with authority covering the larger portion of North Ameri-

ca. With him, in addition to Champlain, whose name has become most familiar by reason of his being the writer and publisher of the chronicles of the various expeditions with which he was connected, he associated as second in command, Pontgrave, who had been captain of the *Bonne Renommée*, and the Baron Jean de Poutrincourt, a nobleman possessing money, energy and the spirit of enterprise.

The ambition of these prominent men was to found an ancestral home in the new land.

De Monts, who was the leader of the expedition, was obliged, under the terms of the charter which he had obtained from the king, to take with him one or two Roman Catholic priests for the purpose of converting the Indians, but being a Huguenot he also carried a Protestant clergyman. These gentlemen did not always dwell together in unity, as certain events which transpired and which are described elsewhere have evidenced.

On the 7th of March, 1604, de Monts and Champlain set sail from Havre in what would now be considered a very small vessel, being only of about 150 tons, followed later by Pontgrave, in a still smaller vessel of about 30 tons, and later by a third possibly of even still lesser size. After sighting Cape Lahave, anchoring for a time in Port Rossignol, now Liverpool harbor, and then proceeding as far as Port Mouton, a little farther south, it was decided that de Monts should remain here until the other vessels were heard from. In the meantime Champlain was chosen to make a cruise in a small bark of about seven or eight tons, in search of a suitable place for a permanent settlement. Later de Monts followed and the larger vessels being left at St. Mary's Bay, another exploring trip was undertaken in the small bark. The course of this bark

has been carefully and accurately described by Prof. W. F. Ganong in an article which appears in this issue of ACADIENSIS, and it was while cruising in this bark that Champlain and de Monts discovered the splendid harbor of Port Royal, now Annapolis Basin.

During this same cruise and in this same bark of such small size, Champlain on Saint John's Day, the 24th of June, 1604, entered what is now the river and harbor of St. John, giving to the river the name by which it has ever since been known. Here, however, their journey did not end, for they continued on and de Monts finally made choice as a place of permanent settlement of the Island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river which they named the Saint Croix (Holy Cross), on account of its configuration upon the map made at the time by Champlain, the cartographer of the expedition.

The story of their adventures by the way, of their sufferings during the terrible winter of 1604-5, and of the subsequent removal of the colony to Port Royal, together with much more of interest, more particularly with regard to the life and work of Champlain will be found to have been exhaustively treated in the following pages.

The editor feels that in presenting this issue of ACADIENSIS to the public, he has been particularly fortunate in securing the assistance of a very able corps of writers, each of whom has been identified with the work of preserving the annals of Acadia. The names of the various individuals to whom he is so much indebted are appended to their several contributions. If particular prominence should be given to the name of any one writer, that of Professor William F. Ganong, a Canadian by birth, originally of Saint Stephen, N. B., but at present of Smith College,

Northampton, Massachusetts, is the one to which such special mention should be given. In addition to the splendid contribution which appears over his signature, the editor desires to acknowledge his appreciation of the aid which Professor Ganong has given, by practical suggestions, and in numberless ways, the enumeration of which lack of space will not now permit.

In the following pages, there will be found the results of much original research, and new light has been shed upon certain points which have long been the subject of debate. Extensive examination into the records contained in those vast storehouses of information, the British Museum at London, and the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, as well as the visit of a special correspondent to Brouage, the birthplace of Champlain, the latter resulting, it is believed, in the publication for the first time in America of an illustration of the monument erected to this illustrious Frenchman by his fellow countrymen, are all features of this issue. If, in the course of these investigations, the particular idol of any individual may have been shattered, or any traditions hitherto popularly accepted may have been somewhat discredited, it should be remembered that in historical writing above all others, truth must prevail at all cost, and without respect to personal feelings or other influences.

It will, without doubt, be conceded that the present issue of ACADIENSIS is the most ambitious work yet produced in its particular line of publication in the Acadian provinces, if not in Canada, and that the permanent value of the results of the work of the various writers, who have so kindly contributed to such a measure of success as may have been achieved, cannot be over estimated.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

Champlain's Narrative

Of the Exploration and First Settlement of Acadia.



THE opening of the year 1604 found not a solitary European settlement on the Atlantic coast of America north of Florida. That mighty sweep of primeval forest was broken only by scanty groups of Indian lodges, or by tiny clearings left in the abortive attempts of English and French to establish themselves in this spacious land. But, though neither nation had gained a foot-hold, both claimed it by right of the discoveries of their daring seamen, and both were preparing to renew their attempts to make good their hold upon it. France was first in the field, and in that year, 1604, sent a well-equipped expedition which explored and colonized Acadia so successfully that it gave her the honor of inaugurating the permanent occupation of North America north of Florida by Europeans. It is the original and official narrative of this most important expedition which is printed below. It records the discovery of the Bay of Fundy and the River St. John, and the first settlement of St. Croix Island and Port Royal.

The expedition was commanded by Sieur de Monts an honorable and progressive gentleman of France.

He was made Lieutenant General of the new country, with viceregal powers, and was granted a monopoly of the fur trade, on the basis of which he was able to organize a company to supply the funds for his expedition. Gathering a motley assemblage of gentlemen, artisans and vagabonds, numbering over 120 in all, he embarked them in two amply-stored vessels, of 120 and 150 tons burden, and sailed from France April 7, 1604. With him as King's Geographer, and, as it proved, historian, sailed one of the great men of France, Samuel de Champlain. Their vessel reached Cape La Have on the 8th of May, the other making land at Canso, and proceeded to Port Mouton. Here de Monts remained with the vessel while Champlain, in a little bark of eight tons, explored the coast to the westward, rounded Cape Sable and entered the Bay of Fundy, which later they named La Baye Francoise. He then returned with his report to the commander, and a few days later the vessel was brought safely to anchor in St. Mary's Bay. But from this time on we shall let the narrative tell its own unaided story, reflecting as it does so clearly their joy in adventure and discovery, their pleasure in the finding of diverse new and curious things, and their thankfulness for escape from many a grave danger. It must be remembered that although the Bay of Fundy had been earlier entered by Europeans, it had not been described or mapped; and, from the point of view of common geographical knowledge, it was practically unknown.

The narrative, which ranks among the greatest

existent works on exploration, was written by Champlain and was published with his maps and sketches at Paris, in 1613. This book, the title-page of which is here given in photographic (reduced) fac-simile, is very rare and to be found only in a few great libraries. Happily it is accessible to us in a fine re-print, issued in 1870, at Quebec, under the patronage of Laval University, and edited by Abbé Laverdière, and in a translation by Otis, annotated by Slafter, published a few years later, (1880-82), by the Prince Society of Boston. His narrative, while by far the most important, is not the only account of this momentous enterprise, for Lescarbot, who came two years later to Acadia, published in 1609 a "History of New France," describing these events and giving some details which Champlain omits, and his narrative is second only in interest to Champlain's own. The following translation, though following that of Otis in certain difficult passages, is mostly new, and it tries to reflect the spirit of the original. The maps and views are all photographically reproduced from a copy of the original work.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Port Royal and of its particular features; of Isle Haute; of the Port of Mines; of the great French Bay; of the River St. John, and what we observed from the Port of Mines to it; of the Island called by the Indians Manthane; of the River of the Etechemins and of several fine islands which are there; of the Island of St. Croix, and other remarkable things on that coast.

Several days later the Sieur de Monts resolved to go

and explore the coasts of the French Bay (Bay of Fundy):* and for this purpose he left the vessel** on the 16th of May, (June), and we passed through the Long Island Strait. Not having found in St. Mary's Bay any place where we could fortify ourselves except at great cost of time, we resolved to ascertain whether there was not a more fitting place in the other bay. Heading northeast six leagues, there is a cove (Gulliver's Hole) where vessels can anchor in 4, 5, 6, and 7 fathoms of water, with sandy bottom. This place is only a kind of roadstead. Continuing on the same tack two leagues, we entered into one of the most beautiful ports (Annapolis Basin) that I had seen on all these coasts, where two thousand vessels could lie in safety. The entrance is 800 paces wide; then one comes into a port which is two leagues long and a league across, which I have named Port Royal. Three rivers empty into it, of which one, extending eastward, is rather large and is called Equille*** River (Annapolis River), after a little fish of the size of an esplan (smelt?), which is caught there abundantly, as indeed is the herring and many other kinds of fish which are abundant there at the proper seasons. This river is nearly a quarter of a league in width at its entrance, where there is an island (Goat Island) which may be

*All the words in brackets throughout this translation are added by the translator to make the narrative clearer; they are in no case in the original. Usually they are the modern names of places mentioned in the narrative.

The course of the exploration may readily be followed on the accompanying outline map in which Champlain's names, from narrative and maps, are used, with their modern representatives in brackets. Champlain's own maps, given on separate plates, should also be observed.

**This, and the context, shows that the exploration of the entire Bay of Fundy from St. Mary's Bay to St. Croix Island, was made not in this vessel, but in the small barque of eight tons.

***Apparently the little fish commonly called "sand-eel."

chaloupe au grand contentement d'un chacun: Et fut vn long temps à se remettre en son premier estat.

DESCRIPTION DV PORT ROYAL ET DES PARTICULARITEZ d'iceluy. De l'isle Haute. Du port aux mines. De la grãde baye Françoisse. De la riuere S. Iean, & ce que nous auons remarqué depuis le port aux mines iusques à icelle. De l'isle appelee par les sauuages Man-shane. De la riuere des Etechemins, & de plusieurs belles isles qui y sont. De l'isle de S. Croix: & autres choses remarquables d'icelle coste.

CHAP. III.

A Quelques iours de là, le sieur de Mons se delibera d'aller descouurer les costes de la baye Françoisse: & pour cet effect partit du vaisseau le 16. de May, & passames par le destroit de l'isle Lógue. N'ayant trouué en la baye S. Marie aucun lieu pour nous fortifier qu'avec beaucoup de réps, celà nous fit resoudre de voir si à l'autre il n'y en auroit point de plus propre. Mettât le cap au nordest 6. lieux, il y a vne ancre où les vaisseaux peuuēt mouiller l'ancre à 4. 5. 6. & 7. brasses d'eau. Le fonds est Sable. Ce lieu n'est que côme vne rade. Continuât au mesme vent deux lieux, nous entrafinés en l'un des beaux ports que i'eusse veu en toutes ces costes, où il pourroit deux mille vaisseaux en seureté. L'entree est large de huit cens pas: puis on entre dedans vn port qui a deux lieux de long & vne lieue de large, que i'ay nommé

PAGE OF CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE, WHICH, WITH PAGE 21, ANNOUNCES THE DISCOVERY OF PORT ROYAL.

(About two-thirds the original size).

port Royal, où descendent trois riuieres, dont il y en a vne assez grande, tirant à l'est, appelée la riuere de l'Equille, qui est vn petit poisson de la grandeur d'vn Esplan, qui s'y pefche en quantité, côme aussi on fait du Harang, & plusieurs autres sortes de poisson qui y sont en abondance en leurs saisons. Ceste riuere a prés d'vn quart de lieue de large en son entree, où il y a vne isle, laquelle peut contenir demye lieue de circuit, remplie de bois ainsi que tout le reste du terroir, comme pins, sapins, pruches, bouleaux, trâbles, & quelques chesnes qui sont parmy les autres bois en petit nombre. Il y a deux entrees en ladite riuere, l'vne du costé du nort: l'autre au su de l'isle. Celle du nort est la meilleure, où les vaisseaux peuvent mouiller l'ancre à l'abry de l'isle à 5. 6. 7. 8. & 9. brasses d'eau: mais il faut se donner garde quelques basses qui sont tenant à l'isle, & a la grand terre, fort dangereuses, si on n'a recogneu l'achenal.

Nous fusmes quelques 14. ou 15. lieux ou la mer monte, & ne va pas beaucoup plus auant dedans les terres pour porter basteaux: En ce lieu elle contient 60. pas de large, & environ brasse & demye d'eau. Le terroir de ceste riuere est rempli de force chesnes, fresnes & autres bois. De l'entree de la riuere iusques au

C iij

half a league in circuit, and which is filled like the rest of the country, with woods, such as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens and some oaks, which are among the other trees in limited number. There are two entrances to this river, one along the shore on the north and the other on the south of the island. That on the north is the best, and here vessels can anchor under shelter of the island in 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 fathoms of water, but it is necessary to have a care against certain shoals connected with the island and with the mainland, and which are very dangerous if one has not studied out the channel.

We went some 14 or 15 leagues on tidal water, and it does not run much farther large enough to carry boats; at this place it is about 60 paces wide, with about a fathom and a half of water. The country along this river abounds in oaks, ashes and other trees. From the entrance of the river to the place where we went are many meadows,* but they are flooded by great tides; they have many little streams traversing them here and there through which shallops and boats may go at high water. This place was the best adapted and most pleasing for settlement that we had seen. Within the port there is another island (Bear Island), distant from the first about two leagues, and here is another little river which runs some distance into the land, which we have called St. Anthony River (Bear River). Its mouth is distant from the head of St. Mary's Bay some four leagues by way of the woods. As to the other river it is only a brook filled with rocks which cannot be ascended in any manner because of lack of water, and it was named Rocky Brook (Moose River

*These are shown very clearly on a valuable map in this Magazine, III, 294.

or Deep Brook). This place is in 45° of latitude and $17^{\circ} 8$ minutes of variation of the compass.

After having investigated this port, we left it to go farther into the French Bay to see if we could not find the copper mine which had been discovered the preceding year.* Heading northeast 9 or 10 leagues, coasting from Port Royal, we crossed a part of the Bay of some 5 or 6 leagues in breadth to a place which we named the Cape of the Two Bays (Cape Chignecto): and we passed by an island (Isle Haute), which is a league from it and which is about that distance in circumference, and is some 40 or 50 fathoms in elevation. It is entirely surrounded by great rocks excepting in one place, where there is a slope at the foot of which is a pond of salt water, which lies at the base of a gravel point having the form of a spur. The top of the island is flat, covered with trees, and it has a very good spring. In this place there is a mine of copper. Thence we went to a port (Advocate Harbor) which is distant a league and a half, where we thought the copper mine was which one Prevert of St. Malo had discovered with the aid of the Indians of the country. This port is in 45° and two-thirds of latitude, and it is dry at low water. To enter it one must buoy it, and must take account of a sandy shoal at the entrance, which borders a canal parallel with the opposite coast of the mainland: then one enters into a bay nearly a league in length and a half in breadth. In some places the bottom is muddy and sandy, and vessels run aground there.** The tide falls and rises from 4 to 5

*By men sent with Indians from the Gulf of St. Lawrence the preceding year, as related in an earlier work by Champlain, and as mentioned a little later in this narrative.

**This description may readily be followed on Champlain's map, but a comparison with a modern chart (both given herewith) shows that this place has undergone great modifications since Champlain's day, though these are of course not so great as the differences in the two maps would imply.

LES VOYAGES

trafmes dans vne riuiere qui a presque demye lieue de large en son entree, où ayans faict vne lieue ou deux, nous y trouuâmes deux isles: l'vne fort petite proche de la terre de l'ouest: & l'autre au milieu, qui peut auoir huict ou neuf cens pas de circuit, esleuee de tous costez de trois à quatre toises de rochers, fors vn petit endroit d'vne poincte de Sable & terre grasse, laquelle peut seruir à faire briques, & autres choses necessaires. Il y a vn autre lieu à couuert pour mettre des vaisseaux de quatre vingt à cent tonneaux: mais il asseche de basse mer. L'isle est remplie de sapins, bouleaux, esrables & chesnes. De soy elle est en fort bonne situation, & n'y a qu'vn costé où elle baisse d'environ 40. pas, qui est aisé à fortifier, les costes de la terre ferme en estans des deux costez esloignees de quelques neuf cens à mille pas. Il y a des vaisseaux qui ne pourrôient passer sur la riuiere qu'à la mercy du canon d'icelle. Qui est le lieu que nous iugeâmes le meilleur: tant pour la situation, bon pays, que pour le communication que nous pretendions avec les sauuages de ces costes & du dedans des terres, estans au milieu d'eux: Lesquels avec le temps on esperoit pacifier, & amortir les guerres qu'ils ont les vns contre les autres, pour en tirer à l'aduenir du seruice: & les reduire à la

foy

PAGE OF CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE WHICH ANNOUNCES
THE DISCOVERY OF THE ST. CROIX ISLAND.

(About two-thirds the original size).

lieu nous trouuâmes vne mine de fer. Il n'y a ancrage que pour des chaloupes. A quatre lieux à l'ouest surouest y a vne pointe de rocher qui auance vn peu vers l'eau, où il y a de grandes marees, qui sont fort dangereuses. Proche de la pointe nous vismes vne anse qui a environ demye lieue de circuit, en laquelle trouuâmes vne autre mine de fer, qui est aussi tresbonne. A quatre lieux encore plus de l'aduant y a vne belle baye qui entre dans les terres, où au fonds y a trois isles & vn rocher: dont deux sont à vne lieue du cap tirant à l'ouest: & l'autre est à l'emboucheure d'vne riuere des plus grandes & profondes qu'eussions encore veues, que nommâmes la riuere S. Jean: pour ce que ce fut ce iour là que nous y arriuâmes: & des sauuages elle est appelee Ouygoudy. Ceste riuere est dangereuse si on ne reconnoist bien certaines pointes & rochers qui sont des deux costez. Elle est estroicte en son entree, puis vient à s'elargir: & ayant doublé vne pointe elle estrecit de rechef, & fait comme vn saut entre deux grands rochers, où l'eau y court d'vne si grande vitesse, que y jettant du bois il enfonce en bas, & ne le voit on plus. Mais attendant le pleine mer, l'on peut passer fort aisement ce destroict: & lors elle s'elargit comme d'vne lieue par aucuns en-

PAGE OF CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE WHICH ANNOUNCES
THE DISCOVERY OF THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

(About two-thirds the original size).

fathoms. We went ashore there to see if we could find the mines which Prevert had told us of. Having gone about a quarter of a league along certain hills we found none of them, nor recognized any resemblance to the description of the port which he had given us. Indeed he had not himself been there, but instead two or three of his men guided by some Indians, partly by land and partly by little rivers, whilst he awaited them in his boat in the Gulf of St. Lawrence at the entrance of a little river. They on their return brought him several little fragments of copper which he showed to us on his return from his voyage. Nevertheless we found in this harbour two mines of copper, not the pure metal, but the indications of it, according to the report of the miner who judged them very good.

The heads of the French Bay, which we crossed, run 15 leagues into the country. All the lands we had seen from the little passage of Long Island along the coast is nothing but rocks, and there is not a single place where vessels can lie in safety except Port Royal. The country abounds in pines and birches, and in my opinion is not very good.

The 20th of May (June) we set out from the Port of Mines to seek a place adapted for a permanent settlement that we might not lose any more time, intending later to return and try to discover the mine of native copper which Prevert's men had found by the aid of the Indians. We went west 2 leagues to the Cape of the Two Bays, then north 5 or 6 leagues, and crossed the other bay (Chignecto Channel), where we thought this mine of copper might be of which I have already spoken, inasmuch as there are there two rivers, one (Misseguash) coming from towards Cape Breton, and the other (Memramcook) from the coast of Gaspé or Tracadie near the great River St. Lawrence. Running

to the west some six leagues, we reached a little river (Quaco River),* at the entrance of which there is a rather low cape (Quaco Head), pushing a little into the sea: and a little back in the country is a mountain** having the form of a cardinal's hat. In this place we found a mine of iron. There is anchorage there only for shallows. Four leagues to the west southwest is a point of rock (McCoy's Head) pushing a little into the sea, and here are strong tides which are very dangerous. Near this point we saw a cove (at Black River?) of about a half league in circuit in which we found another mine of iron also very good. Four leagues farther along there is a fine bay which enters the country, at the bottom of which there are three islands and a rock (Shag Rock). Two of these towards the west,*** and the other (Partridge Island) is at the mouth of a river, one of the largest and deepest we had yet seen, which we named the River St. John, because it was on that (Saint's) day that we arrived there. By the Indians it is called Ouygoudy.° This

*Although Quaco River (wrongly called Irish River on recent maps) seems to be referred to here, the appearance of Champlain's maps suggests that it was Vaughans Creek (the real Irish River) which Champlain named R. St. Louis. The latter name appears to survive in Point St. Tooley, the name applied locally to the western headland of Quaco Bay. The name *isle perdue* (lost or submerged (?) island) of Champlain's maps appears to have been applied to the rock off Quaco Head.

**No doubt that called locally Porcupine Mountain. There is no *Mount Theobald* in this vicinity, as our maps imply, for the name (Mount Theobald) applies not to a mountain, but to a settlement.

***Viz. the C. St. Jean of Champlain's map, the present Negro Head.

° It is now believed by those who have most carefully studied this subject that Champlain mistook the name applied to the Indian camping-ground on Navy Island for the name of the St. John River. There is no other evidence that the Indians applied this name to the river, and every evidence that they applied it to the sites of their settlements.



PART OF CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF 1612.

Showing the Bay of Fundy and vicinity.

(The animal sign)

river is dangerous to enter if one does not take careful note of certain points and rocks on both sides. It is narrow at its entrance, then immediately enlarges: then, having turned a point it narrows once more and makes a kind of fall between two great cliffs, where the water rushes with so great power that any wood thrown there is drawn under and seen no more. Awaiting however the high tide* one can pass this strait very easily: and then it enlarges again to the extent of a league in certain places, where there are three islands**. We did not investigate it further, but Ralleau, secretary of the Sieur de Monts was there some time after to find an Indian called Secondon, chief of this river, and he reported to us that it was beautiful, large and spacious, having abundant meadows and fine woods, such as oaks, beeches, walnuts (butternuts) and wild grape vines. The inhabitants of the country go by this river even to Tadoussac, which is in the great River of St. Lawrence: and they pass only a small extent of land to reach it. From the River St. John to Tadoussac is 65 leagues. At its entrance, which is in 45 and two-thirds degrees of latitude there is a mine of iron.

From the River St. John we went to four islands (The Wolves) on which we landed, and there we found a great number of birds called Magpies, of which we took a number of young ones, which are as good as pigeons. The Sieur de Poutrincourt nearly lost himself here, but at last he returned to our bark, after we had gone to search for him about the island, which is distant from the mainland about three leagues. Farther

* A little error on the writer's part; it is only at half-tide
can be passed.

** The narrative may be more readily followed by comparison of Champlain's map of the harbor with Bruce's accurate map showing it before the artificial changes—both given herewith, the latter in outline only.

west are other islands: amongst others one of six leagues in length, which is called by the Indians Manthane (Grand Manan), at the south of which there are among the islands many good harbors for vessels. From the Magpie Islands we went to a river on the mainland, called the River of the Etechemins, a nation of Indians thus called in their own land: and we passed so great a number of islands that one could scarcely count them. These are also beautiful; they are in some cases two leagues in extent, in others three, in others more or less. All these islands are in a bay (Passamaquoddy Bay,* in my opinion of more than 15 leagues in circuit. There are many places there capable of holding as many vessels as could be wished, and they abound at the proper seasons in fish, such as cod, salmon, bass, herring, halibut and other fish in great number. Going north northwest three leagues among the islands we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth (St. Croix River), sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small (Little Dochet) near the western bank: and the other (Dochet) in mid-river, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other needful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels of from 80 to 100 tons: but it is dry at low tide. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere: this, however, is easily fortified,

*Perhaps it was to these islands he applies (on his map) the name *illes jumelles*, or the twins, though possibly this name may have been given to the two islands in Maces Bay, formerly called *The Brothers*, now Salkelds Islands.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF PORT DES MINES (ADVOCATE HARBOR).

- A. Place where vessels may run aground.
- B. A little river.
- C. A tongue of land made of sand.
- D. A point of large pebbles which is like a mole.
- E. The place where the copper mine is covered by the tide twice a day.
- F. An island in the rear of the Cape of Mines (Spencer's Island).
- G. Roadstead where vessels anchor awaiting the tide.
- H. Isle Haute, which is a league and a half from the Port of Mines.
- I. The channel.
- L. Little River.
- M. Range of mountains along the coast of the Cape of Mines.

This map may be compared with a tracing from a chart, given on an accompanying sheet.



PORT OF MINES (ADVOCATE HARBOR),

(From a modern chart)

the banks of the mainland being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces.* Vessels pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the Indians of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by *Sieur de Monts*, *Saint Croix Island*. Farther on there is a great bay (*Oak Bay*) in which are two islands, one high and the other flat; also three rivers, two of moderate size, one extending towards the east (*Waweig*), the other towards the north (*Oak Bay*), and the third of large size, towards the west (the *St. Croix*).** The latter is that of the *Etechemins*, of which we spoke before. Two leagues up this river is a water fall,*** where the Indians carry their canoes over land some 500 paces; then re-embarking, they can, after traversing a short piece of land, enter the River of

*This very clear and accurate description of the Island can readily be followed by use of the accompanying maps by Champlain and of modern date. Other maps and illustrations and much other information upon this island and its history is given in "*Dochet (St. Croix) Island, a Monograph*," in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, VIII, 1902, ii, 127-231. The date of the discovery of the island is not mentioned, but various indications in the narrative point to June 26th as the most probable day. As the superposed ancient and modern maps show, the Island has been washed away a great deal at its lower end since the discovery.

**As *Lescarbot* tells us, it was the cross-form of the meeting of these rivers which suggested the name *St. Croix* (Holy Cross).

***At *St. Stephen* and *Milltown* are several falls in the *St. Croix*; he appears here to refer to the salt-water falls at *St. Stephen*, though at high tide these can be passed by canoes and boats.

Norumbega (Penobscot) and the St. John. Vessels cannot pass this fall, because there is nothing there but rocks and only four or five feet of water. In May and June there is taken there so great an abundance of herring and bass that vessels could be loaded with them. The land there is of the best, and there are fifteen or twenty acres cleared, where the Sieur de Monts had wheat sown which flourished well. The Indians come there sometimes five or six weeks during the fishing season. All the rest of the country is very dense forest. If the lands were cleared grain would grow there very well. This place is in latitude 45 degrees 20 minutes, and 17 degrees 32 minutes of variation of the magnetic needle.

CHAPTER IV.

Sieur de Monts, finding no place better adapted for a permanent settlement than the Island of St. Croix, fortifies it and builds dwellings. Return of the vessels to France, and of Ralleau, Secretary of Sieur de Monts, for the purpose of arranging some business affairs.

Having found no more suitable place than this island we commenced making a barricade on a little islet a short distance from the island, which served as a station for placing our cannon. All worked so energetically that in a little while it was put in a state of defence, although the mosquitoes (which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work. There were several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, Sieur de Monts sent his barque to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the Bay of St. Mary, to come to St. Croix. This was promptly

done, and while awaiting them we spent our time very pleasantly.

Some days after, our vessels having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then without losing time, *Sieur de Monts* proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. After *Sieur de Monts* had determined the place for the store-house, which is nine fathoms long, three wide and twelve feet high, he adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by our good workmen, and then assigned to each one his own location.* Straightway the men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. Then all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the framework, to carry earth and other things necessary for the building.

While we were building our houses, *Sieur de Monts* despatched *Captain Fouques* in the vessel of *Rossignol*, to find *Pont Gravé* at *Canso*, in order to obtain for our settlement the remaining supplies.

Some time after he had set out, there arrived a small barque of eight tons, in which was *du Glas* of *Honfleur*, pilot of *Pont Gravé's* vessel, bringing the *Basque* shipmasters who had been captured by the above *Pont* while engaged in the fur-trade, as we have stated. *Sieur de Monts* received them civilly, and sent them back by the above *du Glas* to *Pont Gravé*, with orders for him to take the vessel he had captured to *Rochelle*, in order that justice might be done. Meanwhile, work on the houses went on vigorously and

*As shown upon the accompanying view by *Champlain*. Probably this was not engraved directly from *Champlain's* drawing, but was re-drawn, or at least improved, by the engraver. This would explain the conventional look of the houses, which, constructed of logs, must have looked very differently in large part.

without cessation, the carpenters engaged on the storehouse and dwelling of Sieur de Monts, and the others each on his own house, as I was on mine, which I built with the assistance of some servants belonging to Sieur d'Orville and myself. It was forthwith completed, and Sieur de Monts lodged in it until his own was finished. An oven was also made, and a handmill for grinding our wheat, the working of which involved much trouble and labor to the most of us, since it was a toilsome operation. Some gardens were afterwards laid out on the mainland as well as on the island, where many kinds of seeds were planted, which flourished very well on the mainland, but not on the island, since there was only sand here, and the whole were burned up when the sun shone, although special pains were taken to water them.

Some days after, Sieur de Monts determined to ascertain where the mine of pure copper was which he had searched for so much. With this object in view he despatched me together with a savage named Messamouet, who asserted that he knew the place well. I set out in a small bark of five or six tons, with nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island towards the River St. John, we found a mine of copper which was not pure, yet good according to the report of the miner, who said it would yield eighteen per cent. Farther on we found others inferior to this.* When we reached the place where we supposed that was, which we were hunting for, the savage could not find it, so that it was necessary to come back, leaving the search for another time.

Upon my return from this trip, Sieur de Monts

*The first mine was no doubt at Beaver Harbor, and the others at Red Head Harbor, in which places copper ores are known to occur. It was possibly on this trip that he gave the name *The Twins* (illes jumelles) to *The Brothers*, now Salkelds Islands.

LES VOYAGES

DV SIEVR DE CHAMPLAIN

X AINTONGEOIS, CAPITAINE

ordinaire pour le Roy,

en la marine.

DIVISEZ EN DEUX LIVRES

ou,

IOURNAL TRES-FIDELE DES OBSERVATIONS faites es descouvertes de la Nouvelle France: tant en la description des terres, costes, rivieres, ports, haures, leurs hauteurs, & plusieurs declinaisons de la guide-aymant; qu'en la creance des peuples, leur superstition, façon de vivre & de guerroyer: enrichi de quantité de figures.

Ensemble deux cartes geographiques: la premiere servant à la navigation, dressée selon les compas qui nordestent, sur lesquels les mariniers navigent: l'autre en son vray Meridien, avec ses longitudes & latitudes: à laquelle est adiousté le voyage du destroit qu'ont trouué les Anglois, au dessus de Labrador, depuis le 53^e. degré de latitude, iusques au 63^e. en l'an 1612. cerchans vn chemin par le Nord, pour aller à la Chine.



A PARIS,

Chez JEAN BERJON, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Cheval
volant, & en sa boutique au Palais, à la gallerie
des prisonniers.

M. DC. XIII.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

TITLE PAGE OF CHAMPLAIN'S NARRATIVE IN WHICH HE
DESCRIBES THE EXPLORATION AND FIRST SETTLEMENT
OF ACADIA.

(About two-thirds the original size).



ST. CROIX ISLAND AND SURROUNDINGS.

(From a modern chart. It is placed in this position to allow of comparison with Champlain's map of the same area.)

resolved to send his vessels back to France, and also Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had come only for his pleasure, and to explore countries and places suitable for a colony, which he desired to found; for which reason he asked Sieur de Monts for Port Royal, which he gave him, in accordance with the power and direction he had received from the King. He sent back also Ralleau, his secretary, to arrange some matters concerning the voyage. They set out from the Island of St. Croix the last day of August, 1604.

CHAPTER VI.*

Of the mal de terre, a very desperate malady. How the Indians, men and women spend their time in winter. And of all that occurred at the settlement during the winter.

When we arrived at the Island of St. Croix, each one had finished his place of abode. Winter came upon us sooner than we expected, and prevented us from doing many things which we had proposed. Nevertheless, Sieur de Monts did not fail to have some gardens made on the island. Many began to clear up the ground, each his own. I also did so with mine, which was very large, where I planted a quantity of seeds, as also did the others who had any, and they came up very well. But since the island was all sandy, everything dried up almost as soon as the sun shone upon it, and we had no water for irrigation, except from the rain, which was infrequent.

Sieur de Monts caused also clearings to be made on

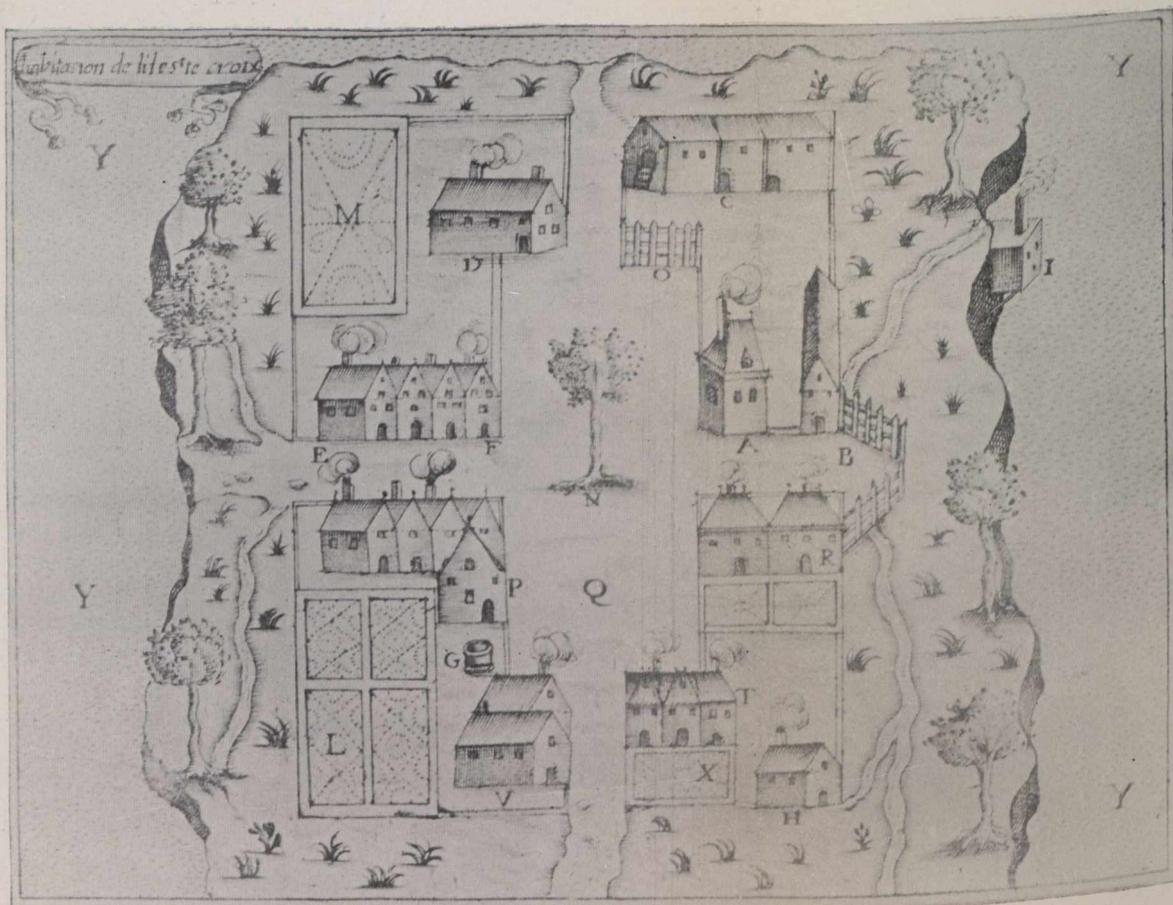
*Chapter V deals with a voyage of exploration to near the Kennebec made by Champlain, between September 2 and October 2. Although of the greatest interest and importance, we cannot give it in full in this place.

the mainland for making gardens,* and at the falls three leagues from our settlement he had work done and some wheat sown which came up very well and ripened. Around our habitation there is at low tide a large number of shell fish, such as cockles, mussels, sea-urchins and sea-snails, which were a great boon to all.

The snow began on the sixth of October. On the third of December we saw ice pass which came from some frozen river. The cold was sharp, more severe than in France, and of much longer duration; and it scarcely rained at all the entire winter. I suppose that is owing to the north and northwest wind passing over high mountains always covered with snow, which was from three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April; lasting much longer, I suppose, than it would if the country were cultivated.

During the winter, many of our company were attacked by a certain malady called the mal de la terre; otherwise scurvy, as I have since heard from learned men. There were produced in the mouths of those who had it, great pieces of superfluous and drivelling flesh (causing extensive putrefaction), which got the upper hand to such an extent that scarcely anything but liquid could be taken. Their teeth became very loose, and could be pulled out with the fingers without its causing them pain. The superfluous flesh was often cut out, which caused them to eject much blood through the mouth. Afterwards a violent pain seized their arms and legs, which remained swollen and very hard, all spotted as if with flea bites; and they could not walk on account of the contraction of the muscles so that they were almost without strength and suffered intolerable pains. They experienced pain also in the loins,

*As shown on his map. One of these was on the peninsula just northeast of Red Beach, and the other was on the south side of the little brook just east of Sandy Point.



CHAMPLAIN'S VIEW OF THE SETTLEMENT ON ST. CROIX ISLAND.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A Dwelling of Sieur de Monts. | N Place in the centre where a tree stands. |
| B Public building where we spent our time when it rained. | O Palisade. |
| C The Storehouse. | P Dwellings of the Sieurs d'Orville, Champlain and Champdore. |
| D Dwelling of the Swiss. | Q Dwelling of Sieur Boulay, and other artisans. |
| E The blacksmith shop. | R Dwelling where the Sieurs de Genestou, Sourin, and other artisans lived. |
| F Dwelling of the carpenters. | T Dwelling of the Sieurs de Beaumont, la Motte Bourioli and Fougeray. |
| G The well. | V Dwelling of our curate. |
| H The oven where the bread was made. | X Other gardens. |
| I Kitchen. | Y The river surrounding the island. |
| L Gardens. | |
| M Other gardens. | |

stomach and bowels, had a very bad cough and short breath. In a word, they were in such a condition that the majority of them could not rise nor move and could not even be raised up on their feet without falling down in a swoon. So that out of seventy-nine, who composed our party, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were on the point of death. The majority of those who remained well also complained of slight pains and short breath. We were unable to find any remedy for these maladies. A post-mortem examination was made of several to investigate the cause of their malady.

In the case of many, the interior parts were found mortified, such as the lungs, which were so changed that no natural fluid could be perceived in them. The spleen was serous and swollen. The liver was woody and spotted, without its natural colour. The vena cava, superior and inferior, was filled with thick coagulated and black blood. The gall was tainted. Nevertheless, many arteries, in the middle as well as lower bowels, were found in very good condition. In the case of some, incisions with a razor were made on the thigh where they had purple spots, whence there issued a very black clotted blood. This is what was observed on the bodies of those infected with this malady. Our surgeons could not help suffering themselves in the same manner as the rest. Those who continued sick were healed by spring, which commences in this country in May. That led us to believe that the change of season restored their health, rather than the remedies prescribed.*

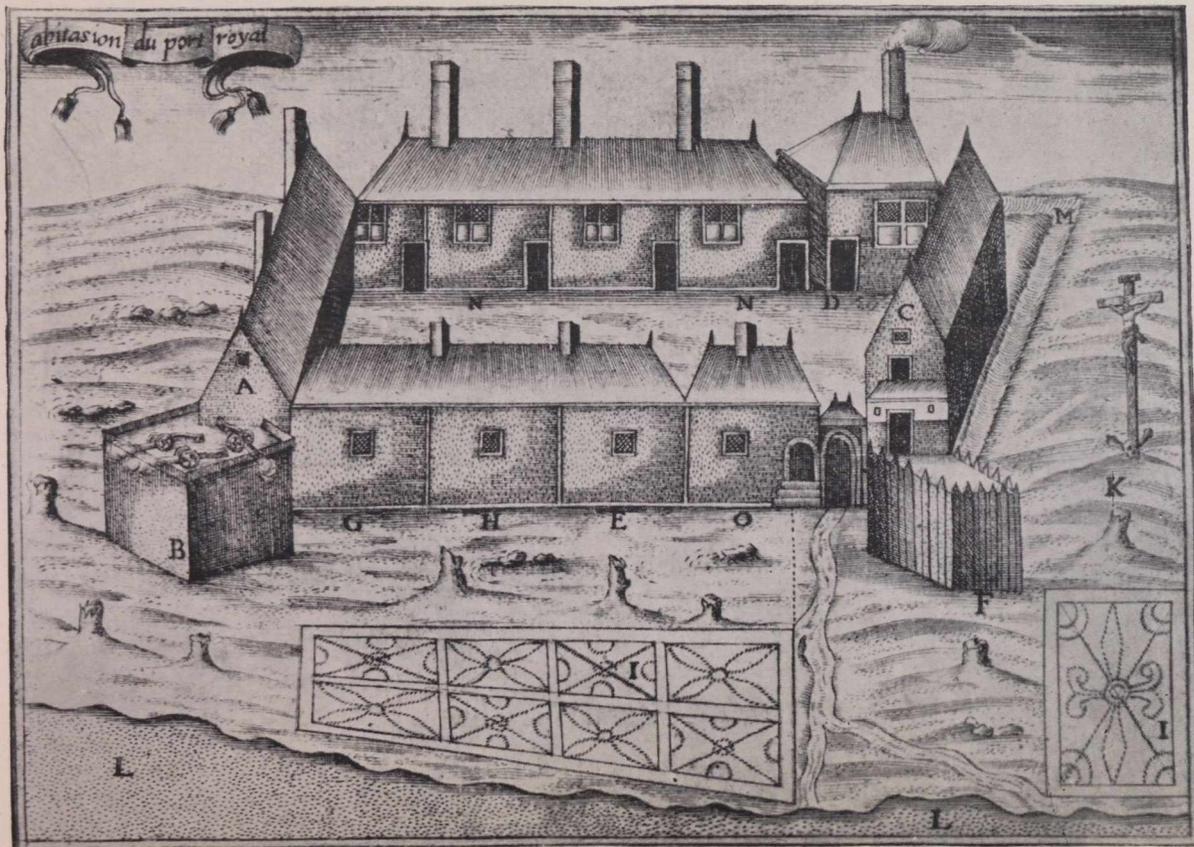
*As Lescarbot tells us, those who remained well were the active ones who preserved their health by much active exercise, and kept up their spirits by sundry pleasantries, including the writing of pamphlets in a series called the *Master William*.

During the winter all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound under our store-houses, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that outside. We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks; for it was not possible to go to the mainland in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide, which varies three fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we could not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produced bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies. All this produced discontent in *Sieur de Monts* and others of the settlement.*

It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country, and many varieties of good fish which are found here. There are six months of winter in this country.

The Indians who live here are few in number. During the winter in the deepest snow they hunt moose and other animals, on which they live most of the time. And if the snows are not deep they scarcely get rewards for their pains, since they are only able to capture anything with very great labor, and as a consequence they endure and suffer much. When they are

*This account shows that the winter was an exceptionally severe one. Had it been as mild as many are in that region, the history of the settlement might have been very different.



CHAMPLAIN'S VIEW OF THE SETTLEMENT AT PORT ROYAL.

- A. Dwelling of the Workmen.
 B. Platform where the Cannon were placed.
 C. The Store-house.
 D. Dwelling of Sieur de Pont Grave and Champlain.
 E. The Blacksmith Shop.
 F. Palisade of Pickets.
 G. The Bakery.
 H. The Kitchen.
 (I. The Gardens).

- (M. Moat).
 (N. Dwellings of the Gentlemen of the Party?)
 O. Small House where the equipment of our Barques was stored.
 This Sieur de Poutrincourt afterwards had rebuilt, and Sieur Boulay dwelt there when Sieur du Pont Grave returned to France.
 P. Gate to our Habitation.
 Q (K). The Cemetery.
 R (L). The River.

not engaged in the chase they live on a shell-fish which is called the clam. They clothe themselves in winter with good furs of beaver and moose. The women make all the clothes, but not of such good fit but that one can see the flesh under the armpits, since they have not the skill to fit them better. When they go hunting they take certain rackets, twice as large as those used among us, which they attach under their feet, and travel thus upon the snow without sinking, women and children as well as men, when they are seeking the tracks of animals. Having found the latter they follow it until they catch sight of the animal itself; then they shoot at it with their bows, or kill it by means of daggers fastened to the end of a short pike, and this is very easily done because these animals cannot travel on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up, make a camp there, and give themselves up to feasting. Afterwards they return to see if they can find others, and thus they pass the winter. In the month of March following some Indians came to us and gave us a part of their game in exchange for bread and other things which we gave them. Such is the mode of life in winter of these people, and it seems to me a very miserable one.

We looked for our vessels at the end of April; but as this passed without their arrival, all began to have an ill-boding, fearing that some accident had befallen them. For this reason, on the fifteenth of May, *Sieur de Monts* decided to have a barque of **fifteen tons** and another of seven fitted up, so that we might go at the end of the month of June to *Gaspè*, in quest of vessels in which to return to France, in case our own should not have arrived. But God helped us better than we hoped; for on the fifteenth of June ensuing, while on guard about eleven o'clock at night, *Pont Gravé*, Captain of one of the vessels of *Sieur de Monts*, arriving

in a shallop, informed us that his ship was anchored six leagues from our settlement, and he was welcomed amid the great joy of all.

The next day the vessel arrived, and anchored near our habitation. Pont Gravé informed us that a vessel from St. Malo, called the St. Estienne, was following him, bringing us provisions and supplies.

On the seventeenth of the month, Sieur de Monts decided to go in a quest of a place better adapted for an abode, and with better temperature than our own. With this view, he had the barque made ready in which he had proposed to go to Gaspé.

CHAPTER X.*

The Dwelling-place on the Island of St. Croix transferred to Port Royal, and the reason why.

Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had in the Island of St. Croix. As we had not, up to that time, found any suitable harbour, and in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the framework taken from the houses of St. Croix, in order to transport it to Port Royal, twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable. Pont Gravé and I set out for that place; and, having arrived, we looked for a site favourable for our residence, under shelter

*Chapters VII, VIII, IX, deal with a voyage made by de Monts and Champlain as far south as Cape Cod. On their return, August 3rd, they found that Sieur des Antons, of St. Malo, had arrived with one of de Monts' vessels, bringing provisions and other supplies for those who were to remain in the country.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF PORT ROYAL.

- A. The place of the settlement (at Lower Granville).
- B. Garden of the Sieur de Champlain.
- C. Road through the woods made by Sieur de Poutrincourt.
- D. Island at the entrance of Equille River (Goat Island).
- E. Entrance to Port Royal.
- F. Flats dry at low water.
- G. River of St. Anthony (Bear River).

- H. Place under cultivation where wheat is sown (Annapolis).
- I. Mill built by Sieur de Poutrincourt.
- L. Meadows which are overflowed at the highest tides.
- M. Equille River (Annapolis River).
- N. Seacoast of Port Royal.
- O. Ranges of mountains (North Mountains).
- P. Island near river St. Anthony (Bear Island).

- Q. (q) Rocky Brook (Moose River or Deep Brook).
- R. Another Brook (Morris River).
- S. Mill River (Allen River).
- T. Little Lake.
- V. Place where the Indians catch herring in the season.
- X. Brook of the Troutery (Shaefer's Brook).
- Y. Road made by Sieur de Champlain.

This map may be compared with the corresponding part of a modern chart given on another page.

from the northeast wind, which we dreaded, having been very much harassed by it.

After having thoroughly searched first one shore and then the other, we did not find any place better adapted and more favorably situated than a spot somewhat elevated and around which are some marshes and good springs. This place is opposite the island (Goat Island) which is at the entrance of the River Equille (Annapolis River).* At our north about a league is a range of mountains (North Mountains) which extends nearly ten leagues northeast and southwest. The whole country is full of dense woods just as I have before described, excepting a point (at Annapolis), which is a league and a half up the river, where there are some oaks which are very open, and a quantity of wild vines which one could easily clear away and bring the place into cultivation; but it is of poor and sandy soil. We had almost determined to build there, but we decided that we would have been too far within the port and river, and this made us change our minds.

Convinced that the site of our habitation was good, we commenced to clear the place which was full of woods, and to erect houses as quickly as possible. Everyone busied himself at this work. After everything was arranged and most of the dwellings were finished, *Sieur de Monts* decided to return to France to approach his majesty in order to obtain things needful for his enterprise. And as commander of this place in his absence he desired to leave the *Sieur d'Orville*, but the scurvy with which he was touched would not permit him to accede to the desire of *Sieur de Monts*. For this reason he spoke to *Pont Gravé* and offered him the command which was very acceptable to him;

*The site is now included in Lower Granville.

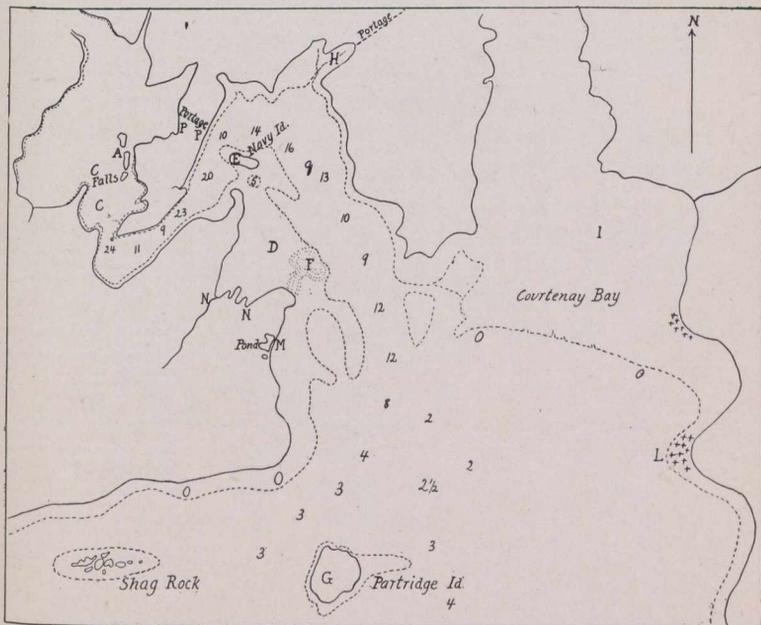
and he finished the little of the settlement that remained to be built. I myself at the same time resolved to remain there in the hope that I might make new discoveries towards Florida; and this the Sieur de Monts highly approved.

CHAPTER XI.

That which took place from the departure of the Sieur de Monts to the time when, having had no news of what he had promised, we set out from Port Royal to return to France.

As soon as Sieur de Monts had departed, a portion of the 40 or 45 who remained began to make gardens. I made one myself, to escape ennui; it was surrounded with ditches full of water, in which there were some fine trout which I had captured, and into which there emptied three streams of very fine running water, from which the greater part of our settlement was supplied. I made there a little dam close to the sea-shore, to draw off the water when I wished. This place was all surrounded with meadows, where I constructed an arbor among some fine trees, in order to go there to enjoy the fresh air. I made there also a little reservoir for salt-water fish which we took when we wanted them. I sowed there some seeds, which prospered well; and I had great enjoyment there; but much work had first to be done. We often went there to pass the time, and it seemed as if the little birds around took pleasure in it, for they gathered there in such numbers, singing and warbling so charmingly that I do not think I ever heard anything like it.

The plan of the settlement was ten fathoms long and eight broad, making thirty-six in circuit. On the eastern side is a store-house of the full breadth, (of the



Outline Map of St. John Harbor prior to modern changes (traced from Bruce, 1761), for comparison with Champlain's map of the Harbor. The dotted lines represent low water mark, and the letters answer to those on Champlain.

settlement) and a very good cellar from five to six feet deep. On the north side is the dwelling of the *Sieur de Monts*, very handsomely built. Around the lower court are the dwellings of the workmen. At a corner of the western side is a platform where we placed four pieces of cannon; and at the other corner towards the east is a palisade, arranged like a platform, as one may see from the accompanying picture.*

Several days after the buildings were finished, I went to the River *St. John* to find the Indian called *Secondon*, who had conducted *Prevert's* men to the copper mine, which I had previously gone in search of with the *Sieur de Monts*, at the time when we were at the *Port of Mines*, with only a waste of time. Having found him I begged him to go there with us, which he agreed very willingly to do, and he went to show it to us. We found there some little fragments of copper of the thickness of a sou, and others thicker, embedded in grayish and red rocks. The miner who was with us, called *master James*, a native of *Sclavonia*, a man very skilled in the search for minerals, went all around the shores to see if he could find the mother-rock, but he did not see it. But he did find, a few steps from where we had obtained the above mentioned fragments of copper, something like a mine, which was not one at all. He said that according to the appearance of the ground it might be good if it were worked, and that it was inconceivable that there could be pure copper on top of the ground, without a quantity beneath the surface. The fact is that if the sea did not cover these mines

*Which is reproduced herewith. No doubt this, like the *St Croix Island* picture, was not engraved directly from *Champlain's* sketch, but was re-drawn and improved by the engraver.

twice a day, and if they were not in such hard rocks, one might hope for something from them.**

After having investigated this we returned to our settlement where we found some of our men sick with scurvy, though not so seriously as at St. Croix Island. Thus of the 45 of us there died 12, of whom the miner was one, and five were sick who recovered health on the arrival of spring. Our surgeon, named des Champs of Honfleur, a man skilled in his profession, opened several of the bodies to see if he could have better success in discovering the cause of the disease than had the surgeons of the preceding year. He found the parts of the bodies affected in the same manner as those which were opened at St. Croix Island, and he was no more able to find a remedy for curing them than were the others.

The 20th of December it commenced to snow, and some ice floated in front of our settlement. The winter was not so severe as had been that of the preceding year, nor was the snow so deep or long continued. Among other things there happened on the 20th of February, 1605 (1606), so great a wind storm that it blew down a great quantity of trees, roots and all, and shattered many. It was a sight strange to behold. The rain storms were very common, which resulted in a mild winter in comparison with the preceding,

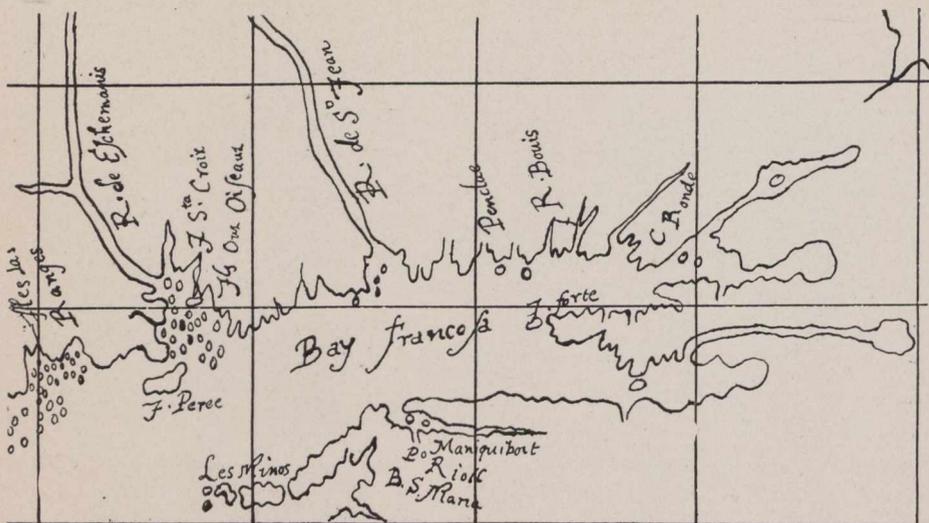
**It is altogether likely that this locality was not at Port of Mines (Advocate Harbor), but on the New Brunswick shore, where copper is known to occur at several points between Goose Creek and Alma. Champlain represents Chignecto Channel on his maps (see the accompanying maps) in a way implying that he had seen it in part, and he named one of its capes, C. Ronde, or Round Cape, a name most appropriate to the striking rounded Owl's Head near Alma. This is the only opportunity he had while in Acadia to visit this arm of the Bay of Fundy, since his narrative shows that he did not do so on any of his other voyages to this vicinity. This view is further confirmed by Champlain's map of 1632, given herewith, which marks a cape on the New Brunswick shore in this vicinity as *C. des mines*.



CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF ST. JOHN HARBOR.

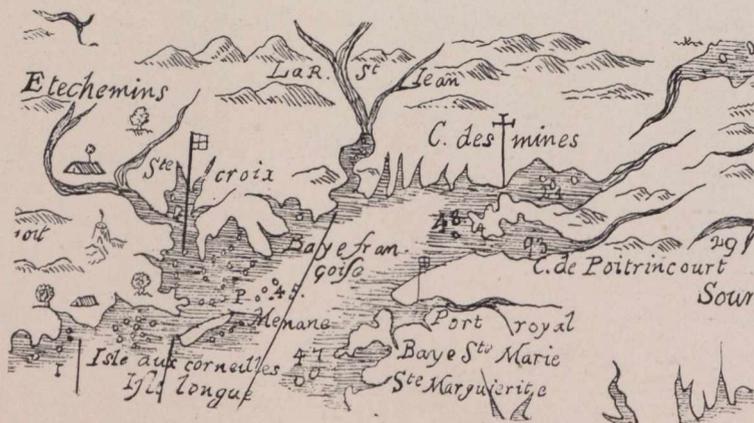
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|---|--|
| A. Three islands which are above the falls. | L. Two little islets of rock (not now recognizable). |
| B. Mountains rising out of the land two leagues south of the river. | M. A little pond (formerly existing near Blue Rock). |
| C. The fall at the river. | N. Two rivulets (emptying into the Millpond, Carleton). |
| D. Flats when the tide is out, where vessels may run aground. | O. Very dangerous shoals along the coast, dry at low water. |
| E. Cabin where the Indians are fortified (on Navy Island). | P. Road (Portage) by which the Indians carry their canoes when they wish to pass the fall. (It passed through Riverview Park near the soldiers' monument). |
| F. (P) A point of gravel where there is a cross (Sand Point). | Q. (9) Place where it is possible to anchor where the river runs with full current. |
| G. An island at the entrance of the river (Partridge Island). | |
| H. Little stream which comes from a little pond (Old Millpond). | |
| I. Arm of the sea which is dry at low tide (Courtenay Bay). | |

This map may be compared with Bruce's of 1761, given on an accompanying sheet.



From a map of 1611, based upon data which must have been supplied by Champlain, (contained in Brown's "Genesis of the United States;" original size).

The names are in part turned into Spanish, and in part misprinted.



From Champlain's Map of 1632. (Original size).

P.—Port aux Coquilles (Port of Shells, Head Harbor, Campbell), which is an island at the mouth of the River St. Croix, with a good fishery.

29.—River by which one goes to the Baye Françoise (Bay of Fundy).

47.—Petit Passage of Long Island.

48.—Cape of the Two Bays (C. Chignecto). The other three numbers are not explained in the original.

although between Port Royal and St. Croix there are only twenty-five leagues.

The first day of March, Pont Gravé had a barque fitted up, of seventeen to eighteen tons, which was ready on the fifteenth, to go to explore along the coast of Florida.*

For this purpose we set out on the sixteenth following, but we were obliged to put in at an island on the south of Manan, and we anchored in a sandy cove (Seal Cove) exposed to the sea. There the south wind blew, and increased at night to such a force that our anchor would not hold, and we were forced ashore at the mercy of God and the waves. These were so furious and heavy that while we were fastening the buoy on the anchor, so as to cut the cable at the hawse-hole, it did not give us time, for it immediately broke itself without a blow from us. In the reflux, the wind and sea cast us on a little rock, and we only awaited the moment when our barque should break up in order to save ourselves on her fragments, if that were possible. In this desperate case, there came a wave so large and fortunate, following after several others, that it carried us clear of the rock and threw us on a little sandy beach which insured us for this time against shipwreck.**

The barque being on shore, we commenced promptly to unload that which was in her, in order to ascertain her injury, which was less than we expected. She was promptly repaired by the diligence of Champdoré, her master. Being again in order, we reloaded her,

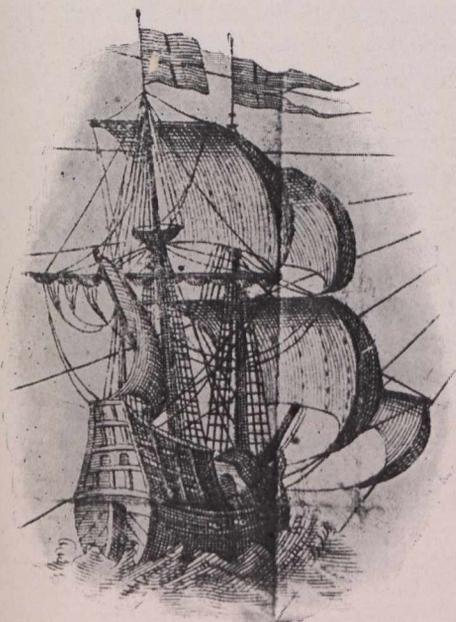
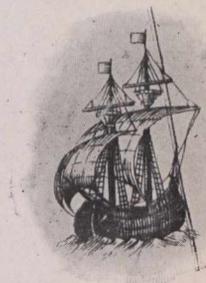
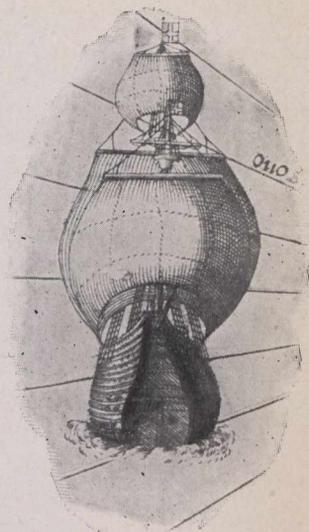
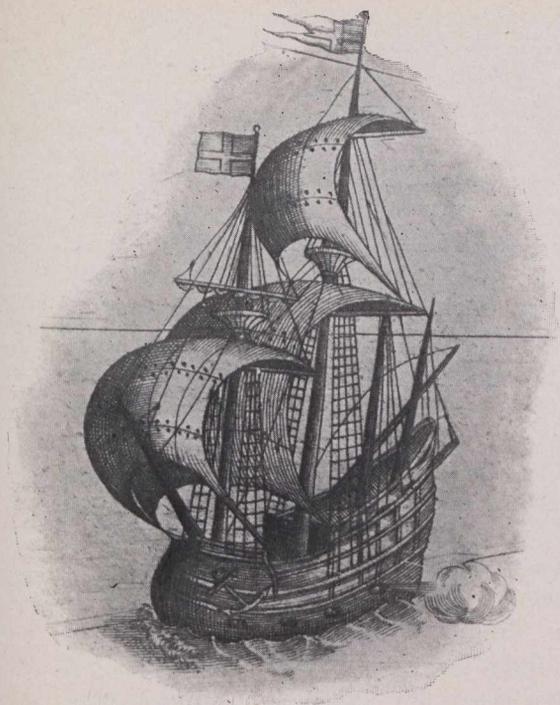
*Florida was at that time a region of indefinite extent, adjoining Acadia on the south. Acadia was held to extend as far south as 40°, viz., about to Philadelphia.

**Apparently they were thrown upon Wood Island, which seems to be that marked on Champlain's map as *Ille Grave* (viz., Pont Gravé), though it may also have been some part of White Head Island.

and awaited good weather and until the fury of the sea should abate, which only occurred after four days, that is, the twenty-fourth of March, when we left this unhappy place and went to the Port aux Coquilles (Harbor of Shells, Head Harbor on Campobello), which is at the entrance of the River St. Croix, where there was a great deal of snow. We remained there up to the twenty-ninth of the month, because of the fogs and contrary winds which prevail at this season, when Pont Gravé determined to return to Port Royal to see in what condition our companions were who had been left ill. Having arrived there Pont Gravé was attacked with a heart trouble which delayed us until the eighth of April.

On the ninth of the month he embarked, although still unwell, having a desire to see the coast of Florida, and believing the change of air would restore his health. This day we anchored and passed the night at the entrance of the port, distant two leagues from our settlement.

The next day before daybreak, Champdoré came to ask Pont Gravé if he wished to have the anchor raised, who answered that he should if he deemed the weather proper for setting out. On this response Champdoré had the anchor immediately raised and the sail spread to the wind, which was north northeast according to his report. The day was very thick, rainy and misty, with more the appearance of poor than of good weather. As we were going out of the entrance to the port we were suddenly carried by the tide outside the passage, and were thrown on the rocks on the east northeast coast before we perceived them. Pont Gravé and I who were asleep were awakened by hearing the sailors shouting and singing out, "We are lost," which brought me at once to my feet to see what the matter



VESSELS FROM CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF 1612.

was. Pont Gravé was still ill, which kept him from rising as quickly as he wished. I was barely on deck when the barque was thrown on the coast, and the wind from the north drove us on a point. We unfurled the mainsail and turned it to the wind, and hauled it as high as we could, in order that it might drive us as far as possible on the rocks, because we feared that the reflux of the sea, which by good fortune was falling, would draw us in, when it would have been impossible to save ourselves. At the first blow of our barque on the rocks, the rudder was broken; one part of the keel and three or four planks were broken, and some ribs were smashed, which frightened us, for the barque filled immediately. All that we could do was to wait until the sea should fall that we might go ashore, for otherwise we were in great peril of our lives because of the swell which was very high and furious around us. The sea having fallen, we went ashore amid the storm, and promptly unloaded the barque and saved a good part of the provisions in her with the aid of the Indian chief, Secondon, and his companions, who came to us with their canoes to carry to the settlement all that we saved from the barque, which, all shattered as she was, went to pieces on the return of the tide. We, happy to have saved our lives, returned to our settlement with our poor Indians, who stayed there a large part of the winter, and we praised God for having preserved us from this shipwreck from which we had not hoped to escape so easily.

The loss of our barque caused us great regret, because we found ourselves for want of a vessel without hope of accomplishing the voyage we had undertaken; and we could not construct another, for time was pressing, although there was another barque on the stocks. But it would have taken too long to get it ready, and we could scarcely have made use of it before the re-

turn of the vessels from France which we were daily expecting.

This loss was a great misfortune, and the fault of the obstinacy of the master (Champdoré), who was opinionated, and little versed in seamanship, trusting only his own head. He was a good carpenter, skilled in building vessels, and careful in providing them with all necessities, but he was not fitted to navigate them.

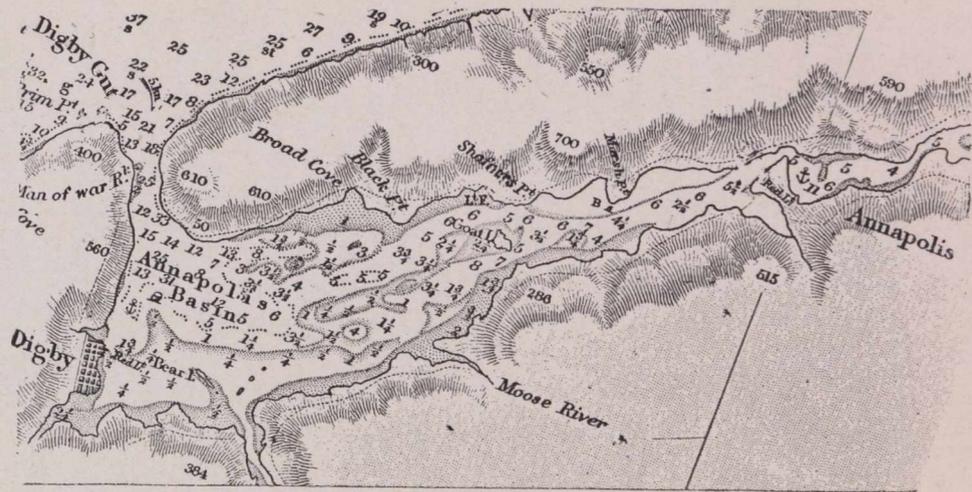
Pont Gragé, reaching the settlement, received the evidence against Champdoré, who was accused of having maliciously run our barque ashore; and upon this information he was imprisoned and handcuffed, with the intention of taking him to France and handing him over to Sieur de Monts, that justice might be done.

The 15th of June, Pont Gragé, seeing that the vessels had not arrived from France, took the handcuffs from Champdoré that he might finish the barque on the stocks, which duty he performed very well.

On the 16th of July, which was the time when we should leave in case the vessels had not returned, as was provided in the commission which the Sieur de Monts had given to Pont Gragé, we left our settlement to go to Cape Breton or Gaspé to find a way of returning to France, since we had heard no news from there.

Two of our men remained of their own accord to take care of the provisions which remained in the settlement, to each one of whom Pont Gragé promised fifty crowns in money, and fifty more at which he agreed to value their pay, when he should come for them the following year.

There was there a chief of the Indians named Membertou, who promised to take care of them, and that they should be as well treated as his own children. We had found him a very well-disposed Indian all the time we were there, although he had the reputation of being the worst and most traitorous man of his nation.



PORT ROYAL (ANNAPOLIS BASIN).

(From a modern chart.)

CHAPTER XII.

*Departure from Port Royal to return to France. Meeting with Ralleau at Cape Sable, which made us turn back.**

The next day the Sieur de Poutrincourt preceded to state what he thought ought to be done, and with the advice of all, he determined to stay at Port Royal for this year, inasmuch as no discovery had been made since the departure of the Sieur de Monts, and as the four months which remained before winter were not enough to seek and build a new settlement, especially with a big vessel which is not like a barque which draws little water, searches everywhere and finds satisfactory places for establishing dwellings. But he decided that during this time he would only attempt to find some place better fitted for our abode.

On this decision, the Sieur de Poutrincourt at once sent some laborers to work on the land at a place he thought fitting, within the river a league and a half from the settlement of Port Royal, where we had thought of making our residence (on the site of Annapolis), and he had wheat, rye, hemp and several other seeds sown there to see if they would flourish.

The 22nd of August a small barque was seen approaching our settlement. It belonged to des Antons of St. Malo, who came from Canso where his vessel was engaged in fishing, to tell us that there were several vessels around Cape Breton engaged in the fur-trade, and that if we would send our ship, it might take them just as they were returning to France. It was

*On July 17, the promised vessel not having arrived from France, the expedition set out from Port Royal, leaving the two men at the settlement. On the 24th, however, when near Cape Sable, they met a shallop announcing the coming of the ship, and they returned to Port Royal and found Poutrincourt with his vessel already there.

determined to do this so soon as some supplies then on board could be discharged.

This being done, Pont Gravé embarked with the rest of his companions who had spent the winter with him at Port Royal, excepting certain ones, namely, Champdoré and Foulgeré de Vitré. I also remained with Poutrincourt in order, with God's help, to complete the map of these coasts and lands which I had commenced. Everything having been put in order at the settlement, Sieur de Poutrincourt had provisions put on board for our voyage to the coast of Florida.

On the 29th August we set out from Port Royal, as did Pont Gravé and des Antons, who went to Cape Breton and Canso to seize the vessels engaging in the fur-trade, as I have said before. After getting out to sea, we were obliged to put back to port on account of the bad winds we encountered. The large vessel kept on her course, and soon we lost sight of her.

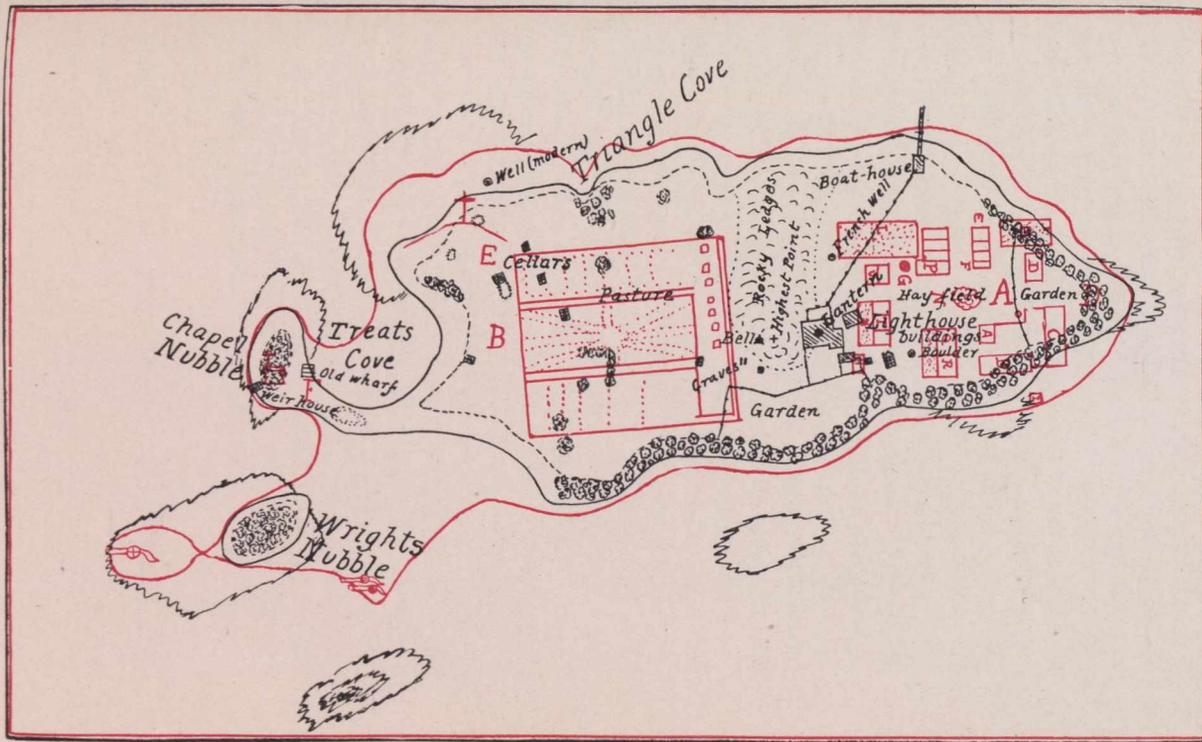
CHAPTER XVI.*

Return from the aforementioned discoveries, and that which came to pass during the winter.

On our arrival Lescarbot, who had remained at the settlement along with the men who remained there, made certain pleasantries with which to welcome us.

Being again on shore and having had time to take breath, each one began to make little gardens, I myself commencing mine, intending in the spring to sow there several kinds of seeds which had been brought from France, and which throve very well in all the gardens.

*On September 26th, Champlain and Poutrincourt started once more, and after visiting St. Croix Island explored the coast to south of Cape Cod. To the account of this rather unsatisfactory journey, Champlain devotes Chapters XIII, XIV and XV of his work. They reached Port Royal again on November 14.



Map of Dochet Island showing its present condition (in black), in comparison with its approximate features in the time of de Monts and Champlain (in red). The lettering on the red map corresponds with that on Champlain's maps.

The Sieur de Poutrincourt, for his part, had a water mill built at almost a league and a half from our dwelling near the point where wheat had been planted.* The mill was built at a water-fall on a little river (Allen River), which, because of its many rocks is not navigable, and which falls into a little lake. In this place there is such an abundance of herring in their season that one could load boats with them if he wished to take the trouble to do it, and would bring there the arrangements necessary for the purpose. The Indians of this country do come there sometimes for this fishery. We made also a quantity of charcoal for our forge. In order not to remain idle during the winter I undertook to make a path along the edge of the woods to go to a little river, really a brook, which we called the Troutery, because of the abundance of that fish there. I asked the Sieur de Poutrincourt for two or three men to help me make a road there, and these he gave me. I worked so hard that very soon I had it finished. It extends clear through to the Troutery, and measures nearly two thousand paces; it served us as a promenade under the shade of the trees which I had left on both sides.** This made the Sieur de Poutrincourt resolve to make another through the woods to lead straight to the entrance of Port Royal, which is almost three and a half leagues by land from our dwelling. He commenced it at the Troutery and went a half league, but he did not complete it, for it was very laborious and he was busy with other matters of greater importance. Sometime after our arrival

*This was at Annapolis where, as the narrative earlier relates, Poutrincourt on his arrival caused a clearing to be made and some wheat to be sown.

**These roads, and other places mentioned, are all shown on Champlain's large map of Port Royal, given earlier in this narrative.

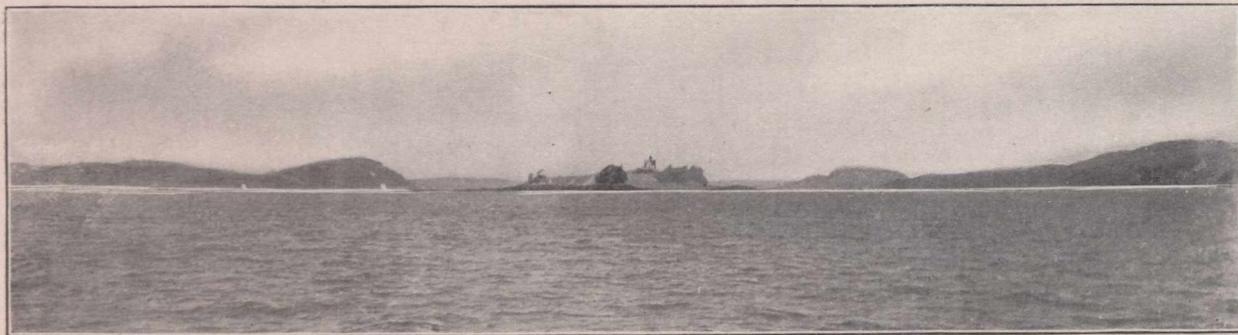
we saw a little boat in which were Indians, who told us that at the place from whence they came, which was Norumbege (Penobscot), an Indian, one of our friends, had been killed in revenge for the one whom Iouanicou, also an Indian, and his people had killed among the Penobscots and Kenebecks, as I have earlier related; and they said and that some of the Etechemins had told it to the Indian Secondon who was at that time with us.

The one in command of the boat was the Indian called Ouagimou, who was a friend of Bessabes, chief of the River of Penobscot, of whom he asked the body of Panounia who had been killed. This was granted him, with the request that he say to his friends that he had been vexed by his death, and assuring him that it was without his knowledge that he had been killed, and, not being his fault, he begged him to tell them that he desired they might dwell together as friends as heretofore. Ouagimou promised him to do this on his return. He told us that he was very uneasy until he was free of their company, whatever friendliness they might show, since being very changeable he feared that they might treat him as they had the dead man. Accordingly he had not stopped there at all after his dismissal. He brought the body in his boat from Penobscot all the way to our settlement, a distance of fifty leagues.

As soon as the body was brought ashore, his relatives and friends commenced to cry out around him, being painted black on their faces as is the manner of their mourning. After having wept much, they took a quantity of tobacco and two or three dogs, with other objects which had belonged to the dead man, and they burnt them some thousand paces distant from our settlement on the shore of the sea. Their cries continued until they returned to their cabins.



Distant View of Dochet Island looking down the river from near Oak Point. Beyond, on the right, may be seen Little Dochet and the American shore, while nearer is the Devils Head (with Hotel de Monts) and the river leading up to Calais and St. Stephen. On the left is the Canadian shore with Chamcook and Greenlaw in the distance, and, nearer, the entrance to Oak Bay. (Taken in 1898 or 1899.)



Nearer view of the Island, looking up the river. The westerly slope of the island is plain, and Wright's Nubble is conspicuous in the centre. On the left is the American shore, with the prominent Devils Head; on the right is the Canadian shore with McLauchlan's Mountain nearest, and Leighton's Mountain, on the right of which lies the Waweig, in the distance

The next day they took the body of the dead man and wrapped it in a red mantle which Mabretou (Membertou), the chief here, had begged me to give him since it was fine and large; he gave it to the relatives of the dead man, who thanked me very much for it. After having thus enwrapped the body, they adorned it with many kinds of wampum, which consist of strings of beads and bracelets of sundry colors, painted his face, and upon his head placed many feathers and other objects, the finest they had. Then they placed the body on its knees between two sticks, and with another to sustain it under the arms. Around the body were his mother, his wife and others of his relatives and friends, both women and girls, who howled like dogs.

Whilst the women and girls were crying, the Indian named Membertou made a speech to his comrades about the death of the dead man, exhorting each one of them to take vengeance for the iniquity and treason committed by the subjects of Bessabes, and to make war against them just as quickly as they could. They all agreed with him to do it in the spring.

The speech being finished and the cries having ceased, they carried the body of the dead man to another wigwam. After having smoked, they wrapped it also in a moose skin, and tied it up tightly, and preserved it until there should come together there a great company of Indians, from each one of which the brother of the dead man hoped to receive presents, since it is their custom to give such to those who have lost their fathers, mothers, wives, brothers or sisters.

On the night of the 26th of December there was a wind from the south-east which blew down a number of trees.

The last of December it commenced to snow and continued until the next morning.

The 16th of January following, 1607, the Sieur de Poutrincourt desiring to go to the head of Equille River (Annapolis River) found it closed by ice some two leagues from our settlement, which made him return without being able to advance farther.

The 8th of February some ice began to come down from the head of the river into the port, which only freezes along the shore.

The 10th of May following it snowed all night, and at the end of the month there were some heavy white frosts, which lasted up to the 10th and 12th of June, when all the trees were covered with leaves, except the oaks, which only put out theirs towards the 15th.

The winter was not so severe as in the preceding years, nor did the snow lie so long on the ground. It rained very often, on which account the Indians suffered a great famine because of the paucity of snow. The Sieur de Poutrincourt supported a part of those who were with us, namely Membertou, his wife and children, and some others.

We passed this winter very pleasantly, and made good cheer by means of the Order of the Good Times, which I established, and which everybody found good for his health and more efficient than all the kinds of medicine, for which we had little use. This order consisted of a chain, which we placed with certain little ceremonies on the neck of one of our number, giving him charge for the day of the hunting. The next day it was passed on to another, and so on in order. Everybody exerted himself to the utmost to see who could do the best and provide the best game. We found this system by no means bad, nor did the Indians who were with us.



View from the Light-station southward across the site of the gardens of de Monts, now a pasture. In the distance lies Little Dochet, with the American shore beyond; nearer is seen Wright's Nubble, and on the right the group of trees crowning the Chapel Nubble. On the extreme right, the two trees mark the edge of the hill on which the cemetery was placed in 1604, now almost entirely washed away.



View from the southeast angle of the Island, looking southwest. Wright's Nubble on its rocky ledge is on the left, and beyond it are the extensive ledges visible at low tide; on the right are the sandy bluffs, and beyond is the Chapel Nubble, with the weir house. In the distance is the American shore.

There was some scurvy among our men, but it was not so severe as in the preceding years. Nevertheless it caused the death of seven, and another died of an arrow wound which he had received at the hands of the Indians at Port Fortune.* Our surgeon, named Master Stephen, as had been done with others the previous years, opened some of the bodies and found nearly all the parts within corrupted. There were eight or ten sick men who regained health in the spring. At the beginning of March and April each one began to prepare his garden in order to sow seeds in May, which is the proper time. They grew as well as they would have done in France, but somewhat more slowly. We found that France is at least a month and a half more forward. As I have said the time for sowing is in May, for whilst one can sow sometimes in April, such sowings do not really advance more rapidly than those made in May, when there are no more frosts which are able to injure the herbs, except the very tender kinds, since there are many of them which cannot resist the white frosts, excepting they receive great care and labor.

The 24th of May we saw a little bark in the port, of some six or seven tons, which we sent men to reconnoitre, and we found that it was a young man of St. Malo, called Chevalier, who brought letters from the Sieur de Monts to Sieur de Poutrincourt, in which he bid him return with his companions to France,** and told us of the birth of Monsieigneur the Duke of

*When on the last journey south.

**This order to abandon the settlement and return to France was caused by the revocation of de Monts' monopoly of the fur-trade and the breaking up of his company. Before they left Acadia, however, the English had arrived at Jamestown in Virginia, so the northern parts of the continent were not abandoned by Europeans. The next year, 1608, the French founded Quebec.

Orleans, which brought us great joy; and in honor of ti we built bonfires and sang the *Te Deum*.

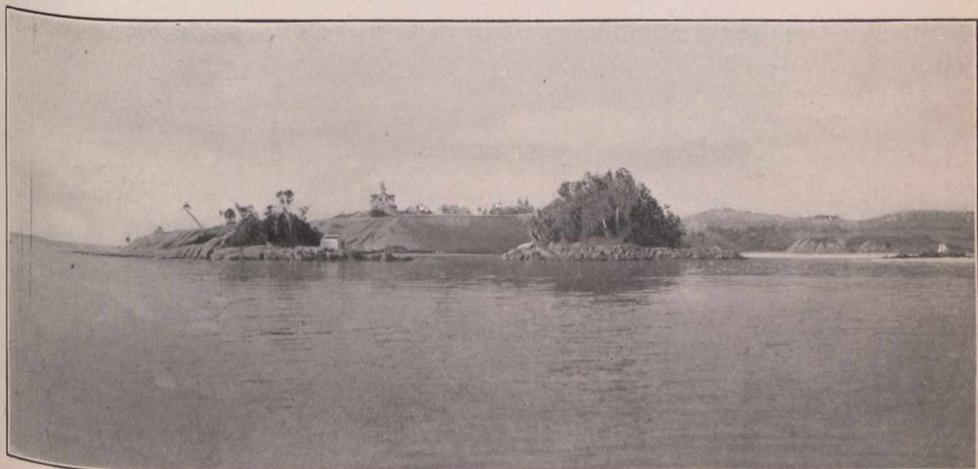
Between the beginning and the 20th of June, there assembled in this place some thirty or forty Indians to go to make war against the Almouchiquois (Indians at and south of Saco) to avenge the death of Panounia, who was buried by the Indians according to their custom; they gave afterwards a quantity of furs to a brother of his. These presents being made, they all set out from this place on the 29th of June to go to fight at Chouacoet (Saco), which is the country of the Almouchiquois.

Some days after the arrival of the said Chevalier, the Sieur de Poutrincourt sent him to the Rivers St. John and St. Croix to trade for furs. But he did not allow him to go without some men to bring back the barque, since some had reported that he desired to return to France in the vessel in which he had come leaving us at our settlement. Lescarbot was one of those who accompanied him; he had not hitherto been away from Port Royal; this is the farthest that he has been, and it is only 14 or 15 leagues beyond Port Royal.

While awaiting the return of the said Chevalier, the Sieur de Poutrincourt went to the head of the French Bay (Fundy) in a boat with seven or eight men. Leaving the port and heading northeast a quarter east, we coasted some 25 leagues and reached a Cape (Cape Split) where the Sieur de Poutrincourt wished to climb a rock more than thirty fathoms high, where he risked his life. For, when he was on the top of the rock, which is very narrow, and which he had climbed with great difficulty, the summit shook under him. The matter was that in the course of time moss had collected of some four or five feet in thickness, which not



View of the Island from the north, at high tide, showing its westerly slope. The Light-station is in the centre, and the boathouse on the right. The settlement of de Monts was between the Light-station and the bank in the foreground.



View of the Island from the south, showing the Light-station, the sandy bluffs forming the southern end of the main island, and the two nubbles, the Chapel Nubble, with the weir-house, on the left and Wright's Nubble on the right. The gardens of de Monts were between the Light-station and the sandy bluffs.

being solid yielded when one was on it, and very often when one touched his foot to a rock there fell down three or four others. It thus happened that while he ascended with trouble, he descended with very great difficulty, although some sailors, who are very adroit at climbing, took him up a hawser (which is a rope of middling thickness) by means of which he descended. This place was called the Cape of Poutrincourt, and it is in latitude 45 and two-thirds degrees.

We went to the head of this bay (Minas Basin), but saw nothing other than certain white rocks suitable for making lime, but in small quantity, and a lot of gulls, which are birds, on some islands. We took what we wished, and made the tour of the bay to go to the Port of Mines, where I had been previously. I conducted the Sieur de Poutrincourt there, who obtained some little fragments of copper, which he got only with great trouble. This entire bay may contain some 20 leagues of circuit, and at its head is a little river which is very sluggish, with little water. There are several other little streams and some straits, where there are good ports; but this is at high tide which rises here five fathoms. In one of these ports, 3 or 4 leagues north of Cape Poutrincourt, we found a cross, very old and all covered with moss, and nearly all rotten. This was an obvious sign that formerly Christians had been here. All this country bears very dense forests and the region is not very pleasing except in certain spots.

From the Port of Mines we returned to our settlement. In the aforementioned bay there are great tidal currents which run to the southwest.

The 12th of July, Ralleau, secretary of the Sieur de Monts, arrived in a boat which came from a place called Niganish, some 160 or 170 leagues from Port Royal; he confirmed for Sieur de Poutrincourt that which Chevalier had reported.

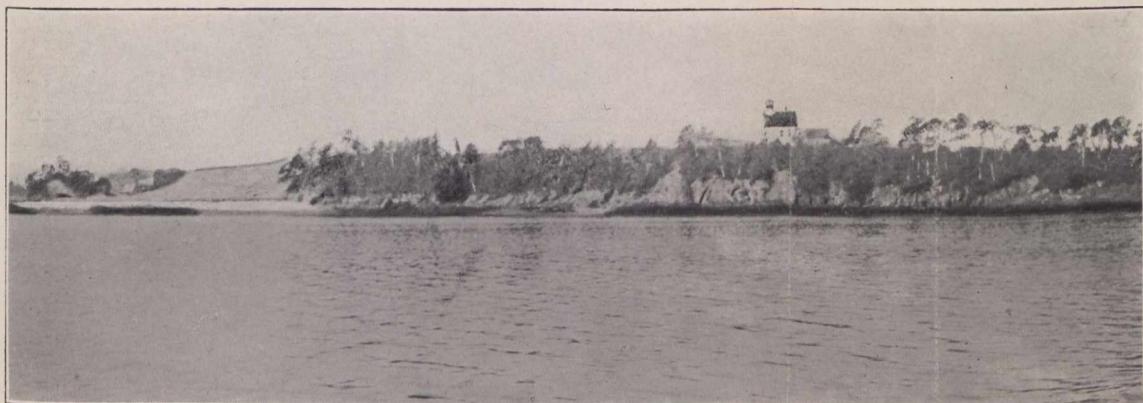
The 3rd (30) of July three barks were equipped to take the men and supplies which were at our settlement to Canso, 115 leagues from our settlement, and in latitude 45 degrees and one-third; where the vessel was engaged in fishing, which was to take us back to France. The Sieur de Poutrincourt sent off all his companions but remained himself nine days at the settlement, so as to carry back to France some wheat which was not yet mature

The 10th of August Membertou returned from the war; he told us that he had been at Saco and had killed 20 Indians and wounded 10 or 12, and that Onemechin, chief at that place, Marchin and one other had been killed by Sasinou, chief of the Kenebec River, who then was killed by the companions of Onemechin and Marchin. All this war was simply on account of Panounia, one of our Indian friends, who, as I have related earlier, had been killed at Penobscot by the men of the aforementioned Onemechin and Marchin.

The chiefs who are now in the place of Onemechin, Marchin and Sasinou are their sons; that is to say for Sasinou, Pememen; Abriou for Marchin his father; and for Onemechin, Queconsicq. The two latter were killed by Membertou's men who entrapped them under an appearance of friendship, after their custom, and against which one must be on guard, as well on one side as the other.

On the eleventh of August they left Port Royal, reached Canso and their vessel on the 27th, and France on the 28th of September. Here ends Champlain's connection with Acadia.

W. F. GANONG.



View of the Island from the east, at half tide, wanting, however, the northern end. De Monts' settlement was to the right of the Light-station, and the gardens to the left. At the extreme left is the sandy bluff and the Chapel Nubble.



View of the Island from the west (southwest), above half tide. DeMonts' settlement stood to the left of the Light-station, which is on a ridge of rock, and the gardens were on the level land on its right. Farther to the right may be seen the sandy bluffs, and the two nubbles (overlapping one another), while beyond these rises the Greenlaw-Chamcook mountain.



View from the extreme northern end of the Island looking south to the Light-station across the site of the settlement of de Monts, which covered the grassy field in the foreground. Beyond is the American shore.



View from the Light-station looking north across the site of the settlement of de Monts, which occupied the field in the foreground, especially the level portion on the right. Beyond one looks up Oak Bay; in the centre rises Leighton's Mountain, to the right of which runs the Waweig, and to the right of that is McLauchlan's Mountain.

Aubrey:

A Ballad of Acadie.

BY JAMES HANNAY.

(Republished from "Stewart's Quarterly")

'Twas after Ivry broke Mayenne's and every Leaguer's lance;
And Henry sat at length secure upon the throne of France;
A little fleet set sail from Dieppe to cross the western main,
De Monts he held the chief command, with him was bold
Champlain,

And many a gallant gentleman from Paris and Rochelle,
And Poutrincourt from Picardie and Biencourt as well;
Enough to form a colony, for in that motley throng,
Were artizans and soldiers brave, and peasants rude and strong,
And learned Huguenot ministers, and priests from Aquitane
And Aubrey Pere a wanderer from the pleasant banks of
Seine:

All eager to behold a land to Europe long unknown,
O'er which a strange romantic veil of mystery was thrown.

* * * * *

Four weeks they sped with eager sail before a favoring breeze,
Westward their prows were pointed still across the unknown
seas;

Bright skies, fair winds, a broad expanse of sea on every side,
But not a sail to cheer their souls as on and on they glide;
And many a longing eye was turned towards their distant
home,

And many a heart in secret cursed the thought which bade
it roam.

At length on the horizon dim a cloud-like line appears,
And here and there a rugged crest a bolder summit rears.

Acadie's rocky coast uplifts its dark form to the sky;
Loud roar the waves upon the shore, the white spray leaps
on high,

O'er rocks on which the sea had dashed since time's first hour
began,

Destined to rend in after years the noblest works of man.

* * * * *

Onward they sail, and Fundy's Bay expands to either shore,
Never had European keel parted its tide before.

All things were strange, the sea, the land, the forest stretch-
ing wide,

Stranger than aught their eyes had scanned the swiftly flowing
tide,

Nature, attired in brighter hues than in their own fair land,
Appeared to bear a nobler front and a more bounteous hand.

* * * * *

O'er summer seas they quickly pass with spirits light and gay,
Their vessels part the dark blue waves of still St. Mary's Bay,

The anchors cast, the boats are manned, they reach the silent
 shore,
 Never had foot of white man trod that unknown beach be-
 fore—
 Near sixty centuries had sped since the Creation's birth;
 But what had all time's changes wrought upon this spot of
 earth?
 With eager feet the wanderers haste to range the forest wide,
 They wonder at the grand old trees which rise on every side;
 New flowers and birds arrest their eyes, new scenes their
 thoughts employ,
 Their laughter echoes through the woods, and all is mirth
 and joy.
 Aubrey had strayed far from the rest, and like a curious child,
 Unconscious of the passing hours, he wandered through the
 wild,
 Nor thought how far his feet had strayed, until the sun's
 last ray
 Glared like a watch fire in the West, and passed in gloom
 away,
 Then stricken with a sudden dread he turned and backward
 ran,
 He shouted loud, the forest mocked the lost and lonely man.
 Help! help, he cries for help in vain, who in the midnight dark
 Is swept into the seething sea, from the swift flying bark;
 And Aubrey in the pathless wood, dark silent as the grave,
 Seemed lost as one who hopeless sinks beneath the boisterous
 wave.
 Small hope for him whose feet had strayed in that Acadian
 land,
 No white man for a hundred years again might touch its
 strand,
 The wolf upon the wanderer's corse its hunger there might
 sate,
 A few white bones alone would tell his dread and mournful
 fate.
 While thoughts like these perplexed his mind despairing down
 he lay,
 And darkness spread its sable plumes like a raven's o'er the
 day,
 And dark despair with constant voice still whispered in his
 ear,
 "There is no hope but death for those who rashly wander
 here."
 But looking up as captive looks from out his prison bars,
 Dotting the darkening sky above he saw the glittering stars,
 And brightening o'er the broad expanse of heaven's lofty
 dome,
 They cheered his eyes and calmed his soul with happy thoughts
 of home,
 For often in his youth he watched from his chamber window
 high,
 That constellation, seven starred, climbing the northern sky;

The Galaxy a golden stream flowing through fields of gloom,
Like the pathway of the blessed souls to their home beyond
the tomb:

Tho' lost and lone, the sky seemed still familiar as of yore,
And watching it he sank to sleep beneath the forest hoar.
* * * * *

Brightly the morning sun arose and lit up wood and glen,
As Aubrey woke from joyous dreams to misery again,
Hungry and faint he ranged the wild, but vainly sought the
shore;

And vainly paused with listening ear to hear the wild waves
roar,

The forest brought no sound to him except the dreary sigh
Which came forth from its topmost boughs as the sudden
breeze went by.

At length with looks of joy and hope the weary wanderer
stood

Beside a tiny little stream that murmured through the wood—
He drank its tide, he bathed his brow, he bent in prayer his
knee,

And said, "Heaven make this stream my guide—'twill lead
me to the sea."
* * * * *

At last he stands upon the shore and strains his eyes in vain,
Across a sea which seems as wide and boundless as the main—
This is indeed another sea and not the narrow bay

In which the fleet he vainly seeks secure at anchor lay;
'Tis Fundy's waves which darkly roll before the lost one now,
And as he looks his cheek grows pale and anguish clouds his
brow.

Alas! he cries in bitter grief, "what hope is left for me,"
"Must I but perish by the shore of this strange restless sea?"
* * * * *

Seventeen long weary days have passed and Aubrey wanders
still,

His food the shellfish from the shore, his drink the sparkling
rill,

Lean visaged and like tottering age bent down by weight of
care;

For he has lived in these sad days a life-time of despair.
His steps are feeble now and slow, his eyes begin to fail,
From weary watching day by day to see a friendly sail,

On the horizon he deemed he saw that blessed sight,
'Twas but a sea-gull's wing that skimmed the blue wave in
its flight;

And sudden joy was changed to grief and cheerfulness to care,
For promised blessings unfulfilled but deepen men's despair.

Hunger and pain have done their work, his race is nearly run,
And hope dies daily in his breast with every setting sun.

Down on the beach he sank at length and gazed upon the
sand,

His thoughts were wandering far away unto his native land,

The summer sun was gliding down low in the western skies,
 Weak as he was he scarce could hope again to see it rise.
 And thinking thus as there he lay beside the cheerless shore,
 He turned his eyes towards the west to gaze on it once more:
 When lo! a shallop's sail appears around a point of land,
 And lightly skims the placid sea a stone-throw from the
 strand,
 And at the sight, strange joyous thoughts rise in his bosom's
 core,
 And nerve him with a sudden strength where weakness reign-
 ed before—
 He rose and down the beach he ran to catch the boatman's
 eye,
 And shouted loud and shook his staff, and waved his hat on
 high.
 They hear him, see him, he is saved, the steersman's answer-
 ing hail.
 Comes sounding landward as in haste he jibes the swelling
 sail.
 Shoreward the shallop's bow is turned, it grates upon the
 sand
 And eager friends and shipmates grasp the helpless Aubrey's
 hand,
 And not a heart in all the fleet but gave a joyous bound,
 When Champdore brought the thrilling news that Aubrey had
 been found.

[The foregoing is an attempt to render into ballad verse
 one of the earliest incidents of Acadian History. Aubrey
 was one of the priests of de Monts' expedition which left
 France in 1604. He was lost in the woods when the flotilla
 was at anchor in St. Mary's Bay, and wandered to the shores
 of the Bay of Fundy, where he was found seventeen days
 afterwards by Champdore who was exploring the coast in a
 shallop in search of an iron mine. The Colonists brought out
 by de Monts consisted of a mixed assemblage of Catholics
 and Huguenots, and one of the latter had been accused of
 murdering the missing Aubrey; the joy with which the tid-
 ings of his safety were received was therefore extreme, as it
 was felt that such a suspicion of foul play would destroy the
 harmony and endanger the success of the expedition.]

The Flag of Champlain and its History.

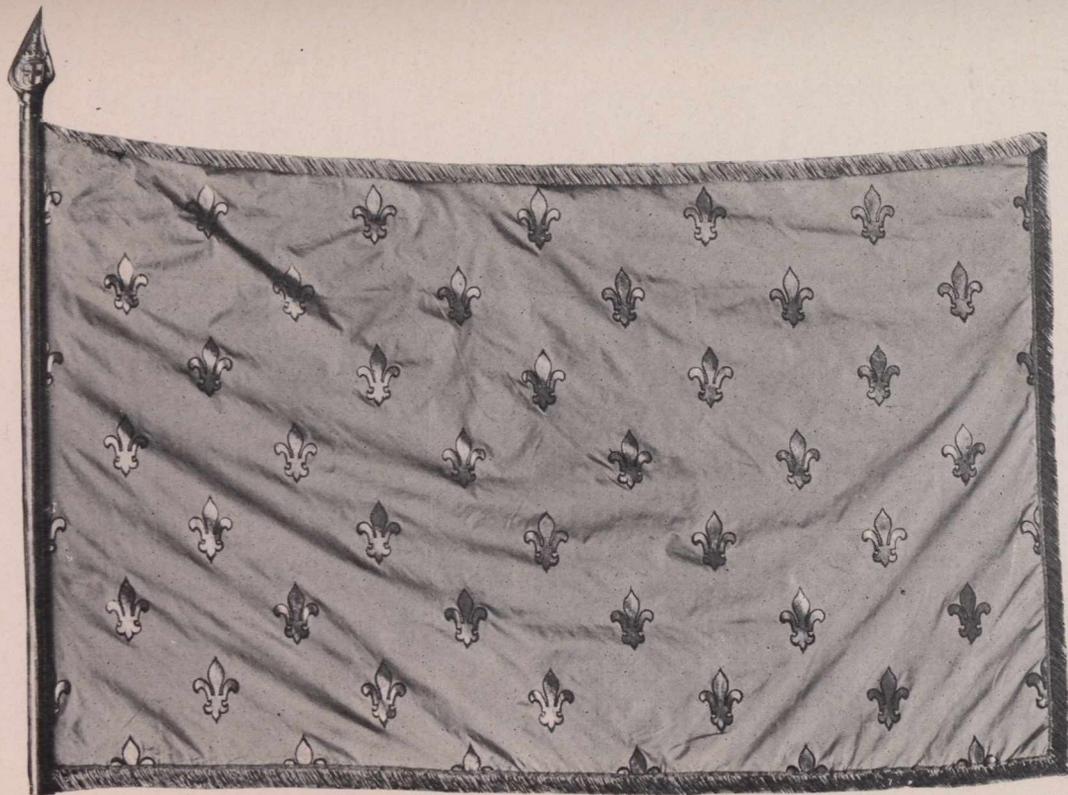


THROUGH the kindness of my old and unvarying friend, Mr. Ernest Gagnon, F.R.S.C., of Quebec, I am happily in a position to present to the readers of *ACADIENSIS*, a true copy of the flag which Samuel de Champlain had with him in 1604.

This is the naval flag of the period, the fleurs-de-lis are in gold and the background is blue. The same flag also appears with a gold border. The flag used by the king was the same in every respect, only the ground was white, and like the British Standard was only employed when and where royalty was present.

Much discussion has arisen among antiquaries regarding the origin of the fleur-de-lis, which France adopted as her heraldic emblem. Theories of the most extravagant character have been suggested, only to be rejected by another order of savants. An old tradition, not well authenticated, however, informs us that it was first employed by Clovis I, the cruel, fierce and exceedingly active monarch who flourished as king of the Franks A. D. 496. The story goes that a blue banner, embroidered with golden fleurs-de-lis, owes its paternity to heaven, and was given by an angel to His Majesty at his baptism, from which time the kings of France bore as their arms, first an indefinite number, and latterly three golden lilies, symbolical of the

Trinity. On a blue field, azure, three fleur-de-lis, or, as the heralds would describe it. Clovis made a vow that if he should prove victorious in a pending battle with the Alemanni near Cologne, he would embrace Christianity. From his reign the history of France as a Christian nation may be dated. For this, his wife, Clotilda of Bergundy, was largely responsible. Clovis died in 511. Newton considers it to be the figure of a reed or flag in blossom, used instead of a sceptre at the proclamation of the Frankish rulers. Chifflet, however, is of opinion that the device was originally adopted by Louis the Seventh, surnamed *le jeune* in allusion to his name Louis Florus. It is held again that it is the extremity of the Francisque, a kind of javelin, which was anciently used in France. Gourdon de Genovillac, whose monumental work, "L'Art Héraldique," was crowned by the French Academy, puts forward as an objection fatal to that legend, and other theories, assigning to the fleur-de-lis a purely French origin, the fact that it was very early in the history of the world, an ornament of the sceptres, seals and robes, not only of the Merovingian, but of Greek, Roman, German, Spanish and English kings, and was a symbol employed by many noble families in various parts of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (See Figs. 1 and 2). It was extensively used by sculptors, painters and designers. The costliest vestments worn by royalty and the nobility were enriched by the emblem magnificently embroidered in solid gold. It was to be seen everywhere after the death of Louis VII, and it was conspicuous on the doors, windows, chalices and crosses. It was religiously guarded by Philippe-Auguste, and his successors as an emblem of sacred import. The ancient arms of Florence were a red shield bearing a white lily or iris. Since the twelfth



FRENCH FLAG IN THE TIME OF CHAMPLAIN.

century, the fleur-de-lis has been the symbol of royalty in France. The early kings bore the blue hood of St. Martin upon their standards, and this was later on succeeded by the oriflamme, the ancient royal standard of France, which, originally, was simply the banner of the Abbey of St. Denis. The historians are in doubt as to the exact period when this flag became the sacred banner of all France. Of its very appearance and design little of a satisfactory or convincing character is known, despite the vigilance and unceasing efforts of the searchers after truth. The views advanced by the different writers who have undertaken to throw light on the vexed question, have added considerably to the confusion which exists. The attention of the reader is directed to Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6, which represent the fleur-de-lis in the various forms which have come down to us since the twelfth century.

In Charles the Fifth's reign, 1376, that monarch ordered his shield, and the arms of France, to be emblazoned with three fleurs-de-lis, in recognition of the union of the persons in the godhead. The oriflamme was succeeded in the fifteenth century by the white standard powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis, which, in turn, gave place to the standard of the empire, and is the cornette blanche for which Chamboard contends. The Imperial Standard was blue, carrying a golden eagle, and powdered with golden bees. Slafter, in his memoir of Champlain, published by the Prince Society of Boston, Mass., says: "Champlain had explored an interesting and important region; he had gone where European feet had never trod, and had seen what European eyes had never seen; he had, moreover, planted the lilies of France in the chief Indian towns at all suitable and important points, and these were to be witnesses of possession and ownership

in what his exuberant imagination saw as a vast French Empire rising into power and opulence in the western world."

The tricolor, which followed the fleur-de-lis, raised by the San Cenlettes of the revolution, was in turn substituted, in 1814, by the white flag of the Bourbons, by command of King Louis XVIII. This was looked upon as a blunder at the time, on the part of the king, and it is said, that it caused much ill-feeling, heart-burning and discontent in the army, and adds Van Laun: "It may have contributed not a little to the disasters of the hundred days." Not long afterwards, the tricolor again became the emblem of the French, and in 1848, when feeling ran high, the more vehement Republicans proposed a red flag. Their more moderate fellows, largely in the ascendant, supplemented the standard of the Republic by a red rosette. The original color is divided vertically into three parts, colored blue, white and red,—the red to the fly, and the white in the middle. The origin of its colors is also a subject of controversy. By some writers it is said to have been intended to combine the colors of the St. Martin's banner, of the oriflamme, and the white flag of the Bourbons; by others, it is averred, the colors are those of the city of Paris; and other authorities assert that the flag is copied from the shield of the Orleans family, as it appeared after Philip Egalité had knocked off the fleur-de-lis. With the departure from France of the citizen king, Louis Philippe, disappeared the fleur-de-lis, and the tricolor gloried in its stead during the Republic, the Presidency, and the Empire of Napoleon the Third, and today it is still the banner of the Republic.

GEORGE STEWART.



1



2



3



4



5



6

The Rapids.

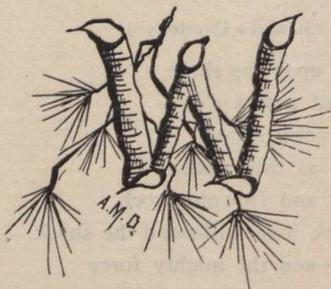
JOHN W. GRAY.

(Republished from "Stewart's Quarterly")

Oft have I stood upon the shore,
Gazed thy troubled waters o'er—
Listening to the noisy splash
Of angry waters as they dash
Against the dark and frowning rock,
Whose fronts have long withstood the shock
Of fierce storms—and the mighty force
Of elements; whose breathings hoarse,
Are mix'd with the deafening roar
Of waves that sullen beat the shore,
And angry, toss about in foam,
As onward to the sea they roam.
Their waters rushing—whirling—round—
Leaping with impatient bound,
Cleaving the wave-worn precipice
While, white with foam, the wild abyss,
Seems tortured, and with headlong vent
Dashes o'er the rocks, worn and rent
With deafening noise, and lightning leap
Headlong with unresisted sweep.
Thy waters seek the ocean wide,
Co-mingling with its ceaseless tide;
Yet, wild waters, thou hast calm hours;
Vanish'd seems thy dreaded power;
Silent and still, as if asleep,
No ripple on thy angry deep.
I've watched thee when thou didst awake—
Thy dreamy slumbers off thee shake,
And on with impatient leap
Go dashing down thy fearful steep.

Brouage.

The Birthplace of Champlain.



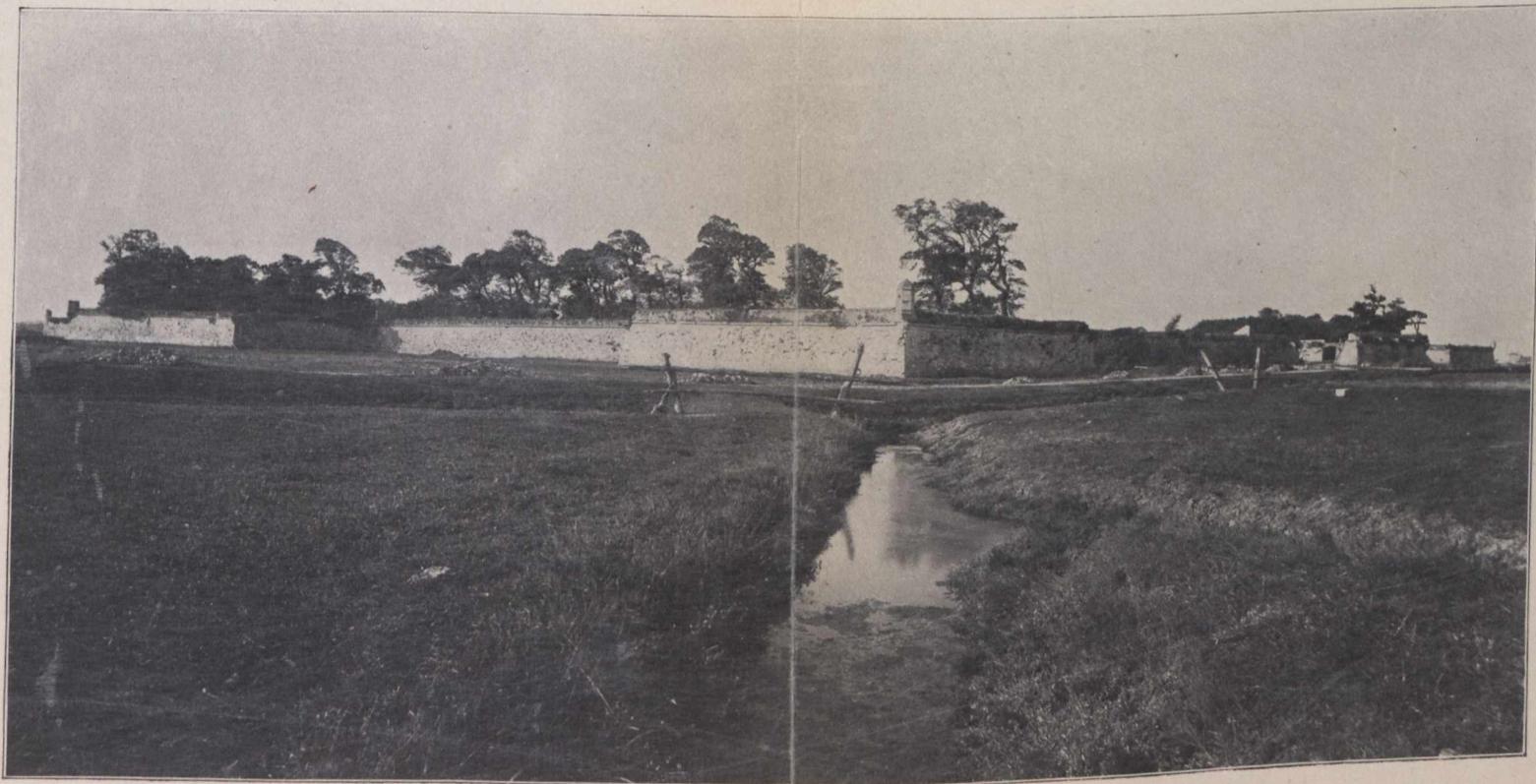
WHEN the outline of the present issue of ACADIENSIS was under consideration, it was felt, in view of the importance of the historical event, viz., the discovery of the River St. John, the ter-centenary of which we are about to celebrate, that a special number of this magazine might fittingly be devoted to the individual whose name has been so prominently associated therewith. This idea was accordingly adopted, and the writer has selected as the portion of the work for his special treatment, the birthplace of this illustrious explorer.

Very little data being readily obtainable concerning such a remote country village, a pilgrimage was planned to this Mecca of southwestern France.

Finding it impossible, however, to personally undertake so long a journey at such short notice, the writer induced a near relative, recently visiting in France, to journey to Brouage on his behalf, and write for ACADIENSIS an account of her visit, with a description of the place and the people as they are to be found to-day. The journey was readily undertaken, but no arguments that could be put forward were sufficient to induce the traveller to tell her story in her own words over her own signature. Accordingly, the following article has been written by one who labors



MONUMENT TO CHAMPLAIN
At Brouage, his Native Town.



THE WALLS AND FORTIFICATIONS OF BROUAGE.

As seen from the Northeast.

under the disadvantage of having to see by the aid of another's eyes that which he wishes to describe.

A few picture postal cards, a large photograph which was a chance find at Paris, and several tiny snap-shot pictures taken with a very inferior pocket camera, supplemented by copious extracts from the letters of his correspondent, and from the only works available which contained anything upon the subject, are the basis of the present article. The writer considers himself fortunate in being able to obtain these illustrations, imperfect as they may doubtless appear to the casual reader, for the reason that by their aid a much more intelligent conception of this interesting and historic town may be obtained in a few minutes, than by the perusal of a volume devoted to a description of the scenes which it is desired to portray.

With no more definite information than that Brouage was near La Rochelle, and that the latter in turn was about 150 miles southwest of Paris, on the coast of the Bay of Biscay, the commission was undertaken. The first communication received which in any way bore upon the subject was upon a postal card, and read as follows:

“PARIS, March 30th, 1904.

“I received your letter yesterday and have been making enquiries about Brouage, but so far unsuccessfully. Baedeker speaks of La Rochelle as having had a large trade with Canada before she fell into the hands of the British, but does not mention Brouage. I think that the latter place must be near La Rochelle, and I am going today to the Biblioteque Nationale, and will let you know as soon as I can find anything definite. La Rochelle is ten hours from Paris on the train in a south-westerly direction.”

The first card was followed by another, which read thus :

“ PARIS, April 1st, 1904.

“ Have found a village called Brouage-ville, six kilometers from Marennes and south of La Rochelle, which is probably the place which you want. It has 400 inhabitants and no railway station, and, so far as I can make out, it has no line of omnibus running to it. I will have to go to Rochefort, stay there over night, the next morning go on to Marennes, an hour's ride, and from there take a conveyance of some sort to Brouage.”

This was decidedly a starting point, but it did not appear very encouraging, as with only a hamlet of 400 people there was little probability of finding many people of intelligence from whom a foreigner might seek information upon the desired topic with much hope of success.

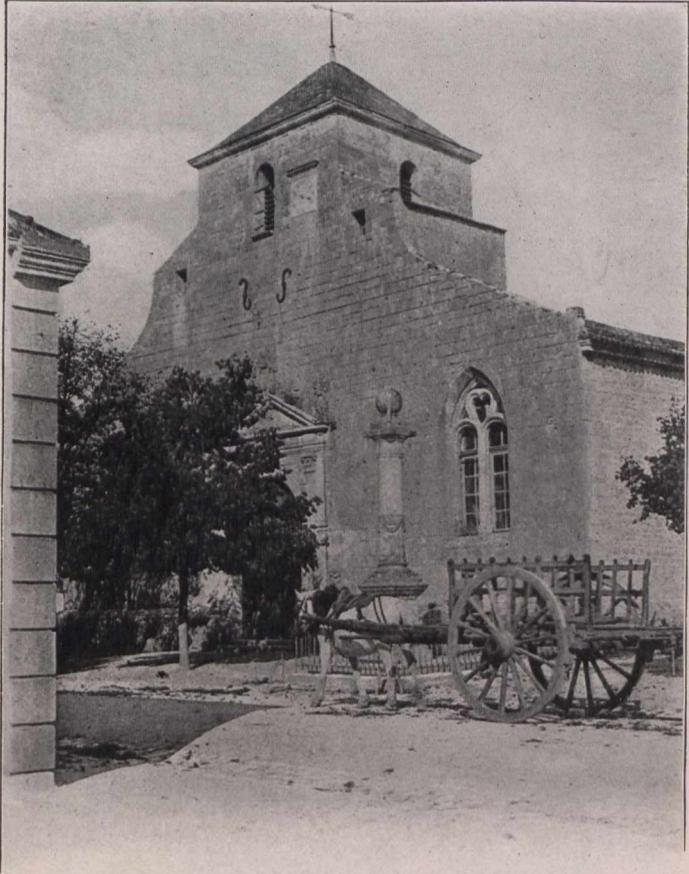
A fortnight later a letter arrived, from which the following extracts are taken :

“ PARIS, April 13th, 1904.

I have just returned from a most interesting trip to Brouage. I reached Rochefort at six p. m. on Monday, after a ten hours' ride on the train from Paris. The next morning I took an early train from Rochefort and reached Marennes at nine a. m., where I took a carriage for Brouage, six kilometers distant.

“ Our road to the town, 'la ville morte,' as it is called, lay across a plain, the ploughed fields on one side of us and the 'mazais,' the salt marshes, on the other. As we approached the town, the only creature in sight was a horse feeding upon the top of the fortifications, so you can judge how broad they are. We entered through the opening in the wall where, in the illustration, you will observe the horse and cart coming out.

“ The trees inside are beautiful, much larger than those of the surrounding country. I was told that they are from two to three hundred years old. The



FACADE OF THE CHURCH AT BROUAGE.

Monument to Champlain will be observed in front of the church.



“The road by which we entered Brouage. The gateway corresponding to the walls and fortifications has entirely disappeared.



The remains of the wall which once surrounded the garden of a “grande maison.”



THE POWDER MAGAZINE.



AN EXAMPLE OF THE ORDINARY DWELLING
HOUSE AT BROUAGE.

only people we saw in our wanderings through the place were a child, who was sitting on the edge of a well, and two girls hanging out clothes. One of the girls pointed out what had once been a garden, surrounded by a ruined wall, where she said a 'grande maison' had once stood.

The people are now only of the peasant class, from three to four hundred in number, and live in the same poor stone houses that one sees in any French village. Indeed, many of the houses look as if they were falling to pieces.

"The church is old, but not architecturally beautiful. Inside, the pillars are round and the roof flat, with no attempt at ornamentation anywhere. The interior has all been whitewashed, and here and there on the walls are green patches caused probably by the damp.

"Champlain's monument is rather insignificant,—one has to look twice to see it. It was evidently erected by 'le conseil general' in 1878. The following is a copy of the inscription upon the monument:

(Upon the column).

"A la memoire
de
Samuel Champlain,
la conseil general
de la
Charante inferieur,
1878."

(upon the pedestal).

"Samuel Champlain,
ne' a Brouage vers 1570.
fondation de Quebec 1608.
relation de voyage 1632.
mort en 1635."

"You ask about the harbour? The sea has retreated, leaving behind the salt marshes, and Brouage is now three kilometres inland.

"I give below a description of Brouage which I

found in 'Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique de Moreri,' written in 1759. This book was at the Hotel de Ville in Marenes.

" 'Brouage, a small town of France in Saintonge, with a harbour and salt marshes, the most beautiful in the whole kingdom. The harbour, which was once excellent, is now filled with mud, that the sea has brought in.'

" 'Louis XIV caused letters patent to be issued for its restoration, but they were never carried out.'"

" I am also sending you a description of Brouage which I found in a guide book at Marenes. I copied it, as the old lady who kept the shop would not sell the book. The old dame said that the book was now out of print. I am also sending you some post-cards with views of Brouage upon them. These were all that I could find at Marenes.

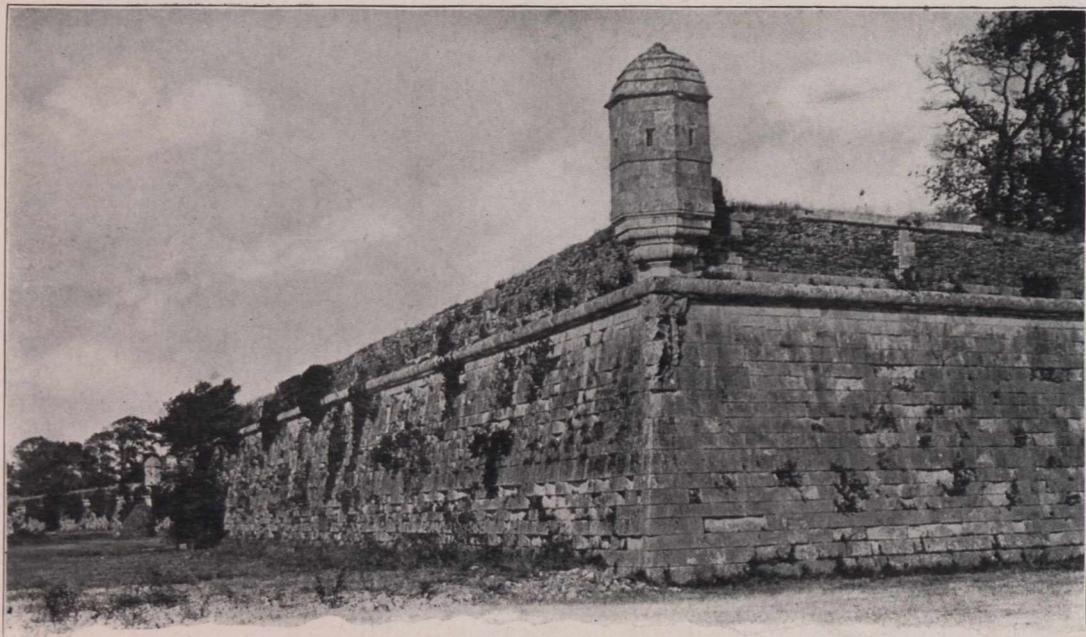
" 'Here is Brouage, the ancient Jacopolis (founded by Jacques de Pons,* who gave it his name, a name which it held but a short time), with its dismantled ramparts and its 200 inhabitants.'

" 'It was Cardinal Richelieu who fortified Brouage after the siege of La Rochelle, and his arms can still be seen on the walls.'

" 'If the tourist wishes to have an idea of what an abandoned city is like, a sort of vulgar Pompeii dis-interred, let him visit Brouage. The one street, the only one which has houses on either side of it, is the highroad between Rochefort and La Suedre. As for the others, which used to cut it at right angles, their site is marked by old ruined walls, a superabundant vegetation of ray grass, marsh mallows, nettles and thistles. On the ramparts are stunted and half dead trees, and on the casemates parts of houses uninhabitable and actually dangerous.'

" 'The barracks, whose last guests were some priests who had been carried off, and other victims, of the Revolution, can no longer be found; the houses of the superintendent have also disappeared. There

Ronce-les-Bains. Marenes et La Cote Sanitongaise, par André Létalic, Paris. Alphonse Picard, Libraire-éditeur 82, rue Bonaparte.



A CORNER OF THE RAMPARTS.



THE CHURCH OF BROUAGE.

From the Rear.

remain standing the storehouse for food, now a powder magazine, and the church, a witness of glory departed. There is nothing remarkable about its architecture.'

"Two marble slabs cover the remains of two governors, Claude d'Acigné, chevalier, seigneur, marquis de Carnavalet, who died September 10th, 1686, aged 65 years, notorious for his brutalities, as the complaints of the inhabitants testify; and Joseph de Gay, seigneur of La Tour, knight of the royal and military order of Saint Louis, who died September 17th, 1762, about a hundred years old, having served the king with honour and renown for nearly eighty years. This Gay de La Tour was a veteran of the wars of 'the great century.' When, in 1757, the English attacked the Island of Aix, he headed the defense, and made the wonderful capture that everyone knows about; he showed plainly that 'old age had not diminished his energy or his zeal.'

"Beside the church is a very small monument erected by the general council to the memory of Samuel Champlain, who was born at Brouage, and who was one of the pioneers of New France, and the founder of Quebec.'

"The small dwelling, used as a barracks by the few soldiers astonished at having to guard an open place, is not as you might suppose the remains of the old barracks. If you look behind it you will not be surprised to see standing some old walls eaten away by saltpetre which seemed to have waited in vain for the carpenters, joiners, tilers and blacksmiths to get ready for work.'

"These sad looking ruins are what remain of the convent of the Franciscan nuns, established in 1610, through the disinterestedness of two citizens of Brouage, Jean Laisné and François Gombaud. In the garden opposite, which used to belong to it, is a well dome covered and supported by columns, placed there as a mark to bear witness to an ownership which the masters of Antan and their heirs never think of claiming. In their chapel on January 25th 1701, was buried M. Maistre Jean Lortié, sieur du Petit. Fief, our parishioner.'

“ Brouage, which had a governor, a royal court of justice, a town hall, is no longer the chief town of the district; it has been joined to Hiers and so is now Hiers-Brouage. Hiers used to supply the fortress with water, which was an easy matter, situated as it is on a chalky hillock, a little island, as it were.”

“ It (Brouage) was a priory whose last incumbent was faithless to his priesthood.”

“ We must not leave the town of Brouage without recalling that it was once a great commercial centre. ‘ Brouage,’ says the author of *De Santorium Regione*, ‘ whose harbour is safe and easy of access, and where the vessels of Germany, Flanders, England and other countries come to get the salt, which is made there in great quantities, and carry it to their own lands.’

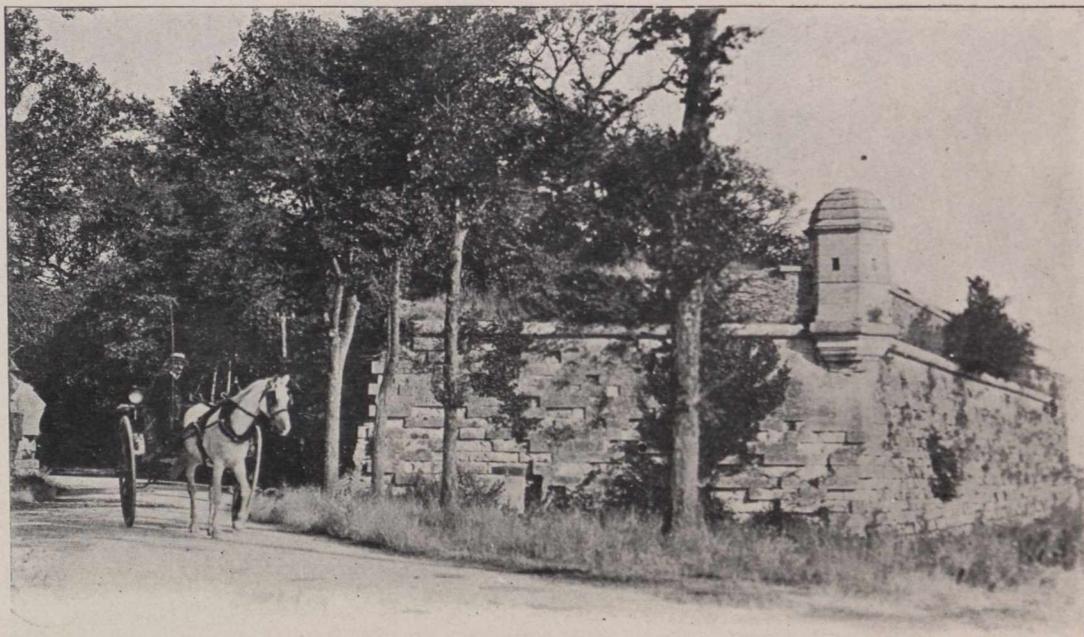
“ On the 13th of August, 1584, Benoit Lalouhé, ecuyer, seigneur de la Gataudière sold to Monsieur de Richelieu 400 hogsheads of salt at 75 sols, ‘ et pour chascun mugs, deulx sols, montant à cinq cents escuz solz,’ that the buyer paid in ‘ valeur de marempnes.’ This ‘ seigneur’ of Richelieu was François of Plessis, captain of the guard of Henry IV, father of the cardinal. He afterwards transferred his purchase to Arnaud of Rabar, lord of the chase, the first husband of Xandre Dizier, whom he substituted in his place.’—*Minutes of Charles Michel*.

“ The harbour of Brouage at that time allowed large vessels to enter. A century later a declaration of the king commanded that it be dredged, a work which was never carried out, said Vauban.”

The illustrations which accompany this brief sketch convey a better impression than can a mere verbal description of this little hamlet, picturesque in its decaying grandeur. The remains of its four-square walls with their bastions, the gateways having disappeared, are shaded by splendid feathery elm trees, which flourish here, as they do along the banks of our noble Saint John River, from the very nature of the



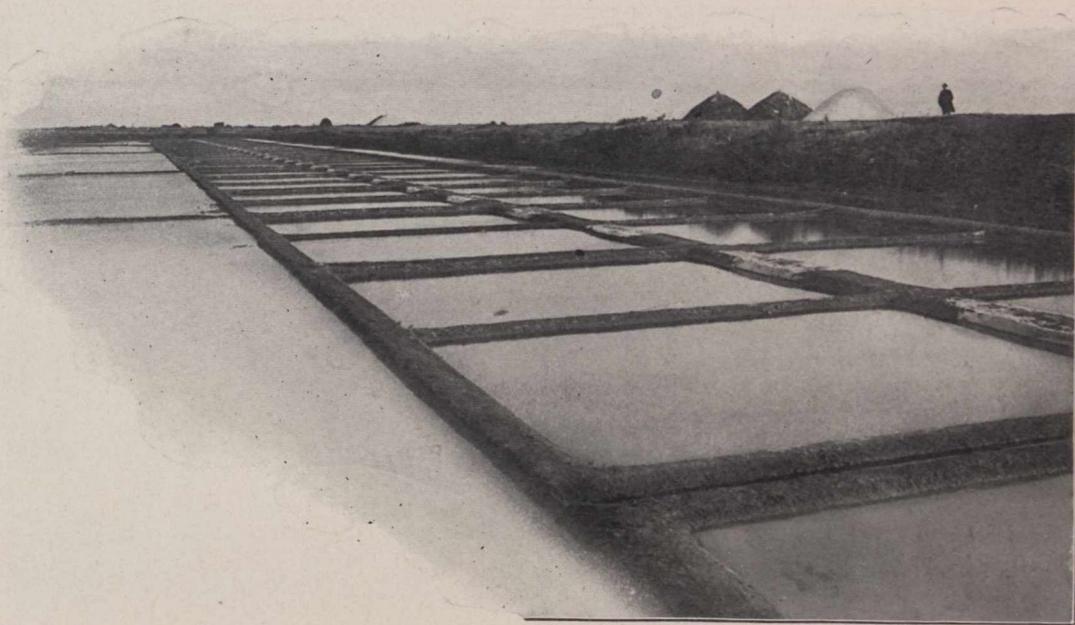
THE NORTH GATE TO BROUAGE.



"The opening in the walls through which we entered the town.
This view is from the outside."



A VIEW OF THE RAMPARTS,
Showing the entrance to the Town.



Where the water is allowed to evaporate for the purpose of collecting the salt. The piles of salt will be observed on top of the bank in the background.

soil. Looking out from the top of the walls the beholder observes on three sides the great salt marshes, through which the old channel may even yet be traced. To one side are huge piles of salt, the principal article of commerce which is now all that remains of the by-gone days when Brouage was a bustling active shipping port, her docks and quays thronged with the officers and sailors of the little vessels, tiny indeed by comparison with the modern leviathans by which the ocean in these days is plowed, but of which its people were then so justly proud.

One hundred and fifty tons, as computed by modern measurements would probably be a fairly representative craft of the fleet which frequented Brouage in its brightest days. Today the town is silent and deserted, its streets poorly paved, its buildings ill-kept and fast falling into ruin, the monument of Champlain, its most noted son, has been described as incongruous and insignificant.

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.



The St. John.

BY JAMES HANNAY.

(Republished from "Stewarts Quarterly")

They talk of the Rivers of other lands—
Of the Danube or noble Rhine,
Where fought of yore the undaunted bands
From Alps and Appenine—
Of the yellow Tiber, where sat enthron'd
The City of old so grand—
Of the Don, by whose waters Serfs have groan'd
In a despot trampled land.

Let the Mississippi's waters sweep
To the sea with resistless tide,
And the great St. Lawrence in anger leap
O'er a mountain's rugged side;
While others sing of the pleasant Seine,
Or the mighty Amazon,
We'll rise our songs in as proud a strain
In praise of the broad St. John!

Five hundred miles in its long career
It flows on its lordly way,
Where the lofty pine and the cedar rear
Their crests to meridian day.
Through the forest dark it speeds along—
It winds through the vallies fair,
Where the boatman's voice and the raftman's song
Are borne on the morning air.

When the winter hath bound it with icy hand
To the hard unyielding beach,
The ice-boat speeds, by the keen winds fann'd,
Up the smooth and glittering Reach:

And the skater skims with his steel shod feet
O'er the river's glassy face,
And vies in speed with the courser fleet,
Or the hound that joins the chase.

When the summer hath melted the barrier frail,
And broken its icy seal,
Its surface is whitened by many a sail
And furrowed by many a keel.
The steamboats trace on its waters dark
Their track in the snow-white foam,
And the Indian paddles his fragile bark
To his lowly wigwam home.

Down many a rapid it grandly glides,
Ere it reaches the tide-toss'd bay,
In a thundring fall like an avalanche slides,
As it rushes upon its way.
It struggles and chafes in its rocky bed
With the swift in-coming tide,
Till the rocks are worn away and shed
From the gorge's rugged side.

Then out to the sea with a stately sweep—
Past the sides of the wave-worn piers—
It mingles its tide with the mighty deep,
As it has for a thousand years..
Tho' thrones may be rent and kingdoms go
Into premature decay,
The great St. John will still grandly flow
On its course as it flows to-day.

The St. John River and Its Past History.



S Champlain some three hundred years ago sailed into the Bay of Fundy in search of a suitable place to found a colony under the banner of France, he must have met with some surprises, not the least being the outlet of a great river from among the broken hills around St. John harbor. How much more attractive was St Mary's Bay to his eye as a prospective estuary of a great river, and how beautiful appeared Digby Basin with its picturesque entrance and its magnificent land-locked harbor. Yet neither of these indentations of coast could hold Champlain at this early part of the season, for he continued his exploration around the head of the bay until returning he reached the outlet of the St. John.

Champlain does not tell us much about the entrance of the St. John river, into which he sailed on that St. John's day in June, many years ago, but his description, though brief, brings plainly before us some of the physical peculiarities of the place. There are, however, many peculiarities of this noble stream well worthy of record which he did not see, but which it will be my object to set forth in the following pages:

INTRODUCTORY.

Among the many rivers of the Atlantic seaboard of North America none have the peculiarities which serve to give especial interest to the St. John. It is difficult to find a river four hundred and forty miles long and two hundred feet wide at its mouth,* or with the peculiar tidal rapids which give such constant variety to the appearance of the gorge at the narrow outlet of this river.

The St. John differs from the majority of rivers in having no marine delta; the mud which it pours into the sea being swept up and down the Bay of Fundy by strong tides, until it mostly finds a resting place in the deep waters of the bay, off Grand Manan and the Western islands. The actual delta of the St. John is inland, between Belleisle Bay and Oak Point, and of the Kennebecasis at Perry's Point, where these rivers discharge into lake-like expansions of brackish water.

The St. John combines within its basin three different river-systems, once independent of each other, but now contributing their waters to the stream which discharges at the harbour of St. John. The rivers of the Middle and Southern States flow with a rapid course from mountain ranges to the plains, where they enter the sea by broad estuaries; those of the New England States descend from a broken country to enter the sea by fjords, or by shallow estuaries; the Hudson alone dividing these two groups of states has physical features which may be compared with those of the St. John. These streams are alike in their long, navigable courses, and in the fact that each drains a flat, interior region and forces its way to the sea through obstruct-

*Between Split Rock on the eastern side and the limestone point under the Cantilever bridge on the western side, according to W. D. Matthew, the width is about 212 feet.

ing ranges of hills. The St. John, however, flows through a rolling and elevated country before it reaches the interior plain, while the Hudson gathers its waters off the low plateau or plain of central New York, and then passes directly through the hills to the sea.

I do not propose to discuss all the features of this remarkable river, but rather to try, if possible, to throw some light on the question of earlier outlets of the St. John than that which now exists, and to sketch the genesis of the several valleys which now form the channel by which the waters of the interior are poured into the sea at St. John.

INCEPTION AND GROWTH OF THE VALLEYS NEAR THE OUTLET.

To trace the history of the valleys which give passage to the St. John, near its mouth, will carry us back to the remotest period of geological history, almost to the dawn of life, quite to that dawn as measured by the standard of fifty years ago.

Let us take up this history at the close of Huronian time. At this period only the simplest organisms existed, viz., the Protozoa and Sea-weeds, with, perhaps, marine worms. The Protozoa had developed several types, as Sponges and Radiolarians with siliceous shells or skeletons, and the Foraminifera with calcareous shells, and these, no doubt, were accompanied by soft-bodied animals which have left no trace of their existence in the solid rocks. These animals that we speak of are known to have existed as early as, and probably before, Huronian time.

Huronian time in this region was too troublous to admit of the peaceful existence of these minute and delicate creatures. It was here a time of great physical disturbance. The solid crust of the earth, perhaps

then more unstable than now, was broken up in many places and gave passage to great eruptions of volcanic matter. All the coast region of New Brunswick was overspread with vast sheets of scoria and ashes, poured forth from numerous volcanic vents.

Very noticeable among these volcanic ranges are the Kingston hills, now sunk to four hundred or five hundred feet above the sea level, but once towering above the surrounding country. Usually the rocks of this old volcanic range are so twisted and folded, or broken up, that it is impossible to trace the order of succession in which they were laid down; but at New River, in Charlotte county, they are more regular, and there a succession has been traced amounting to ten thousand feet in thickness. This means an accumulation of more than a mile and a half in thickness of lavas.

But the peculiar feature of this Kingston range is that while it has a longitudinal extent of about seventy miles, from Beaver Harbor to Norton, where it is covered by later deposits, it is only four or five miles wide; and it is bounded by nearly straight lines throughout. This tells us that there were profound faults or breaks in the earth's crust along each side of this range, with probably a sinking area between, into which and on which the lava streams were poured. These faults were the initial lines of valleys which continue to exist to the present day.

A glance at the condition of these valleys, as they were developed during the passage of the ages, may be of interest. But we can only refer to a few of the more important epochs, taking up first their aspect at the close of the Cambrian time.

The Huronian epoch, previously referred to, was marked by the existence of animals of low organization—the Protozoans; now an advance had occurred,

and we find the seas were tenanted by Crustaceans and Molluscs of various kinds, as well as many soft animals which have left tracks on the surface of layers of sand and mud of which the rocks are made up. The volcanic fires had died out, the sea had covered the land in the region of which we speak, except, perhaps, a few projecting hills, and over the lava beds, sunk beneath the ocean, was spread layer after layer of sand and mud, charged with the cast off tests of trilobites, a kind of Crustacean, the shells of molluscs, and the rod or net structures of hydroids.

THE ST. JOHN FAULT.

The muds in which these were buried accumulated to a thickness of four thousand feet, and subsequently were crowded and folded together by a resistless pressure from the south, until the whole series was at one point doubled over on itself. This over-folding has revealed the existence of a profound fault in the earth's crust within the city limits; it runs along the Marsh and Valley, and the upper part of the harbor, from Mill street past the Straight Shore to the Lunatic Asylum, and beyond. (See map on page 249).

On the south side of this great fault the earth's crust has sunk down to the depth of three-quarters of a mile; or *vice-versa*, the crust on the north side has risen to that extent, and the covering of Cambrian rocks with its entombed trilobites, molluscs and graptolites, or hydra-like animals, has been completely swept away by the vast denudation of subsequent ages. The weakness of this fault line helped to produce the valley which now exists along the City Road, and the upper part of the harbor which here forms a part of the outlet of the St. John.

DENUDATION AS WELL AS FAULTING HAS HELPED
TO FORM THESE VALLEYS.

Another part of the outlet is more clearly the result of denudation or wear of the rocks. In the Laurentian rocks which cross the river at the "Falls," or rapids, there are some bands softer than others. One of the soft bands is that of shale, etc., which contains the graphite beds; this band is enclosed between limestones on the south and quartzites or hard sandstones, on the north, and being softer than the enclosing bands has given rise to the basin between the Upper and Lower "Falls." The quartzites on the north, form the ledges which obstruct the passage of the water of the river at the "Upper Falls," and the limestones on the south form cliffs on each side of the gorge at the "Lower Falls." On the west side of the river no rocky ledges show between these points, but the shores consist of strong clay and other surface deposits.

More complex agencies have been at work in producing the undulating shore lines at and opposite Indiantown, chiefly the denudation of rocks of unequal hardness, and the movement of rocks along fault lines. The bold hill at Pleasant Point is a mass of granite which has fault lines and softer beds on the south, and softer strata also on the north, and to these owes its prominence; and the deep indentation of Marble Cove is clearly due to the softer limestones and slates which lie between the harder quartzites on the south, and the granite rocks of Indiantown itself.

In the Narrows above Indiantown the rocks are of so uniform a texture that denudation cannot have been the chief agent in producing this somewhat tortuous passage. We shall have to appeal to cross-faults here for an explanation of the inception of this passage,

though subsequent wear by water-action no doubt enlarged and deepened it.

The formation of caves and subterranean water courses in the limestone beds in distant ages, (as suggested further on) are also probably in part responsible for the opening up of this passage.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE VALLEYS BY DEFORMATION OF THE EARTH'S CRUST.

The occurrence of these faults leads us to speak of the enlargement of the valleys above the Narrows, to which we have already referred, as being due to profound faults produced in Huronian and post-Cambrian time in the earth's crust. We may now take a step onward in time and look at this region at the close of the Devonian period.

Important physical changes had taken place; the comparatively peaceful condition of the region in the later Cambrian ages had been followed by volcanic disturbances, not however on the vast scale of those which took place in the Huronian age and at the beginning of the Cambrian. But though the volcanoes were less active the tangential pressure from the ocean became more intense, and finally culminated in the extrusion of extensive areas of granite. These movements were complicated with the production of new fault-lines and changes of level along the old ones.

In Cambrian times the movement along the two great faults that bound the old volcanic range of the Kingston rocks was reversed from what it had been in Huronian time, and the valleys which were thus formed on each side of the Kingston ridge were filled with Cambrian sediments. Another fault line had formed along the northern rim of the valley on the

north of the Kingston ridge, producing a parallel valley in which Upper Silurian muds were deposited.

It was probably after this period, at the close of Devonian time, that the great cross fault was formed, which extends from the granite in the Nerepis hills to the Narrows of the river above Indiantown.* This fault, enlarged into a valley, of which the Nerepis intervalles, the Short Reach and Grand Bay form parts, serves to catch the waters of the rivers coming down the long valleys to the eastward and convey them to Indiantown.

GROWTH OF THE KENNEBECASIS VALLEY.

One more stage in these profound earth movements may be referred to. If we pass on to the close of Carboniferous time, although there are proofs of comparatively mild volcanic action in the interior of the Province of New Brunswick at this time, no physical change occurred in the region that can be compared to the vast volcanic outbursts of the Huronian and early Cambrian time, or the great pressure and metamorphism of Devonian time. Nevertheless, there are proofs of some important movements along these old fault lines. I should especially refer here to that which bounds the south side of the Kingston hills, and therefore the north side of the Kennebecasis valley.

At this time the chain of hills between this valley and that of Loch Lomond was of much greater height than it now is, and perhaps was glacier-covered. From these highlands a vast body of material was swept into the valley below, and with the wash from other sources

*The continuity of this fault line is broken by the granite ridge of Pleasant Point, opposite Indiantown; but W. D. Matthew informs me that this granite is traversed by numerous trap dykes (diabase), parallel in their course to the Short Reach fault.

accumulated to a depth of several thousand feet. At the Joggins, in Nova Scotia, this Carboniferous formation, or terrain, has a thickness of fourteen thousand feet, but in our region the thickness probably was not so great. Whatever it was, however, the weak line of the crust along the foot of the Kingston hills could not sustain it, and it sank gradually its whole thickness along this fault-line. Subsequent denudation scooped out a good deal of these soft beds and produced the present valley.

There are indications that the great cross fault of the Short Reach yielded somewhat at this time, sinking on the east side; for while the Carboniferous deposits show considerable bulk at Boar's Head and Kennebecasis island, they are hardly represented on the west side of the river. Also the Cambrian sediments east of this fault in the Long Reach valley, are much better developed, that is, have been less eroded, than they have west of it.

ESTIMATES OF GEOLOGICAL TIME.

As yet, however, there was no St. John river; the changes in, and denudation of the earth's surface which I have endeavored to describe, were simply the stages which led to the production of the valleys which this river, in a later period of the earth's history, utilized for its outlet.

The principal features of this river basin were chiselled during a vast space of time, of which no record remains in this region, except the worn and corroded surface of the earth, exposed to the action of the elements during a succession of ages. Geologists have attempted to estimate what the extent of this time was, or at least the relative length of its different parts. The space of time, from that when the Huronian vol-

canoes ceased to pour out their vast floods of lava until the close of the Carboniferous age (Permian included), is called the Palæozoic ages, and it is represented by nearly consecutive deposits in this region, which give us the history of geological changes occurring here during this time.

The next grand division of time includes the Mesozoic ages, and so far as the St. John river is concerned is an utter blank, no vestige of a formation or terrain remains on the banks of this river, to tell of the changes which then occurred.

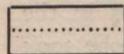
The third great division of Geologic time includes the Cainozoic ages, and is also a blank as regards these Maritime provinces, except its closing period, represented by the deposits of the Glacial and subsequent times.

Some of the leading American geologists have given time ratios to mark the proportionate lapse of time during these geological ages. Walcott counts 12 units of the time ratio to the Palæozoic, 5 to the Mesozoic and 2 to the Cainozoic ages, and he allows nearly one and a half millions of years to each unit of the time ratios. Taking his estimate we may say that for ten millions of years, during which vast changes in the life history and physical conditions of the globe took place, the record here is a complete blank. During most of the time it probably was for this region a period of continental elevation, when rivers cut deep canons and valleys into the earth's crust, such as we now find in Colorado and the Rocky Mountains, and when the ocean margin was far off to the south, along the outer banks which exist on the Atlantic coast, from Nantucket to Sable Island. This was the period of the carving out of valleys by flood and storm in preparation for the needs of the St. John at a later time.



DRAINAGE AREA OF THE ST. JOHN.

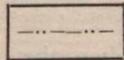
Showing the portions of other river-systems that have become tributary to it:



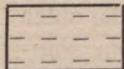
Boundary of the Restigouche Basin.



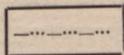
Portion which has become tributary to the St. John.



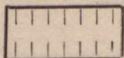
Boundary of the Miramichi Basin.



Portion made tributary by the St. John.



Water-shed between the St. John and Miramichi rivers.



Portion of the Petitcodiac Basin now tributary to the St. John.

THE RIVER SYSTEMS WHICH COMBINED TO FORM THE
ST. JOHN.

I have said that the St. John was a combination of three river systems. (See map on page 246). Of these the northern is that of the Restigouche, and embraces a large area in the north of New Brunswick and Maine, which was a sound of the sea in Silurian times. In later Devonian times the sea had withdrawn nearly to the present Baie Chaleur, but it again invaded the valley along its southern side as far as the Aroostook valley, at the beginning of the Carboniferous period. The deformation or change of level of the surface of this valley, which drew off the waters of its western part in a southerly direction, which now are tributary to the St. John, probably took place during, or after, the Carboniferous period.

Between the Silurian age, when the valley was filled with marine sediments, and the beginning of the Carboniferous period, the strata were folded and uplifted along this valley, and through the hills on its southern side ridges of granite were brought to the surface. The depressing of the south side of the valley was subsequent to this, and went so far as to carry this side beneath the sea again.* Scattered areas of red sandstone and conglomerate in this area were deposited at this time.

The middle river-system may be regarded as that of the Miramichi, since this river now drains away to the eastward the principal waters of this system. As it existed at the close of the Carboniferous time, this system included all the central part of New Brunswick, a wide plain, opening and descending to the eastward, and its western border is now marked by the Carbon-

*See the triangular area on the map, divided off by a line of dashes.

iferous rocks which extend westward to, and include Oromocto lake.

The third river system which the St. John made tributary to itself, or of which, perhaps, it would be more correct to speak as the original St. John, is that which flows in the Kennebecasis and Petitcodiac valley. It is one which apparently, in the early part of the Carboniferous age, had its discharge eastward; but which, after the long period of continental uplift, if not earlier, through the breaking down of the land barriers near St. John, found an outlet to the south.

Thus we see that the St. John river has attained its present magnitude by the breaking of mountain or hill-barriers which once separated its three river systems, and is not a simple valley of continuous growth. Great changes of level of the earth's surface were required to bring about this condition of things, and these changes were to a large extent affected during the period of continental elevation to which I have referred. Not all of them, however, for very important ones were produced when the former warm-temperature climate was exchanged for one of arctic cold, and glaciers of wide extent overspread the land.

ACTION OF GLACIAL AGENCIES UPON THE RIVER COURSES.

The long period of continental elevation, coupled with the warm temperature which prevailed during the greater part of it, had decomposed the rocks to a great depth, and when glaciers invaded the land they found it an easy task to remove great masses of this loose covering. This debris was carried along by the moving ice and eventually deposited at the sides and at the foot of the glaciers, across many of the valleys and ravines, and left there when the ice melted away.

These deposits were modified during a period of submergence, but not greatly changed, and as the land again arose to its original level, first beds of sand and gravel and then beds of clay were deposited in all the valleys, forming a luting which made water-tight the numerous basins formed by the transverse moraines and gravel ridges that existed in these valleys. In this way innumerable lakes were produced, and it became the business of the rivers, as the land emerged from the sea, to unite the various lakes together, to erode the barriers, drain the depressions and restore the river systems again.



It sometimes happened that these gravel and boulder-clay barriers were so extensive and high that the river was forced to seek a new channel, and usually a rocky one, often removed to a considerable distance from the one it had occupied before the Glacial period. Such was the case with the St. John, both at Grand Falls and at its present outlet.

The conformation of the land between South Bay and Pisarinco cove renders it highly probable that this was the course by which the river discharged its waters into the sea before the Glacial period. The shores are low around both these indentations, and only a few ledges come to the surface in the intervening area, which is occupied by boulder clay and gravel ridges, with a covering of Leda clay in the hollows. Every indication points to the existence of a buried channel of the river somewhere between the Lunatic Asylum ridge and Robinson's inn, on the St. Andrew's road.

FOUR OUTLETS OR PASSAGES ONCE EXISTED.

The Glacial period was followed by a time of submergence when all the land around St. John was buried beneath an icy sea. After a time these conditions were reversed and the land rose again, so that the ridge dividing the interior region from the Bay of Fundy began to show itself. The sea stood at a much higher level than it now does, and instead of the brackish-water basins within the barrier at Indiantown, which now exist, there were land-locked salt-water basins, sheltered like Passamaquoddy bay at the present day, from the ocean-swell and the storms of the Bay of Fundy.

When the sea had retired so far as to leave bare the tops of the hills which are now one hundred and fifty feet above its present level, the existing outlet of the St. John began to be defined by a wide estuary, extending from Logue's hill in Lancaster (600 feet high*) to Mt. Prospect (the "Cottage Hill") in Simonds (400 feet high). The inhabited part of the city was still beneath the waters of the Bay of Fundy when the

*For the heights given in this paper I am indebted to Wm. Murdoch, C. E., Engineer for the Board of Works of the City of St. John.

opening of this estuary was dotted with numerous islands, now the tops of hills, in the peninsula between the harbor and the Kennebecasis, etc. Beside the present outlet of the river there would at this time have been three others. The most westerly of these passed out from South Bay by way of the valley of Spruce Lake stream to Pisarinco cove, and was about fifty feet deep; another on the opposite side of the estuary passed through Torryburn valley and was nearly a hundred feet deep; and a third, a deeper, but narrower strait, existed at the site of Drury's cove.

As the land continued to rise the depth of water in these passages diminished, until two of them were entirely closed and only the present passage and that at Drury's cove remained. This cove is a deep indentation of the Kennebecasis river, here a lake-like expansion connected by a deep water channel with the St. John, and filling the lower part of the valley in which the former river runs. The cove is enclosed by rocky shores, but at its head there is a low pass—only about fifteen or eighteen feet above high-water mark—and floored by limestone ledges. This pass connects the cove with a long narrow valley, now filled with marine alluvium called the "Marsh," which has its termination at Courtenay bay, east of the city, and thus connects with St. John harbor.

When the land rose so that the sixty feet beach was formed, the Torryburn passage would have been closed, but there would still have been a channel forty feet deep at Drury's cove and one of equal or greater depth at the present passage.

From the condition of the Marsh valley it seems probable that the Drury's cove outlet continued to exist for some time after this, as the land continued to rise; this it did until the sea-water was entirely excluded

from the Kennebecasis and St. John rivers. When nearly excluded a tidal flow of considerable importance would have existed at Drury's cove as well as at the main passage at the falls, and only the rocky floor at the former outlet and the narrowness of the pass would have prevented this passage from being as important an outlet as the other. From this cause, however, if from no other, the passage at the falls would gain the preponderance and finally become the sole discharge of the river.

Not only was the sea-water thus excluded from the river by the rising of the land, but the harbor itself was probably drained so that an outer fall appears to have been formed to the eastward of Partridge island.* At this time the Drury's cove passage was closed, and peat and marsh mud began to fill in the valley of the Marsh. The land then began to sink again, but very slowly, until it reached its present level, and the tidal falls were re-established as we now see them.

Marine alluvium is, as we know, one of the latest of the geological deposits, and is in process of accumulation at the present day. The growth of this deposit in the Marsh valley has been stopped by dyking the outlet of the valley, but the deposit where it has been tested shows a very considerable depth at several points, and occupies the place of an old water channel that has been silted up in comparatively modern times. The channel no doubt had its origin in the period of continental elevation, or at least was enlarged at that time

*The former existence of this fall is shown by a rocky depression which exists south-east of Partridge Island and is indicated by the soundings there; outside of this the old submerged channel of the river has been filled up by the silt which is swept up and down the bay of Fundy by the heavy tides.

and very likely was in connection with some old water-way, possibly subterranean, that crossed the limestone ridge which separates this valley from the Kennebecasis. Indications of old subterranean channels in this ridge are found at several points. I may instance two.

SUBTERRANEAN WATER-WAYS.

The first I shall refer to was along and beneath the valley in which the Intercolonial railway runs, and is marked by limestone sinks at several points. One of these is west of Torryburn station, the next is Lawlor's lake. It is difficult to account for the deep cup-like form of this lake, surrounded by steep hills of limestone, on any ordinary theory of erosion by surface-wear, we suppose it to be due to the undermining of the rock along pre-glacial subterranean water-courses. A third sink on this line is southwest of Lawlor's lake. The present drainage of the two western sinks of this valley is discharged by a spring at the head of the "Marsh," at the level of the marine alluvium, the spring being blocked at this level by the marshy deposit.

The other instance of an old abandoned channel in the limestones is Oliver's cave, on Howe's road. No stream runs near this cave now, but close by, to the northeast, lying in a valley opening northeastwards to the Kennebecasis, occupied by several lakes, is a small pond, called Dark lake, which discharges by an underground passage into the valley of Simond's marsh. The stream through this valley enters the St. John river just above Indiantown. The valley of this stream is considerably lower than Dark lake and the outlet of Oliver's cave, opposite those places, and is filled at this lower level with an alluvial deposit, probably resting on Leda clay. Oliver's cave consists of a descending

passage and two chambers, and terminates in a well, filled with water to the depth of the surface of the alluvium in the valley adjoining. It is evident that the water-channel formed through the limestone rock at Oliver's cave is a very old one and has been blocked during a period of submergence by the deposit formed in this valley.

I refer to these two instances to show the possible existence of buried subterranean channels in the limestone ridge which may have given passage to more or less of the river-water of the Kennebecasis, and of the St. John valley, in pre-glacial times.

CHANGES OF LEVEL DUE TO POST-GLACIAL FAULTS.

But there is an element of uncertainty as to the comparative importance of the passage at Drury's cove and that at the present outlet, due to a cause which we have only lately been led to appreciate. This cause, which may have operated at only a late date to close this channel, would have acted by an uplift of the solid rocks at the Drury's cove pass, such as undoubtedly has occurred in the city of St. John itself since the Glacial period.

It is but recently that we have observed the obvious evidence of such movements which exist around us. I have called attention to the existence of post-Glacial faults in and near St. John by which very considerable changes of level in the surface of the land had been effected since the glaciers disappeared from this region. In one case a change of level to the extent of over five feet can be shown to have occurred in a space of one hundred and fifty feet. This movement was effected by a number of small faults or breaks in the rocks, amounting in all to the displacement above referred to. If the solid rocks could thus be lifted to the extent of

five feet in the short space of one hundred and fifty feet, it is quite possible that between the sea and Drury's cove they may have been raised to the extent of fifteen or twenty feet. A rise of the ledge at that cove to this extent would prevent the escape of the river waters at that point and turn the whole into the present outlet.

In the preceding remarks I have not mentioned another cause which, no doubt, operated to deepen the present outlet at the expense of the one at Drury's cove when once the preponderance of the discharge at the former was established, namely, the erosion of the rocks at the "Upper Fall." I know of no evidence of this erosion which, nevertheless, is in progress at the present day; but it will be difficult to distinguish it from the effects of the slow subsidence of the land which has been going on in modern times, without special observations having this end in view.

CONCLUSIONS.

To sum up the whole matter we may say that—

1st. The St. John River is built up of three river systems, once independent of each other.

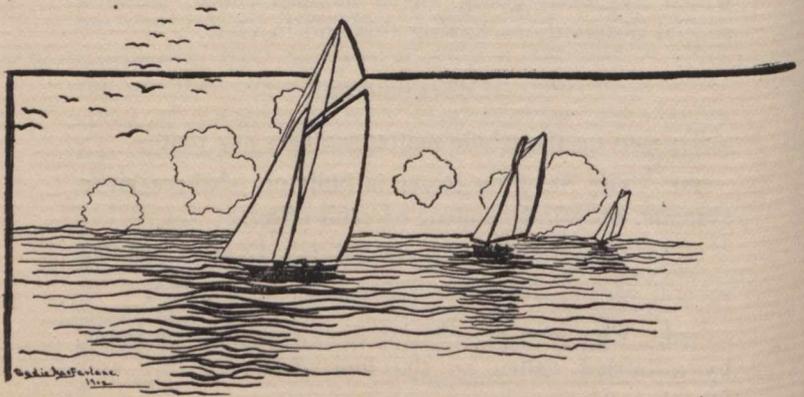
2nd. That the St. John River has availed itself of several very ancient valleys for its present outlet.

3rd. That the pre-Glacial discharge was probably by a buried valley on the line of South Bay and Pisarinco Cove.

4th. That there were four post-Glacial outlets.

5th. That the post-Glacial outlet by way of Drury's Cove and the Marsh, to Courtenay Bay, persisted longer than two others of the four, but now only one of the four, that at "the Falls," remains open.

In Champlain's time all this varied history of the St. John river would have been a blank, the science of geology then had no existence, nor could the vicissitudes through which this stream has passed, have been so much as guessed at. That there had been a tilting of the earth' crust by which the waters of the northern valleys had been brought to a discharge at the sea port of St. John, would have been a postulate incomprehensible to the people of that time; it was easier to assert that the Deity had made this river valley at the beginning as we see it now.



Some Prominent Acadians.



ALTHOUGH Champlain was the central figure in the expedition which first settled Acadia 300 years ago, there were with him other men of higher rank, and perhaps of greater ability, whose names have to a large extent dropped out of Acadian history. The most prominent of these was Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardie, and a baron of France. Poutrincourt desired to make his home in the new world, having become weary of the civil wars and troubles which had for a long time disturbed the peace of his own country. Poutrincourt appears to have had no other object in view than to find some place in Acadia in which he might settle his family, while most of his companions on the expedition were interested in the fisheries, or in trading, or in seeking for precious metals. It is somewhat remarkable that Poutrincourt, whose horror of civil war brought him to Acadia should in the end have fallen a victim to the rebellion against the king's authority which was headed by Conde, the first prince of the blood in 1615. Poutrincourt was greatly pleased with the appearance of Port Royal Basin and the territory about it, and he determined to make this place his home. He begged a grant of it from de Monts, the head of the expedition, and this grant was confirmed by the king in 1607. When Champlain retired from his Acadian enterprises and turned his attention to Canada, Poutrincourt became the mainstay of the Port Royal colony, and there is no doubt that, if the

times had been more favorable to such enterprises as his, he would have succeeded in establishing a strong colony at Port Royal. Unfortunately the assassination of Henry the Fourth of France threw everything into confusion in that country and impeded Poutrincourt's efforts on behalf of Acadia. Lack of money caused the growth of the colony to be slow, and in 1613, it was broken up by a piratical expedition from Virginia under Captain Argal. This misfortune was the means of causing Poutrincourt to enter the service of the king, and in 1615, he was killed at Mery sur Seine in one of the petty actions arising out of Conde's rebellion.

Biencourt, the son of Poutrincourt, took up the work in Acadia which his father had abandoned, and succeeded in maintaining himself in it for several years. It is said that Biencourt and the Frenchmen with him, among whom was Charles LaTour, lived with the Indians and supported themselves by hunting and fishing, neglecting the exercises of religion and forming illicit connections with Indian women. Acadia however, was always a country of scandals, and it is not necessary to accept as true all the statements that were made in regard to Biencourt and LaTour by their enemies. The Charnisay family, who were at feud with LaTour, were the chief propagators of these tales, and therefore they must be accepted with much reserve. Biencourt is supposed to have died in 1623, and to have left his property to LaTour, but a paper has been recently discovered which seems to prove that he was living at a much later period. There is no doubt, however, that he left Acadia about the time mentioned as the date of his death, and it is equally true that LaTour remained and continued in possession of such property as Biencourt had owned in Acadia.

Charles LaTour is certainly the most remarkable figure in Acadian history, except perhaps his heroic wife, whose name has gone down into posterity as one of the world's heroines. There is a great deal in the history of LaTour which is still obscure and which may never be cleared up. His father Claude LaTour is believed to have come to Acadia with Poutrincourt in 1606, bringing his son Charles, who was then fourteen years of age, with him. Claude LaTour was highly connected, and he appears to have been a man of pleasing and courtly manners, qualities which were inherited by his more distinguished son. The story of his proceedings at the Court of England, to which country he was taken as a prisoner of war, reads like a romance, yet the records show that it is substantially true that LaTour succeeded while in England in obtaining not only an enormous grant of territory for himself and his son, but also the title of "Baronet" for both. As these titles were sold for so much money, and as LaTour had none, the granting of such favors to him and his son must be taken as a proof of remarkable generosity on the part of the king or of some very signal service which LaTour had rendered to the state.

Charles LaTour, like his father, always managed to fall on his feet, no matter how often cast down. His contest with Charnisay, it is true, ruined him for the time, but in the end he got back all his property and all his honors, and actually married the widow of his dead rival and thereby came into possession of Charnisay's estates as well as his own. While preserving his allegiance to France and being counted a good citizen of the French Dominion he had contrived to preserve such relations with the English that when his fort was captured by an act of war he was able to get it back, and with it a large grant of territory from the English

government. He died full of years and honors, and left behind him a family of sons and daughters whose blood is still to be found among the Acadian people of the present day.

The interest excited by the career of Lady LaTour is even greater than that which attaches to her able and politic husband. As in the case of the LaTour family there is much that is obscure in regard to her early life. Her name was Frances Marie Jacqueline, and it is stated in a volume published by the Charnisay family that she was a daughter of a barber of Mons, in France. This may or may not be true for it is the statement of an enemy whose object was to make it appear that she was of very humble birth. The same volume states that she was selected for LaTour by one of his lieutenants and shipped out to him like a bale of goods. Many kings and princes have obtained their wives in this way, but the statement is at least doubtful. At all events no man had a more devoted energetic and heroic wife than LaTour, and if his lieutenant selected the lady for him he made a wise choice. Lady LaTour was a Huguenot, and to this fact may be attributed most of the attacks which were made upon her character. It is said it was owing to her influence that her husband was kept in a state of rebellion against the royal authority which was then wielded by Cardinal Richilieu. The story of Lady LaTour's defence of her husband's fort and of her own imprisonment and death has been often told and need not be repeated here. It is enough to say that the history of no country presents a more attractive figure or one that is more likely to be remembered than that of Lady LaTour.

There is another lady connected with Acadian history who rose to higher rank and more distinguished honor than Lady LaTour, but whose name is hardly

ever mentioned in these days. I refer to Louise Elizabeth de Joibert, who was born at St. John, in the old fort, in 1673, just 28 years after Lady LaTour's death. Mademoiselle Joibert was a real Acadian, a native of the country, and the daughter of the officer in command of the fort at St. John. Her father, Pierre de Joibert, whose territorial title was Soulanges, died when she was only five years old, having just succeeded to the position of Governor of Acadia, and this misfortune, which seemed at the time ruinous, was the making of her fortune. Her mother, who was a daughter of Chartier de Lotbiniere, Attorney-General of New France, returned to Canada after her husband's death, and there Louise Joibert met with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to whom she was married by the Bishop of Quebec in 1690, when she was only 17 years old. Her husband, who was a very distinguished officer, was 30 years older than herself. In 1703, he became Governor General of Canada and held that high position for twenty-two years. Madam de Vaudreuil went to France in 1708, and remained there for several years. Her object seemed to have been to strengthen her husband's interest and by her beauty and wit she attracted much attention at the court of Versailles and became a favorite both of Louis the Fourteenth and of Madam de Maintenon. She appears to have been a woman of much ability. Her death took place at Paris in 1740, when she was 67 years of age. Besides being the wife of one Governor General of Canada, she enjoys the distinction of being the mother of another, for Pierre Francois Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was the last French Governor of Canada, was her son.

A very different woman from Louise Joibert was another celebrated Acadian lady, Louise Guion, better

known as Madam Freneuse. This lady was a native of Quebec, but as she lived most of her life in Acadia she has a right to be counted among the prominent Acadians. Louise Guion was a sort of Acadian Cleopatra, who demoralized the hearts of the officers of the garrison of Port Royal, and was the cause of a vast correspondence between the home authorities in France and the governors of Acadia. All this was the result of the ravages of war, for if it had not been for her husband's death, as a consequence of the expedition of Colonel Church in 1696, Louise Guion would no doubt have lived a wholly uneventful life and would have been utterly forgotten in common with the majority of mankind. Madam Freneuse soon after her husband's death went to live at Port Royal, and while there became involved in an intrigue with Bonaventure, the commander of the king's ships on the coast of Acadia. Her presence at Port Royal disturbed the tranquility of that little community to such an extent that the matter came under the notice of the king and peremptory orders were sent out to have her removed to Quebec. These orders were disregarded, for she was protected by the governor and other influential persons, and it was not until seven years had elapsed that she returned to Quebec. Madam Freneuse appears to have been a woman of remarkable courage, for she performed the almost unparalleled feat of crossing the Bay of Fundy from St. John to Port Royal in a bark canoe in the coldest part of winter, accompanied only by one Indian and a young lad, her son. This was after the capture of Port Royal by the English, in 1710, and it was suspected at the time that she was an emissary of the French government and came to spy out the weakness of the garrison. After this exploit Madame Freneuse disappears from history and no

doubt ended her life quietly enough in the city of Quebec. It may be of interest to state that her husband, Mathieu d'Amours, was a grantee of all the land on the St. John river for two leagues deep on both sides between the Jemseg and Nashwaak.

La Valliere is another Acadian who has acquired some celebrity and who figured largely in the official correspondence of the French government in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was appointed to the command in Acadia in 1678, but his functions as governor were always wholly subordinate to his business as a farmer, fisherman and trader. La Valliere lived at Chignecto, and occupied the territory on the isthmus near the boundary between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. He seems to have been the first man to issue fishing licenses to the fishermen from New England. La Valliere seems to have been mainly interested in making as much money as possible out of his office, and his conduct was the subject of many complaints, so that he was finally removed from the position as Commander in Acadia after having held it for six years. The story of La Valliere has been told so fully by Mr. Milner in this magazine that it is not necessary to enlarge upon it further.

Nicholas Denys enjoys the distinction of being the first Acadian author, he having published a book on Acadia upwards of 225 years ago, which can still be read with interest. Denys was a native of France, where he was born in 1598, but most of his active life was spent in Acadia. He came to the country in 1632 and remained in it until 1670. During the whole of this 38 years he was actively engaged in business and in the work of founding settlements. He was at one time governor of the whole coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Cape Canso to Cape Rosiers. He estab-

lished fishing stations at many points and formed establishments on the Miramichi and also at Bathurst. The visitor to that place can still see on the west side of Bathurst harbor an enormous tree which marks the site of the settlement of Denys. Whether we regard Denys as an author, a pioneer in the work of settlement, or as a fisherman and trader, we must class him as a man of remarkable ability and force, and perhaps the most useful of all the settlers of Acadia.

In this paper I have dealt wholly with the Acadians who lived more than 200 years ago, for a list of the modern Acadians who have won distinction would be too long for the limits of this magazine. It is pleasing to know that the Acadian people are steadily advancing in wealth and enterprise and are beginning to take a prominent position in the affairs of the country. There is no department of effort in which they are not to be found in these Maritime Provinces, and it may be safely predicted that in future years their influence will steadily increase as a result of the improved educational facilities which they now enjoy.

JAMES HANNAY.





POWDER MAGAZINE OF OLD FRENCH FORT, ANNAPOLIS.



ANNAPOLIS, FROM GRANVILLE.



SALLYPORT OF OLD FRENCH FORT, ANNAPOLIS.

Annapolis.



AMUEL CHAMPLAIN passed two winters on the shores of the Annapolis Basin. His eyes must have often rested upon the same beautiful natural features that still remain. One may well believe that his uneasy spirit chafed under the circumstances that cooped him up so long in this remote corner of the world while he was yet in the prime of youthful strength, and eager to sail uncharted seas and set the flag of his country on unclaimed shores. The town of Annapolis was founded at a time and place most unfavorable for its existence. The greater its prosperity the more certain its destruction. Tiger hunters often lure their victim with a bleating kid tied in the jungle. The infant settlement of Port Royal was a kid in the wilderness, whatever betrayed its presence endangered its life. During nine years to 1614, considerable progress had been made, and word to that effect readily reached the ears of the Governor of Virginia in his one settlement of Jamestown, and he despatched Captain Argall with orders to destroy all the French settlements in Acadia, and this thinly disguised buccaneer, who was not new to this kind of business, laid Port Royal in ruins, although there was no war at the time between England and France. From this event till the treaty of Utrecht, a full century, there had been many claims and counter claims of Acadia; and Port Royal, as the French called it, became famous as the spot where the fierce disputes concentrated in sieglements, assaults and surrenders, till the town

had no rival in that kind of business on the whole continent. It has been taken by force five times by the English—by Argall in 1614, by Kirk in 1621, by Sedgewick in 1654, by Phipps in 1690, and by Nicholson in 1710. It was by them abandoned or restored to the French four times—by Argall, by the treaty of St. Germain, 1632, by treaty of Brede 1667, and by treaty of Ryswick 1697. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the English three times—by Ben Church 1694, by March 1707, and by Wainwright in 1707. It was unsuccessfully attacked by the French and Indians twice—in July, 1744, by Abbie de Loutre, and in September, 1744, by Duvivier. It was taken, sacked and abandoned twice—once by pirates in 1690, and once by United States revolutionary forces in 1781.

Considering that is less than three hundred years old, this is an extraordinary record. And now that it is side-tracked by the railroad, its cup of grievances is full; but nothing can stale the variety of its charms, or detract from the interest of its historic memories. While the world endures, the investing waters, and mountains, and islands, and meadows, and groves will continue to please the eye with their varied combinations that put on new aspects of beauty with the passage of the seasons and the hours of the day. The imagination, enriched by a knowledge of its early history, restores the ancient activities and environment and sees the leading characters that acted their parts in the stirring dramas of the day. Space forbids one to call the roll of noted men whose presence on this scene bespoke the importance of the locality as a storm center of clashing interests of international importance and continental dimensions.

If nature did not intend this place for a brisk commercial town, she nevertheless dowered the spot with

riches that no art can furnish, and no money can buy. It remains for human enterprise to utilize these advantages and make the old town so comfortable, so inviting, that it can never be neglected while there are tired mortals in search of refreshing scenes that appeal to the eye, and the intellect, and the imagination of intelligent people.

It was on that ground was grown the first wheat raised in America, and in the rocky suburbs was constructed the first water-wheel to turn a millstone on this continent, and the builder, LeEscarbot, a Parisian lawyer, proved more useful in the new world in his mechanical employment than he would have been in the old world in a more genteel vocation. In spite of many discouragements from 1605 to 1755, the French population, and there was no other European, had vigorously multiplied in this goodly land, and made for themselves comfortable homes in the choicest localities. By the treaty of Utrecht they had become subjects of England. This was repugnant to their most sacred sentiments of religion and patriotism.

At any rate, right or wrong, the French were to go. The "mailed fist" of unrelenting authority made short work of these "vermin," as General Amherst termed them three years later in an order to General Wolfe. Their deserted lands and the ashes of their homes were the unwritten records of a tragedy for which there are some excuses.

About sixteen hundred people in this county were either deported, or settled among the Indians in the forest. Their settlements extended east to the township line. The next summer of 1756 the whole scene from end to end of the valley, from basin to basin, was one of desolation, and vividly suggestive of extensive suffering.

New England troops had carried out the work of destruction, and they were best calculated for the task, if we are to believe Captain Alexander Murray, in charge of the garrison at Windsor, who wrote to Col. Winslow at Grand Pre, a month before the deportation began there :

“FORT EDWARD, 8th September, 1755.

“*Dear Sir*—I received your favor and am extremely
“pleased that things are so clever at Grand Pre, and
“that the poor devils are so resigned. When I think
“of Annapolis I applaud our thoughts of summoning
“them in. I am afraid there will be some lives lost
“before they are got together. You know our soldiers
“hate them, and if they can find a pretence to kill
“them they will.”

Having cleared the land of these undesirable owners, the next step was an effort to find other occupants who would give the government no trouble in the matter of allegiance. With the departure of the Acadians from all their settlements in the peninsula south of Canseau, the white population was reduced to less than 1,000 in Halifax and about 1,500 Germans in Lunenburg. The French were in possession of Cape Breton. Only a half-dozen years since Cornwallis had made a beginning at Halifax, and but two years since ground was broken at Lunenburg. Both settlements had suffered severely from Indians, who were quite willing to indulge in their cruel propensities and receive rewards from their French friends.

Both Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, and Lawrence of Nova Scotia, were not only desirous of ridding the province of the troublesome Acadians, but to replace them by settlers whose presence would be a guarantee of security to English interests. The French were not expelled in order that their property might

be divided among greedy adventurers who longed to possess their fertile lands and fruitful orchards, as we are sometimes informed. Had it been designed to deport the Acadians in order to bestow their inheritance upon covetous friends, then there would have been a reasonable effort made to protect their holdings and occupy them the next season. The firebrand was liberally used, and every house and barn belonging to them laid in ashes, and the land was largely injured in the interval before other hands were there to plow and sow and fence once more. These people never would have been expelled in order to despoil them for other reasons, it was clearly the intention to bestow them upon more desirable settlers.

Writing while the deportation was going forward, Lawrence says:

“Though every means was used to point out to the deputies (of the Acadians) their true interest, and sufficient time given them to deliberate, nothing could induce them to acquiesce in any measure consistent with H. M. honor and the security of the province. As soon as the French are gone, I shall use my best endeavors to encourage people to come from the continent to settle their lands, and if I succeed in this point we shall soon be in a condition of supplying ourselves with provisions, and I hope in time to be able to strike off the great expense of victualling the troops. This was one of the happy effects I proposed to myself from driving them off the isthmus; and the additional circumstance of the inhabitants evacuating the county will, I flatter myself, greatly hasten this event, as it furnishes us with a large quantity of good land ready for immediate cultivation.”

During the four years, from 1775 to 1760, these

fields lay waste and rapidly decreasing in value. The orchards were unpruned, weeds ran riot in the gardens, unclaimed cattle, dazed with their new conditions, wandered over unfenced farms in summer, and secured a living in the shelter of the forests in the winter, after the manner of moose and caribou. The old town, so long the capital, had been outgrown in importance by Halifax, and, deprived of that distinction, fell into a second place.

Several families of British origin continued to reside there, and it remained with a garrison and all its concomitants of commissary and chaplain, etc.

It became evident that the new settlers for these lands must be tempted from the rural districts of New England. The whole story of the expulsion of the Acadians was familiar to them. With the exception of Annapolis, the work had been carried out either entirely as at Grand Pre, or very largely elsewhere, by men from Massachusetts and nearby States.

So far as New England was concerned, there is no evidence that the farmers of that region were eager to possess those lands that Lawrence, in a proclamation issued on the 12th day of October, 1758, inviting settlers from the old colonies, describes as "one hundred thousand acres, of which the country had produced wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc., without failure for the last century; and another hundred thousand acres had been cleared and stocked with English grass planted with orchards, and embellished with gardens, the whole so intermixed that every individual farmer might have a proportionate quantity of plowed land, grass land, and wood land."

This tempting bait, officially dangled before the eyes of men who were wrestling for a livelihood from the stingy soil of New England hills, got something more

than a tentative nibble. Agents came to Halifax from these localities to know what more was to be thrown into this offer. There must be guarantee of civil and religious liberties, and explicit statement of terms of occupancy, before these desirable settlers would quit their homes. Governor Lawrence, in response to this demand, issued another proclamation on the 11th of January, 1759, that satisfied the interested parties, and active preparations went forward to bring the new pioneers. In the next May, 1760, came forty-five of these people, with some live stock and utensils for the farms. They came on a vessel called the "Charming Molley," and their names are of sufficient importance to be given here: Joseph Thayer, Gideon Albe, Isaac Kent, Stephen Rice, Daniel Summer, Joseph Marshall, Thomas Hooper, wife and sons and three daughters, William Williams, John Hill, Abner Morse, Nathaniel Rawson, Samuel Perkins, Ebenezer Felch, Thomas Damon, John Damon, Edmund Damon, William Curtis and wife, Daniel Moore, Samuel Bent, Uriah Clarke, Samuel Morse, Jonathan Church, Benjamin Mason, Michael Spurr and wife, three sons and three daughters, John Winslow, John Whitman, Michael Law, John Bacon, Daniel Felch, Benjamin Rice, Beriah Rice.

Later in the season arrived the following persons: Captain Phineas Lovitt, Obedian Wheelock, Aaron Hardy, Moses Thayer, Joseph Daniels, Benjamin Eaton, Thomas Smith, Job Cushing, Ebenezer Perry, John Baker, William Jennison, Paul Hazeltine, William Bowles. The work of settlement went steadily forward. Other houses were built and other homes were made on the goodly acres of the expatriated Acadians, who were dying by hundreds of homesickness, want, and fear, in the midst of inhospitable strangers. The

more hardy of these deported people were venturing back to their beloved Acadia. After eight years, in 1768, a census was taken, and the returns show a population of 513; among them are four French families. The present population of this county is largely composed of the descendants of these families from New England. The population was strongly increased between 1775 and 1783, by the arrival from the colonies, that afterwards became the United States, of many people who are known as "Loyalists." The greater portion of these came at the latter date when they were expelled by the victorious party. The new born nation was not minded to have in their midst an obstructive element, that had almost proved fatal to their cause in the long struggle for independence. So with genuine Anglo-Saxon bluntness they were made to distinctly understand that their room was better than their company, such a policy resulting in great hardships. Much of the best brains and culture was turned out of doors, and Nova Scotia was greatly enriched by the portion of these refugees that fell to her share. Their descendants are numerous in Annapolis County, where their thrift and intelligence have left a distinctive mark upon that portion of the province. The thrifty villages and fine farms of this region bespeak a superior population.

Annapolis town is the county capital. It is situated at the head of Annapolis Basin, and has a population of about 6,000. It is a trading center for the adjacent district and by rail and shipping it is in touch with general outside business. About twenty-eight acres are covered with the old fortifications, now fallen into desuetude, but still replete with memories of distant days, when there were stirring times among the pioneers who were so often obliged to defend by force of

arms their slender holdings that they had wrested from Nature. Here are churches, good schools, a newspaper, and comfortable hotels.

Bridgetown is fourteen miles from Annapolis up the valley, and at the head of navigation on the river. It is in the midst of a favored farming district, and has a population of about 1,000. It lacks the water outlook of Annapolis, and the interesting history of that town, but we cannot live on scenery, however much it contributes to our enjoyment. Bridgetown has its own charms, and is central to fine fishing in the streams to the southward. The town is on the D. A. R. line of railroad, and has a newspaper, several churches, good hotels, and other evidences of prosperity and promises of comfort to those who seek her hospitalities.

Paradise, Lawrencetown, and Middleton, in the above order, extend eastward up the valley on the line of railroad. They are all prosperous towns situated amid fine farms and extensive orchards. From Paradise a road crosses the North Mountain to Port Williams, distance about seven miles, on the Bay of Fundy, where some three hundred people are principally engaged in fishing.

From Middleton the Central Railroad crosses the South Mountain, and extends to Lunenburg town on the Atlantic coast. Southward from Middleton, four miles on this line, is Nictaux, a farming village largely on the hills, where there are immense deposits of valuable iron ore. The present outlook is favorable for extensive operations in this mining district. The Nictaux River, a considerable stream, descends into the valley over a precipitous course from the upper regions of the watershed, and thus makes available a large store of power to be utilized in the iron mining industry at a later day.

The Colonists at St. Croix.



HO were the men that, in two French vessels, rounded the southern tip of Nova Scotia in the early summer of 1604, and crossed the Bay of Fundy to make that historic settlement upon the Island of St. Croix?

It is possible to give authentic account of a number of these, the earliest European pioneers in Acadia.

First, of course, stands Samuel de Champlain. If the tradition is correct which states the year of his birth to have been 1567, he was now thirty-seven years of age. He had been an army officer with the troops of Henry of Navarre; a naval officer with the fleets of Philip of Spain; and a leader in an important voyage of exploration made to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. He is preeminently the noblest and most commanding figure in early Canadian history.

With him, and in command of the present expedition, was Pierre de Guast, known as the Sieur de Monts. The de Monts, who were Huguenots, were feudal lords of the bourg or commune of Guast, in Saintonge, Southwestern France. Pierre had fought loyally on the king's side in the recent wars, had been made gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber, and was in high favor at court. He had invested large private means in this enterprise of discovery, colonization and trade, and the king had favored him with a monopoly of the fur-traffic and with the title of Lieutenant-General of New France. De Monts remains a

prominent and attractive figure in the annals of many subsequent years of Canadian settlement and development.

With them was the Baron Jean de Poutrincourt, a middle-aged nobleman of means and enterprise, whom Henry IV once called "one of the most honorable and valiant men in the kingdom." He was the owner of the barony of St. Just in Campagne. It was his ambition, in seeking out these new regions, to find a spot whereto he might bring his family to found an ancestral home in the New World. As his object on this trip was only to spy out the land, he did not remain for the winter, though he returned two years later to winter at Port Royal.

Nicholas Aubrey was a young Catholic priest from Paris, de Monts being required by his charter to take out one or more priests to convert the Indians. Aubrey had just had an adventure which might have ended fatally. While the ships were in St. Mary's Bay, he had missed his way in the Nova Scotian woods, and after anxious search had been given up for lost. Later, Champdoré, the boat-builder, with a miner, recrossing Fundy from St. Croix to fish and to look for mineral indications, saw at a distant point on the shore a white cloth being feebly moved up and down on the end of a stick. Rowing warily toward the signal, the men found Aubrey. He was in the last stages of exhaustion, having been seventeen days in the woods with little to eat save roots and berries. Great was the joy at St. Croix over his return; the more so, as a Huguenot minister with whom he had had several disputes had been darkly accused by some of having made away with him.

The enumeration should include the Huguenot minister referred to. His name is not known. De Monts

as a good Protestant had been at pains to bring over a clergyman or two of Protestant belief. In fact, the Huguenot clergy and the Catholic priesthood were at constant odds during this Acadian sojourn.

A friend of Champlain in de Monts's company was the *Sieur d'Orville*. Champlain and he, with *Champdoré*, were joint occupants of one of the houses erected at *St. Croix*, situated on the west side of the enclosure at the northern part of the island and looking out upon ground cleared for a large garden.

There were also four other gentlemen in the group, whose names have come down to us,—the *Sieur de Beaumont*, the *Sieur Fougeray*, the *Sieur la Motte Bourioli*, and the *Sieur Boulay*. They had doubtless come out for the sake of adventure. The first three of these occupied together a house near the southeastern corner of the enclosure on the island. *Fougeray*, so named in the allocation of houses on Champlain's diagram of the *St. Croix* settlement, is doubtless the same as one *Foulgeré de Vitré*, mentioned elsewhere in Champlain's narrative of the expedition. *Boulay* or *Boulet* was formerly a captain in a regiment of *Baron Poitrincourt* in France during the wars of *Henry* and the *League*.

The *Sieur Sourin* and the *Sieur de Genestou* seem to have been master-builders or superintendents, their names appearing in connection with "other artisans," and the prefix "*Sieur*" evidencing a higher grade than that of ordinary workmen.

Reference must next be made to *Champdoré*, already named, a pilot and boat-builder who bore a prominent part in the annals of the colony, and particularly in the trips subsequently undertaken to explore and survey the coasts. He was a better carpenter than sailor, though he would not admit this himself. He was an

obstinate man, and little inclined to take advice. On one occasion, two years later, his carelessness or bad seamanship resulted in wrecking a valuable barque at the entrance of Port Royal, and he was actually handcuffed and imprisoned for a time in consequence.

In the account of the New England coasting trip made in the summer of 1605, appears the name of one Cramolet, another pilot. It is not known whether he was in the original party of 1604 or whether he came in the following spring.

There was also with de Monts one Master Simon, a metallurgist and miner, whom de Monts employed in various searches for gold and copper mines in and about the Bay of Fundy. A few deposits of these metals were found, but none rich enough to seem to warrant working. Simon returned to France either in the same autumn, or the following year, and was succeeded by another miner, Master Jacques, "a native of Sclavonia," as we are told. He is spoken of as "a man very skilful in searching for metals."

It is probable that one Jean Duval, a locksmith, was included in the list of these first settlers. It is known that he was with Champlain in a subsequent exploring trip to Cape Cod; and while it is possible that he arrived on a vessel of Pontgravé in the interval, it is more likely that he was in the earlier ship load. He was later to give serious trouble to Champlain on two occasions. At Chatham Harbor in 1606 he disobeyed orders by remaining on shore over night with other sailors, and he was wounded by hostile Indians, while two or three of his companions were killed. In 1608, at the founding of Quebec, Duval was discovered to be the ring-leader in a plot to kill the governor, Champlain. The scheme was frustrated, and Duval was tried and pub-

licly hanged, his head being set conspicuously on a pike in the new-built settlement at Quebec.

A conjectural member of the party was Robert Pontgravé, son of the noted navigator who, in connection with this expedition, was now in the St. Lawrence Gulf on another vessel, engaged in enforcing de Monts's monopoly by suppressing contraband trade. It is known that Robert accompanied Champlain in a subsequent exploring trip by barque down the entire New England coast to Plymouth and Cape Cod; and unless he came over on an intervening trip of his father's, he must have been a member of the present company. He died at sea, on November 9, 1621.

There were surgeons in the party who wintered at St. Croix, but their names are not known. Their skill was utterly baffled by the scurvey which broke out and which raged with fearful malignity; and they made several post-mortem examinations to try to ascertain its effects and to find a means of cure. In the second winter, the surgeon was Master Des Champs, one "skilful in his profession;" and in the third, Master Etienne.

When, in July, 1606, the colonists were on the point of abandoning the Port Royal settlement, by reason of the non-arrival of ships and supplies from France, two men bravely volunteered to remain and guard the place until reinforced. The names of these men were La Taille and Miquelet. Lescarbot highly praises their devotion and faithfulness in thus remaining. It is quite probable that they were among the pioneers of 1604.

Mention may be made of Captain Timothée, who commanded the 150-ton vessel which brought over de Monts and Champlain. The latter states that Timothée made a mistake in reckoning on the way over

which nearly beached the ship on Sable Island. The captain did not spend the winter, but returned to France with his vessel in the autumn. There was also a Captain Founques or Foulques, who was at St. Croix at least during the building of the settlement. Founques subsequently commanded the ship Jonas, which, two years later, brought over Marc Lescarbot, the Paris lawyer, historian, poet, wit and bon vivant. Lescarbot darkly accuses this captain of bad seamanship and of disloyalty.

Another arrival who did not remain for the winter, and who was in fact present quite against his will, was Captain Pierre Fritot, known as Rossignol. This worthy had been busily engaged in illicit trading, when de Monts had come upon him in one of the easterly harbors of the Nova Scotian coast. His cargo had been promptly confiscated, his ship forced to accompany that of de Monts, and he himself had been made prisoner; being doubtless little consoled by the ironical honor of having the port (Port Rossignol; now Liverpool Harbor) named after him.

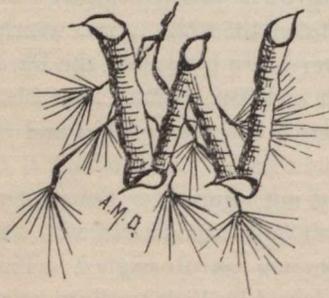
In this connection, (that of arrivals who did not remain for the winter), should be named the Sieur Ralleau, the private secretary of de Monts. He returned to France with the ships in the autumn, though he subsequently crossed again.

One of the noted colonists of two years later, at Port Royal, was Lescarbot, already mentioned; but he is not included in the list of St. Croix pioneers. Another was Louis Hébert, afterwards of Quebec, of whom the same may be said.

In all, there were seventy-nine settlers, who in 1604-5 wintered on the Island of St. Croix. Of these, forty-four were found alive in the following June, when Pontgravé's relief-vessel appeared.

EDWIN ASA DIX.

Indians in New Brunswick in Cham- plain's Time.



They are told that when Champlain entered the harbor of St. John, Indians in their canoes came out to greet him. These were members of the Micmac tribe, who had an encampment on Navy Island, which was a temporary camping ground for this

tribe. The bulk of the Micmacs were scattered along the Atlantic shore from Bay Chaleur to Cape Breton and thence around the coast to Nova Scotia. They were inclined to settle on the seashore in which peculiarity they differed from the Maliseets, who chose as a rule the inland waters, their principal villages in Champlain's time being at Kingsclear and Meductek. There was also a small band of Maliseets encamped on Passamaquoddy Bay, from which band later sprung the Passamaquoddy tribe.

These two tribes, the Maliseets and Micmacs, were both of the Algonquin family, but were not closely related, their dialects being so different that it was difficult for them to understand each other. They differed as much in customs and habits as they did in language, though in these also there was a family resemblance. Both were hunter people, living in fixed villages, where they carried on a limited amount of planting—corn, beans and pumpkins being the prin-

cial produce. Both tribes were inclined to be peaceful, though of the two the Micmacs were the more quarrelsome; but both were good fighters as they proved in their efforts to defend their homes from the marauding Mohaws.

The Micmacs appear to have stood alone, to have been entirely separated from their more immediate brethren; but the Maliseets were members of the Wapanaki League,—a loose confederacy of closely related tribes which held control of the country from the banks of the St. John westward to Connecticut. The Maliseets were the offshoot of the Penobscot tribe, and when they entered New Brunswick they found the Micmacs just where they are found today, with the exception of the one camp site at the mouth of the St. John river, which was abandoned by the Micmacs sometime before the advent of the Loyalists.

As the Micmacs had an abundance of hunting grounds along the rivers that run into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, they made no objection to the Maliseets settling on the St. John. The first settlement of the new comers was at the Meductek Rapids, which was the end of their route from the Penobscot, and they made this their headquarters until the first invasion of the Iroquois, after which they built a fortified village at Kingsclear which they named Hekpahak, the exact location being on Clark's Island, opposite Spring Hill. This village, like all fortified camps of the Algonquins, was enclosed in a palisade,—a high fence of posts driven into the ground and fastened near the top by withes. Back of this palisade a series of low huts was erected. One of these was the Council House and another an oblong building some forty feet in length where their festival ceremonies were performed. The

roofs of these buildings were flat and from their tops, which were protected by the projecting fence posts, the villagers had considerable advantage over an approaching enemy. Within the enclosure formed by this barricade all the wigwams were erected. These were conical in shape, framed of light poles covered with sheets of birch bark. There was an opening at the top to allow the smoke to escape.

Both of these tribes have always been extremely democratic, probably the most democratic of any people of whom we have an account. In Champlain's time the government was in the hands of a council of six members who were chosen by the Sakum and confirmed by the people, but who merely carried out the will of the people. Presiding over this council was an official whom the Maliseets called *Sakum*, but he was little more than a presiding officer, though if he was a capable man he became the friend and guide of his people. On the war path he frequently led his braves, though usually the command of the war party was given to another chief—the war chief, who was also director of the tribal ceremonies.

Evidence of the unique democratic principles upon which the tribal organization was based is found in the right which every tribesman held of going on the war path without either of the official leaders. Any ambitious or daring man with sufficient reputation or personal magnetism to command a following might become a self-appointed war-chief and lead his followers on an expedition despite the opposition of a majority of the tribe, his main care being to gather to his council-fire a sufficient number to insure the success of his enterprise. Neither of these tribes had an organized soldiery, nor were the braves pressed into service.

When the tribe decided for war the chiefs called for volunteers and the appointed leader went to battle with those who chose to follow him.

The *Sakum* was elected by the people and held his position for life. The council was chosen by the *Sakum* and on his death a new council was elected. The functions of the *Sakum* were to call meetings of the council, to summon the tribe to conference and festivals and to preside at all deliberations and ceremonies. He also acted as the tribe's chief adviser.

Subordinate to the *Sakum* and the war-chief was an officer who might be called Chief of the Village; in the Maliseet language he was known as the *Me-a-wet*. This functionary was elected by the people of his own village and besides being the *Sakum's* local aid-de-camp, was also leader of the braves who went from his village on the war path. If the village was a very large one, the war party would be divided into bands of about ten men each and a leader or captain appointed for each band. The *Me-a-wet* of the principal or headquarter's village was the *Sakum's* "Chief of Staff," and official messenger. When the tribe was to be summoned for any gathering, this messenger carried the summons to the different villages.

A *Sakum* was usually succeeded by his son, though the succession was determined by election; and if none of the *Sakum's* sons had the confidence of the people, some near relative or other member of the tribe was chosen. The inauguration of the newly-elected chief was conducted by delegates from two or more neighboring tribes, who were invited to perform the ceremony and to thus confirm the selection. The inauguration of the chief was made a time of extensive festivities, as these Indians were extremely hospitable and

the visiting delegates were usually detained several days and were served with a feast on the evening of each day. There is a tradition that on one occasion when game had been very abundant and fish was plenty the inaugural ceremonies of a Penobscot *Sakum* extended over three weeks. Every night there was dancing and feasting, the mornings were given over to sleep and recuperation and the afternoons were spent by the young men in various games and by the older men in telling stories of the far-off long-ago, to which all Indians turn with veneration.

These people must have been eminently religious in their primitive days, or at least we gather as much from their legends and traditions, though just what their creed was cannot be determined with any certainty. They believed in spirits and of the controlling power of these spirits, and they prayed to them for guidance, for help in time of peril, for defence from evil. They looked upon the sun as the source of life and prayed to it. The ceremony of sun worship is thus described in a tradition. Once during each moon on the morning of the evening the new moon first appeared, the people gathered on the village green a short time before the sun rose and kindled a fire. As the rim of the sun appeared above the horizon, the worshippers began a solemn chant and danced around the fire in slow time, and as they danced they threw into the fire something as a sacrifice—an article of apparel or ornament or implement. When the sun was in full view, all knelt facing the east and offered a short, silent prayer to the Sun God. Then they arose reverently and walked to their wigwams with solemn faces and bowed heads. This ceremony is said to have been copied from the western Indians and only a few of the Wapanaki took part in it.

A more general custom was that of presenting the new-born babes to the Sun God. As soon as the mother was able to leave her wigwam, after the birth of the child, she wrapped the little one in a fur robe and carried it to an eminence which afforded an unobstructed view of the eastern horizon. As the sun rose above the hill tops, the babe was uncovered and held up toward it, while the mother supplicated the Sun God to take the child under his care, to make it strong and happy and to appoint a spirit to be the child's guide and guardian through life.

One of the oldest of the semi-religious festivals was a thanksgiving service—the Green Corn Dance, they called it. In the olden time when the corn was ripe the *Sakum* directed the people to gather on the village green where a fire was built under the direction of the war chief. The *Sakum* began the ceremony by making an address of thanks to the Corn Spirit, coupled with an admonition to the people to give thanks in their hearts. After his address, he placed corn in a dish on the fire and while it was roasting he sang a slow, weird chant and danced around the fire. Then the corn was eaten by all present and speeches were made by any of the older men who were moved to talk. When the corn was disposed of the entire party joined in the green-corn dance, which was the most complicated of their dances, resembling somewhat our cotillon.

We hear in their traditions many references to the Great Spirit, but it is extremely doubtful if either the Maliseets or the Micmacs believed in one supreme spiritual being who was ruler of the universe, for such conception would be contrary to the red man's idea of equality, and their references to the Great Spir-

it are evidently the result of the white man's lessons. The Europeans found these people susceptible to religious influence and they became ready converts to the Christian faith when presented by the Roman missionaries.

An example of their religious faith is found in the legend in which many of their older men and women of the present day place thorough faith, which tells us that the Thunder Spirit is a red man turned into a god.

"In ancient times," so runs the legend, "when we heard the thunder, we built a fire out of doors and put tobacco in the fire that our brother might have a smoke as he passed by. For this kindness the Thunder Spirit kept the lightning away from us. You never hear of an Indian being killed by lightning."

The lightning they believed was made by the Thunder Spirit who shaped it like a ball and hurled it through the air. The custom of burning tobacco as an offering to the Thunder Spirit was supposed to have been discontinued soon after the Jesuit Fathers began their ministrations, but many a hunter made his little offering in the forest solitude down to the middle of the century which has just closed.

Most of the religious ceremonies of these people were performed at stated festivals at which they supplicated the good spirits for assistance and protection, and sought to propitiate both good spirits and evil by dances, feasts and thank offerings, though most of the intercessions were addressed to the demons of evil that the people might be saved from harm.

They were much more concerned about their present perils than about their future state, though when death came they met it with calmness and serenity, for in that dread hour they were sustained by the belief that

death was the gateway to the better land where neither hunger nor heartache could follow and where they would live in happy communion with those who had gone before.

No adequate account of the mythology of these people can be written until more of their folk-tales are published and an opportunity is thus given to study these wonderful productions. It is a study which offers rich fields for the enterprising student, for the tales are so numerous that a sufficient number could be gathered to fill several good-sized volumes. From the few that have been published the ordinary reader has learned that these people in their primitive days possessed a wealth of imagination and breadth of thought for which they have not been credited. There is wit and there is humor in these tales, and pathos and tragedy in abundance, and philosophy as well; while many of these tales convey useful lessons and show that they were practical people as well as imaginative.

To the Micmacs belong the credit of originating that great hero *Glooscap*, though the Maliseets have borrowed this hero and put him in several folk-tales of their own. The character of *Glooscap* as represented in Micmac and Wapanaki legends is quite different from the Iroquois *Hiawatha* or from *Nanabozho*, the great hero of the Objibways with whom he is often compared. Both of these were half devil,—at one time helping the people and again plotting mischief,—while *Glooscap* is always helpful and friendly, aiding the people with advice and active service and guarding them from the evil spirits.

In the Maliseet traditions we hear continually of the *Kinapiuk* among the “wonderful beings of the past,” but these were members of the tribe who possessed

extraordinary and superhuman powers and performed some of the functions of the western *Medicine Man*.

The Wapanaki did not depend solely upon the Kina-piuk to restore their sick, for in the earliest days to which their traditions carry us, they acquired the art of healing by means of remedies extracted from roots, herbs and bark of trees. The Maliseet tradition illustrating this was told me by "Old Gabe." It refers to an epidemic which spread over New England about the time of Champlain's visit, and runs thus:

"Long time ago a great sickness fell upon the tribe and many people died. They died so fast that those who were left could not make graves quickly enough and many were put in one large hole. At last there appeared to one of the men in a dream a strange being as of a man covered with joints of brass. 'I am said he, *Ke-wis-wask* (sweet flag) and can make you well. Dig me up and steep me in water and drink me and I will cure you.' After saying this, he disappeared. The next day the man did as he was told. He dug up the flag root and steeped it and gave the water to the Indians and after drinking it, they soon recovered."

The men rarely practised the healing art, which was left generally to the old women—the "good angels" of the village—who used remedies for external as well as internal application; but each dame guarded the secret of her remedy with care, for if she told it to the sick they would not be cured, and when too old to longer practise her art, she told its secret to the woman whom she had selected as her successor.

The old women's remedies were not always successful, and when the disease would not yield under their administration, the disturbed condition of the patient was attributed to the operation of an evil spirit and the

case was handed over to the *Kinap*, who proceeded to drive out the demon by incantations and conjuring. To prepare for the ceremony and by way of purification, that functionary submitted his person to a steam bath which was produced by pouring cold water over hot stones placed in a small and tightly closed wigwam built expressly for the purpose. The patient was then subjected to a similar bath, and while the steam was ascending the *Kinap* sang a weird chant and performed mystic rites. If this ceremony did not move the demon to depart, the victim was left to perish.

While the *Kinap* (plural *Kinapiuk*) thus assumed part of the functions of his western brother, he filled a somewhat different place in the tribal economy, for though he was endowed with various occult powers, including divination and transformation, and at times acted the role of esoteric priest, yet the traditions represent him most frequently as a sort of village pastor and shepherd,—the dispenser of the people's charity, the common friend of the whole community, the one man to whom all turned when their burden was too heavy to be carried alone. In one story he is consoling the sorrowful; in another he comforts the afflicted; and again he is caring for the sick and aged. His tasks were numerous, but none required more delicate tact than that of bearing to a girl's parents the message from the brave who sought her for wife; or nothing could have been more irksome than that which devolved upon him as peacemaker for his barbaric flock. "Peacemaker" is one of the titles he bears in the traditions and in that capacity he endeavored to restore the village harmony when disagreement prevailed and to allay bickerings within the domestic circles.

Some of the older traditions tell of the power and

valor of the *Kinap* in saving their people from approaching enemies. They gained their name by these deeds, for "Fear Nothing" is a good translation of the word. Three of these men once saved the Maliseet tribe from an attack by a party of Mohawks. They divined the coming of the enemy while they were yet far off and hastened through the forest to meet them. Making themselves invisible, the three *Kinapiuk* attacked the Mohawk band and slaughtered all but three, whose ears they cut off, and who were then sent home with advice to tell their kindred of the reception they might expect in the Maliseet country.

In their primitive life the children were carefully trained during the first years by their mothers and then by their grandmothers. The associations of the young maidens and the younger men were carefully guarded, and girls in the Maliseet tribe were not permitted to marry until they were twenty-four years of age. Generally the mother selected the girl who was to be her son's wife. Old Gabe told me that he had never spoken to his wife until they met at the wedding. "Our people make the bargain," he said. And when questioned as to the expediency of such an arrangement, he replied—"I think the old way much better than the new. Young people getting too saucy now and do heap too much talking 'fore they get married."

But sometimes a young fellow would be attracted by a girl's appearance and would try to see something of her, taking such means as he could command to make a pleasant impression upon her. Yet he made no direct appeal to her, but took his mother into his confidence and if she approved, she opened negotiations to win the consent of the girl's family.

The youth gave to his mother as many strings of

wampum as his wealth in beaver skins would supply. If not able to secure a suitable quantity through his own efforts, he begged them from his father or from a friend. The mother took the wampum to a *Kinap* and enlisted his interest in her son's behalf. The intercessor on going to the father's wigwam told him he had come as messenger from the Great Spirit to intercede for the youth who desired his daughter for wife. He made the best possible presentation of the young fellow's good qualities, his bravery, his skill as a hunter, his kindness and his generosity. He told also of his ability to keep the promise he would make to support his wife and to make her life happy. After doing his best for his client, the old man withdrew, leaving the present with the father. If the girl was of suitable age, the father at once called together all her kindred and announced the offer in her presence, asking for an expression of opinion regarding the suitor. These opinions were expressed with considerable freedom, and if the youth had any faults they were sure to be exposed. If the family decided that the suitor was eligible, the girl accepted their decision and the father, or if he were dead, the oldest member of the family, went to the intercessor and said, "We accept the wampum." But if the decision was against the suitor, the beads were returned without any message.

Being accepted the youth usually visited the girl at her home and asked her to set the wedding day. On the day appointed, the groom elect accompanied by his immediate family went to the bride's home where friends had gathered. The bride was given to her husband by her father and was then clothed in a new and handsome costume, a present from the groom. The pair then went to the village green where the wedding dance was performed in the presence of the whole vil-

lage and was part of the marriage ceremony. On the following day the newly-wedded pair usually departed for a honeymoon trip by canoes and at some chosen spot would kneel together before a rock and pronounce their vows to be true to each other and to be kind and helpful, asking the rock to bear witness to their vows. A rock was chosen rather than a tree because of the chance that the tree might be destroyed while the rock would endure.

After the Indians had been converted to the Catholic faith, the tribal ceremony was continued in an elaborated form and was conducted either by the *Sakum* or the senior captain. This was continued even after the pair had been married by the priest. When conducted by the *Sakum*, it was performed on the village green—a clear space in the centre of the village,—or in the Council House. As the people assembled, they seated themselves in a circle in their customary manner; that is the men in the front row, their legs crossed tailor fashion, the women seated behind the men, their legs drawn to the right side, while the children stood behind their mothers. When all had taken their places a messenger was despatched to the groom elect to announce to him that the people were ready. The groom and the messenger went to the wigwam of the girl's father, where her family was gathered, and there the father gave the bride to her husband joining their hands. The bride was then arrayed in her wedding garments and the party proceeded to the place of assembly. They passed through the group of people and went to the centre of the circle where the *Sakum* was waiting them. The *Sakum* placed the bride and groom side by side, the man on the right of the woman, and led them around the circle twice, while he chanted a march. Then the pair seated themselves on the ground back to

back and the *Sakum* taking a tomahawk in his hands marched around them twice while he sang a wedding song. He then helped them to their feet, and taking the man to the woman, placed their hands together. Then he put to them several questions. Following this the couple knelt before the *Sakum* with their hands still clasped, and laying his tomahawk on their heads, first on the man's and then on the woman's, he reminded them of the sacredness of their promise and of the punishment of the tomahawk if this promise were not kept. He then pronounced them married. Congratulations followed and hand shaking and kissing of the bride after which she was taken back to her father's wigwam by her assistants and the groom returned to his home. Thus separated they waited the evening and the wedding dance. After the people had assembled in the evening the bride and groom were again summoned. The bride was accompanied to the gathering by her parents and joined the groom outside of the circle which they entered together. As they entered the people stood up and saluted them with a shout. The dance had been started before their arrival and they at once took their places. At the conclusion of the dance a feast was served and during the feast the newly wedded pair quietly and without any leave taking withdrew to the wigwam which the husband had prepared for his bride. Usually they disappeared from the village for a time, going off in a canoe to some secluded spot, though if the weather were not suitable for such excursion, the bride remained in retirement for several days. Returning to the village, they at once took their place in the community.

The primitive funeral rites of the Maliseets were extremely simple. On the day after death the body was wrapped in birch bark and carried to the place of

burial, followed by the friends, who formed a circle round the grave. After the body was lowered in the earth, some of those present spoke a few words in praise of the dead. The implements and ornaments used by the dead were then placed on the corpse and the grave was filled.

At the death of a *Sakum* every member of the tribe endeavored to attend the funeral, which did not differ in its ceremony from that of the common tribesman, excepting that after the body had been lowered into the grave each member of the council made a speech, telling of the late chief's good deeds and noble nature. On the evening following the burial the people gathered in front of the widow's wigwam, when one of the chiefs delivered an address of condolence and praised her for her faithfulness to her husband. At the close of this address the insignia of mourning—a cap of black fur—was placed upon her head. This cap was worn for twelve months, and at the end of that period, the tribe was called together, each member being adorned with red paint,—the women on their cheeks and the men on their foreheads. Two members of the council and two women were detailed to wait upon the widow and present her with a new suit of clothing. They dressed her in these new garments and painted her cheeks with red and then escorted her to the place of assembly, where the people were sitting on the ground, surrounding a party of young men who were performing the wedding dance. The widow and attendants at once entered the circle and joined the dancers, when the people saluted the widow, with a merry shout of welcome, the cadence of the dance was quickened and the step made livelier. During the dance tobacco was passed to the people who were seated and pipes were lighted.

In general the mourning cap was worn by the

women only for their husbands. It was kept on for a few weeks and when laid aside, the widow's cheeks were painted red; the men of her kin painting their foreheads at the same time.

These people were written down as savages by the earlier writers, but they had advanced many strides beyond the bounds of savagery—their domestic life alone proves that and should be at least classed as semi-barbaric.

Like hunting people everywhere they lived in small communities but they were not nomadic, as were the people of the plains; their villages were permanent homes in which the wives and children remained while the men made excursions after game.

The men were dearly fond of their families and treated their wives with chivalrous consideration. The wives in return were most faithful and devoted help-mates, and performed the duties allotted to them with self-sacrificing fidelity.

The children were trained by the mothers and grand-mothers and were taught with rigid discipline—rigid but not severe—to be honest and truthful, brave, obedient, courteous, respectful to their seniors and generous to their mates. They were trained also in self-control and self-reliance.

As a people they were noble, chivalrous and honest, with a high standard of honor, generous to a fault, hospitable as are few other races and they followed with integrity such spiritual light as had been granted to them. That they were not made useful citizens under the white man's rule was the white man's fault. Even to this day—with all the light that the past centuries have given us—we still neglect them.

MONTAGUE CHAMBERLAIN.

Champlain.

A hundred years had rolled their changeful rounds
Since Spain's bold sailors—following in the track
Of him—the great revealer of the West,—
Sailed far into the sunset. Summer seas
Of deepest azure—smiling islands clothed
With densest verdure, cheered their course. The vines,
Gay with strange flowers and twined from branch to branch,
Gave shelter from the scorching rays of noon.—
A varied screen of brilliant hues concealed
The rigid outlines of the lofty peaks
From shore to summit,—and their shadows sank
Far down into serene translucent depths
Of placid ocean, carrying hues of earth
To deck the coral walls and shell-strewn floors
Where sea-sprites dwelt. They sailed by long low shores,
Which smoked with fatness in the generous sun.
And, through the shady groves, glanced graceful forms
Of kindly natives—gentle mannered, frank—
With fearless steps and open child-like mien
They came to meet the strangers—soon to be
Their pitiless oppressors.

All the while
Far to the North, the lonely ocean surged
'Gainst desolate shores, rock-bound—the summer haunt
Of screaming wild fowl—and the winter home
Of bears and wolves and foxes. Scanty tribes
Of Indians hunted for their hard-won food,
And gained a bare subsistence. Ocean raged
Incessant 'gainst that battlemented shore;
And the winds wailed amid the forests black
Of Markland—moaning—weary with lament—
In utter loneliness; for no Christian soul
As yet had dared to tarry in this wild,
Nor tempt its savage sternness. Eastwards far—
Half way to Europe—where the unquiet sea
Heaves aye its bosom 'gainst the clinging mist
Which weighs it down—amidst the twilight grey
And dank, the frequent sail of fishing craft
Or Basque or Breton loomed. There, æons long,
Great fleets of bergs, freighted on Arctic shores,
Sailing with rending shock of glaciers vast
Had dropped their stony burdens in the depth
And shallowed up the black abysm, and made
Fit home for finny tribes innumerable.
Beyond this dim and melancholy veil
Of mist enshrouding all the Western Sea,

But few had cared to pierce; for legends dread
 Haunted the rock-bound coast. The Demon's Isle
 Guarded the Northern passage. In the thick air
 The shuddering sailors heard the shrieks and howls
 Of fiends malignant high o'er roar of waves,
 Torturing the souls of men, whose battered bones
 Were beaten small in seethe and hiss of foam,
 Grinding forever on the shelving rocks
 That skirt the dreary coast of Helluland—
 Nor there alone, for ghostly teachers told
 How when the blessed saving Cross of Christ
 Swept over Europe, all the evil fiends
 In terror fled to the West; and still we see
 Ill-omened and distorted struggling shapes
 Of gnomes and goblins frozen into stone
 In forms fantastic on the Western fronts
 Of high cathedrals. So the demons fled,
 And, sheltered by impenetrable mists,
 Over the whitening bones of drownéd men,
 On gloomy forest shore or rocky coast,
 Held hideous carnival.

With steadfast mind

Into this hidden world sailed Champlain. Few
 Had followed up St. Lawrence mighty flood.—
 Basque whalers, pressing hard their monstrous prey—
 Or traders to a savage rendezvous
 At Tadoussac, held for a few short weeks
 Of summer; else deserted all the year.
 No trader he—our sailor—loftier thoughts
 His bosom swelled: to trace the setting sun
 Up his broad path of waters to his home
 In that far Western Ocean—restful—calm—
 Which laves the shores of rich Cathay, and breathes
 Spice-laden odours towards the realm of Ind.
 Nor this alone;—to bear the Cross of Christ,
 Still conquering and to conquer all, until
 The demons routed in their last retreat
 In the gloomy North, should hie them thenceforth down
 To their own seats, nor harass mankind more.

A wide experience trained him for such task.
 In Henry's cause he earned a soldier's fame,
 When the white plume i' the thick of battle danced
 And bore the rising fortune of Navarre
 Where conflict raged the fiercest. Peace ensured
 The adventurous sailor blood which coursed
 In all his race resumed its wonted sway.
 His skill had steered his ever prosperous barque
 Through all the mazes of the Spanish main
 And all its wealth of islands. He had trod,
 Before the Aztec glory died away,
 The streets of Cortez' City; and his pen

And ready pencil made report of all
 The wonders marked by his observant eye.
 Northwards, his venturous skill had traced the coast
 Of Norembegue, and—borne on rushing tides,
 He searched the Bay of Fundy to its depths
 And noted Ouygoudy's wondrous stream
 Flow in and outwards with a double fall,
 Nor was he wanting in those gentler arts
 Which bind men each to other. Oft the woods
 Which overhang Port Royal's Basin rang
 With laughter of his joyous band, and rang
 The steep escarped barrier to the North
 With echoes of their hunter's music. There—
 Where the resistless tides of Fundy pour
 Swift through a narrow cleft, and sudden fill
 To the brim the basin and the long drawn vale
 Far inland—there, with feasting, song, and tale
 They wore one winter out; till spring returned
 Too soon, to call them from their restful ease
 To the great task.

For now the hour had come,

The birth-hour of a nation, doomed to pass
 Through many wars and changes great, until
 By God's mysterious providences blessed,
 The little seedling—planted now in faith,
 And through long weary years watered with tears
 And blood—deep-rooted, broad and strong, should spread
 A stately tree, its branches East and West
 From the stern surges of the Atlantic coast
 To that mysterious margin—dreamy bound
 Of the great tranquil ocean, where lie hid
 The secrets of the sunset, and the sun
 Renews his strength to dawn on Eastern lands.—
 As through the curtain grey of glimmering mist
 Brake Champlain, on his right emerged Cape Ray,
 Repellent with its walls of beetling cliffs,
 Their level summits clad with lingering snow,
 Brilliantly chill. To the left, clothed with black spruce,
 The frowning mountains of Cape Breton rose
 Steep from the ocean. Isle St. Paul lay close,
 Dense-wooded, scarce distinguished from the mass
 Of the larger mountains. Through this gateway grim
 He sailed into St. Lawrence' broadening gulf;
 Nor paused until the mighty buttressed peak
 Of Mount St. Anne, thrust through its rope of green
 And dyed with iron hues of Ochrey red,
 Flamed in the sunrise. Percé Rock below,—
 Like some Titanic ruin, lit by the sun
 Whose rays streamed through the double arches, lay—
 Its huge mass stretched along; its cloudy top
 Clamorous with sea-fowl. On he sailed, and passed
 The coast of Honguedo, dark with pines,

And high above the river flood, which washed
Its craggy shores. Far north the cruel teeth
Of Manicougan's fateful reef just showed
Through the long line of breakers. Short his stay
At Tadoussac. With favouring wind and tide
He stemmed the flowing current, till he reached
That wondrous strait, where close th' opposing hills
To build the stately portal of the West—
There! at the foot of that stupendous rock
Which towers above a basin sheltered round
By mountains slowly stooping from their heights
In terraces of verdure to the deep
And ever tranquil water.—In that charmed spot
Of solemn beauty was the cradle placed
Of our Canadian Empire. Grand the site
And great the founder! Mark his forehead calm—
His serious eyes, but prone to gleam with mirth
As fit to gaze on danger—resolute mouth,
Adorned with trim moustache and courtly beard,—
Showing a man as skilled and apt to tread
The gallant Monarch's court as the slant deck,
Slippery with foam and ice when northern storm
Swoops on the treacherous gulf. The cordage sticks
In the icy block, and, struck by the impetuous seas,
The frail barque shudders to her lowest keel.
One little light, alone, in all that world
Of blackness, gleams to light the magic card
That points the course; and there his quiet eyes
Are fixed. But in his heart, whether at sea,
Or at the Court, or in the savage camp,
The light of duty ever shone supreme,
Nor swerved his steady course or here or there.
And such a site whereon to plant the tree
Of rising empire! Holds this varied world
No peer to its majestic beauty. Look!—
Those solemn hills which close the distance dim
Of the far horizon, how their contours, clothed
With summer foliage, smile as they slope down,
Bathed in the sunlight, to the rippling flood
Which laps their bases; and the azure vault
Mirrors its brightness with the changing hues
Of blue and purple in the dimpling waves.—
An amphitheatre, whose circles vast
Rise upwards from the central basin, reared
For high assembly of the earlier gods,—
And Zeus' high seat might rest upon the Cape
And dominate the concourse. All the scene
Was clad in summer's livery. Blue in the sky
And water; on the hills a living green
Sheening to yellow in the twinkling birch
And glooming in the pines—all glowing tints
Of the upper rainbow for the autumn hues
Of crimson, gold and scarlet were not yet.

Time fails; nor is it now my task to tell
The labours and the anxious toil and want
Which threatened year by year to crush Quebec—
For so, in Indian speech, was called the Strait
Where mountains curb St. Lawrence waters in
Before the basin widens; and the name
Was given to the city. Champlain's care
Urged on the work, and his far-seeing eyes
Prepared for every danger. Still he strove
To learn the secrets of that glorious land
Of woods and waters, on whose threshold stood
His infant city; now, by questionings close
Of friendly natives; then, devoid of fear,
In bark canoe, with Indian guides, he dared
To trace Ottawa's rapid current, up
Almost to Lake Temiscamingue, its source;
Then, mounting to the Sorcerers' ample lake,
Swiftly he sped its rapid outlet down
And reached that bay of wizard beauty, where
The frequent islets seem to float, so like
In calms, the upper and the nether blue;
Thence he explored Muskoka's rocky glens,
Threaded by crystal streamlets and adorned
With lakes of gleaming silver. West and South—
Still onward—to a lovely garden land,
Fair even in winter. On its farther verge
A bold escarpment overlooks a plain,—
And, on long summer days, the gladdened eye
Dwells on a scene of beauty stretched below
Still richer. Like a billowy sea of smiling green
The woodlands wave below, and, westwards sweep
To distant shores of mighty land-locked seas—
The bourne to which the spirits of the dead
Addressed of yore their journey lone; nor reached
But after weary travel. Thence he turned
And dwelt a winter 'mong the guileful tribes
Of Hurons. Joining in their distant wars,
He traversed all the centre of our land
With a wild swarm of painted warriors fierce,
Flocking in light canoes, like wild fowl set
On autumn journey to the south. He passed
Up Severn's stream and o'er Toronto's lake,
Whose mirrored shadows, opalescent, glowed
With tremulous colour as the paddles dipped
And turned, disturbing all the magic scenes
Of sylvan beauty in its depths profound.
Still southwards, down the rushing Trent, he urged
His frail canoe, at times through level lakes,
Shooting, at times, down rapids. Quick the eye
And firm the wrist to hold the steady course
On the smooth current's crest. But where the stream,
With glassy torrent, glides unruffled down
And backwards swirls in foam against the rocks,

There landing on the narrow rugged trail,
 O'er boulders wet and slippery with spray,
 And stooping 'neath the branches overhead,
 He, with his savage guides, their burdens bore
 Down the portage's weary steep, until
 The quiet water called him to embark.
 At length he reached a place 'twixt verdurous banks—
 The loveliest which Ontario's waters hold,
 Where Kenty's matchless bay unruffled smiles.

So passed his busy life; unselfish toil,
 His chief enjoyment. Many things he learned,
 In frequent journeys with his savage friends,
 And in campaigns against their Indian foes.
 He first explored the lake which bears his name.
 First to his eyes the deep pellucid mere
 Of Horicon revealed its beauty. Much
 He learned from Indian hunters. Known to him
 Was that great inland ocean whither flow
 The cheerless streams of drear Estotiland;
 Where Mistassini trails his sinuous coils
 Of waters, circling deserts bare and frore,
 And yields again unto the chilling night
 The steely glitter of a million stars.
 Meantime, by often voyaging to France,
 He urged his infant country's pressing needs,
 And so his work grew strong. He ever loved
 The Ocean, and upon her rocking breast
 She bore him always safely; never harm
 Befel him there. He loved our country most,
 And when God called him, there he laid his head
 In peace upon her bosom. And his work
 Still prospered—till there came an evil time
 When bigot counsels sapped the strength of France,
 And drove to exile many a faithful heart
 And stalwart arm; and faith grew faint, and fraud
 And peculation smirched the lily flag,
 And avarice and greed stalked through the land.
 Then died the love of duty. In its place
 Arose the point of honour. Poor exchange!
 For honour is self-centered—duty lives
 From man to God. So all the west was lost
 To France. But Champlain's work survives; for still—
 Though from Cape Diamond's lofty peak no more
 Floats the white flag, his dear-loved mother tongue
 Still flourishes, pervading all the land
 He travelled; and his faith still lives—devout,
 Yet tolerant here, as in the happy days
 Before the fatal revocation knelled
 The waning power of France; and still survive
 The laws and customs of the France he knew.

Sans peur et sans reproche—thou—blest of God!
 Thy name still dwells unsullied. Never spot
 Of greed or cowardice, or lust, or hate
 Stained thy white scutcheon. Swiftly sped thy soul
 Up the dread circles, where the healing flames
 Purge out the lingering dross and make men pure
 To bear the garments of the searching light
 In courts of heavenly glory. Worthy, thou,
 To be a nation's founder! and may we
 Be not unworthy of thee! May thy faith
 In our Dominion's fortunes, and thy truth,
 And love of duty guide us on our course.
 So shall our country flourish—thine as ours—
So long—no longer.

S. E. DAWSON.

NOTE OF EXPLANATION.—It is difficult for us, who live in this material age and who are familiar with these shores, to realize that, in the early days of discovery, Canada was a land of wonders and mysteries. The missionaries who laboured among the Indians felt (like the apostle of old) that their work was opposed not so much by flesh and blood as by principalities and powers—by demoniac influences against which they fought with the weapons of Christian soldiers; and these supernatural powers were felt to be as real by Dollier de Casson, the sturdy curé of Montreal, as by the gentle and devoted Marguerite Bourgeois. Along the sea coast clung many legends of dread and those who read our history in the dry light of this present age alone will fail to apprehend its true power. In this paper an attempt was made to place the reader in sympathy with the spirit of those early days. It was written many years ago as an effort to invest with the atmosphere of three hundred years ago the scenes towards which our sensibilities have been blunted by the commonplace experiences of our daily lives.



FICTICIOUS PORTRAIT OF DE MONTS.

A Fictitious Portrait of Sieur de Monts.



EXTENSIVE researches at the British Museum, the Paris National Library and at New York, demonstrate that an early engraved portrait of De Monts does not exist. No authentic painted portrait of him has ever been unearthed. It is natural, therefore to enquire into the origin of the so-called portrait with which American students are familiar, from its appearance in several modern books.

The late Justin Winsor presented an adapted sketch of this portrait in his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, p. 136. A woodcut of it appeared also in Samuel Adams Drake's *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast* (New York, 1875), p. 23. Drake gave no hint of its origin, source or then location. Winsor, in a foot-note appended to his cut, stated that it "follows a copy of a water-color drawing in the *Massachusetts Archives; Documents Collected in France*, I. 441, called a portrait of De Monts from an original at Versailles. Mr. Parkman tells me that he was misled by this reference of Mr. Poore in stating that a portrait of De Monts existed at Versailles (*Pioneers*, p. 222); since a later examination has not revealed such a canvas, and the picture may be considered as displaying the costume of the gentleman of the period, if there is doubt concerning its connection with De Monts." We see, then, that Parkman's later dictum showed that he was mistaken in his earlier reference to the existence of a portrait of De Monts at Versailles.

In May, 1845, the governor of Massachusetts appointed Benjamin Perley Poore, then an attaché of the American legation at Brussels, to copy such documents in the French Archives as bore upon the early history of Massachusetts, and his report of December 28th, 1847, accompanied by letters from John G. Palfrey and Jared Sparks, constitutes *Senate Document No. 9* (1848). Poore was paid two thousand nine hundred and sixty dollars for this work. The results are shown in ten volumes in folio, and embrace materials from the earliest period of American exploration to the year 1780. Two large volumes of maps, mostly printed, and engravings and water-colors, complete the series, which is known as the FRENCH ARCHIVES, or as quoted by Winsor, *supra*. We know that the water-color portraits, which Poore furnished, are intended as representations of military and civil costume for the periods to which they relate; and several of them can be found in the rough in Winsor's volumes.

The reproduction of the water-color of the so-called De Monts portrait, which accompanies this article is, so far as I am aware, the first accurate facsimile of it which has been published. It is from a photograph made by Mr. N. L. Stebbins, a well-known photographer of Boston. The original has the following words written in red ink, underneath the water-color, at and above the margin line, beginning at the left-hand corner: "Copied from a portrait at Versailles." Above the water-color, just below the upper margin line and extending across the page within the side lines, the following descriptive title is written: "Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Mons, Gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roy et Gouverneur de Pons." There are no other notes or memoranda concerning the picture.

In the year 1884, the governor of Massachusetts,



THE DUCORNET CHAMPLAIN.

“with the advice and consent of the council,” appointed five “commissioners without pay to investigate the condition of the records, files, papers and documents in the state department.” Among them were Justin Winsor and Samuel A. Green, who in their report to the legislature, in January, 1885, referred to the Poore collection as a whole as “not of much value.” It must be considered, too, that historical methods in 1845 were not equal to the requirements of modern critical scholarship.

Finally, we have observed that no portrait of De Monts exists at Versailles, which vitiates the inscriptions on the water-color sketch. We have also the adjudication of a body of competent commissioners, that the Poore collection is not of much value. We know that other water-colors in that collection serve merely as specimens of costume or dress. From an examination of Gavard's *Galeriés historiques de Versailles*, nineteen volumes in folio, I believe the Poore water-color was derived from some historical painting in the museum at Versailles, and merely preserves a type of a seventeenth-century gentleman. Since no early painting or engraving of De Monts is known to exist, and since the Poore water-color has been proven to be worthless as a portrait of him, we submit that its inclusion in American historical works is not advisable.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

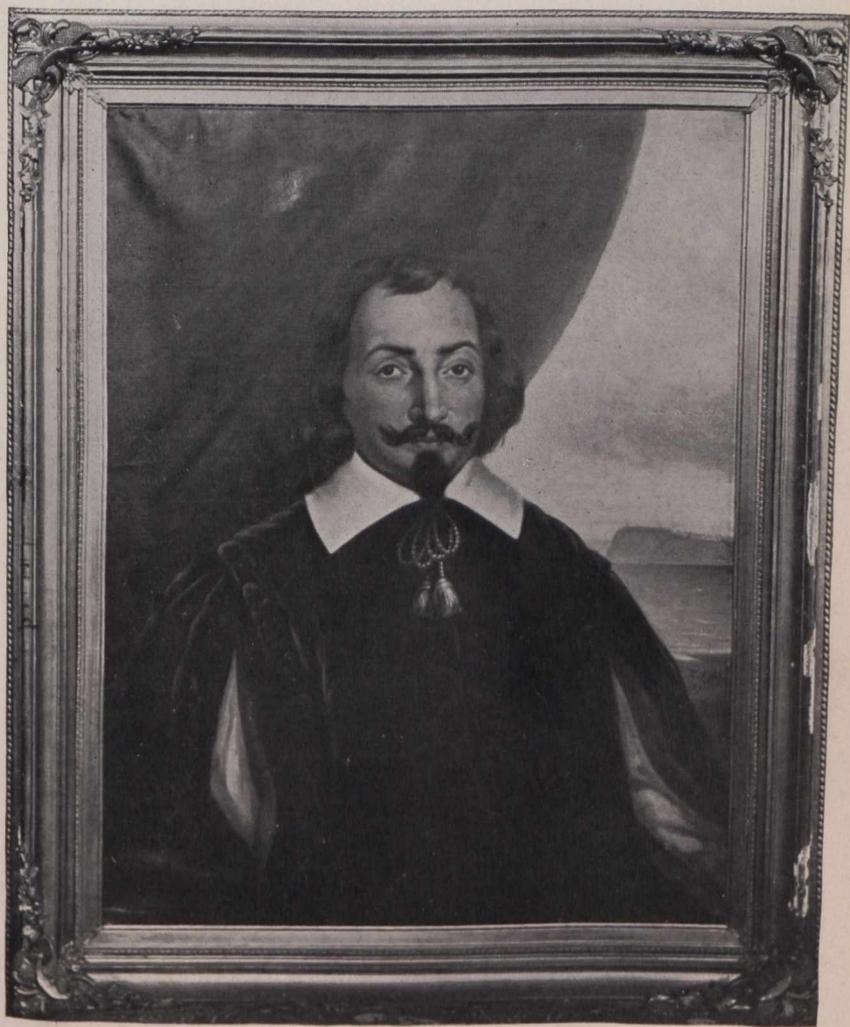
A Critical Examination of Champlain's Portraits.



HERE is always an unpleasantness about having one's idols shattered, and often very little sympathy is shown to him who has hazarded the task of the iconoclast. Yet, the investigator, who is impelled by the demands of the critical methods of modern scholarship, dares not turn his face from truth, however destructive of former acceptance that truth may be.

For about forty years a portrait ascribed to Baltasar Moncornet has passed without question as an authentic effigy of Champlain. By a most singular process of pictorial evolution, even two distinct portraits by Moncornet have been introduced into American historical books. The latest instance of this adaptation is found in the recent biography, *Champlain the Founder of New France*, by Edwin Asa Dix, published at New York in 1903. The frontispiece to that volume presents what purports to be a portrait of Champlain "at about the age of forty. Reproduced from an engraving by Moncornet." In the body of that book there is another portrait, which claims to represent him "at about the age of sixty-five;" and in the text the author suggests that this portrait "shows the striking changes made by time since the date of his marriage, twenty-three years before." Both portraits are reproduced from Slafter's Prince Society edition of Champlain's works, where this aspect of the problem is in embryo.

The purpose of the present monograph is to examine and solve the mazy and enigmatical condition with which the subject of Champlain's portrait is very much overweighted. It is intended to prove that the accepted portraits are not by the seventeenth-century engraver,



THE HAMEL CHAMPLAIN.



THE O'NEILL CHAMPLAIN.

(Copied from Hamel's Painting.)

Moncornet, and to deduce from evidence presented, that all forms of so-called Moncornet portraits are derived from a nineteenth-century lithograph, designed by another artist, Ducornet by name.

Louis Cèsar Joseph Ducornet was born at Lille, January 10th, 1806, and died at Paris, April 27th, 1856. He was deformed from birth, having neither arms nor thighs and but four toes to his right foot. But in spite of his deformity he learned to paint creditable pictures with this foot. At times, also, he used his mouth to manipulate his brush. He was a pupil of Watteau, Guillon—Lethière and Gérard; won medals for his work, and finally received a government pension. He painted many portraits. In 1854* there was issued a folio lithographed portrait designed by him, which may be found in several print collections, among them the New York Public Library, from which our photograph was made, and the Paris National Library. It is this portrait which was used, or abused, as a Moncornet in several American historical works of the last generation, from which it has been often recopied for later publications. It is expedient to refer to the principal of them with some detail. The original lithograph, in an oval, measures between the borders $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches. In recent years several half-tone reproductions of it have been printed, one of which appeared on the cover of the *New York News Letter*, for March-April, 1902, in a Quebec and Montreal number, published by the New York Life Insurance Company.

Careful and extensive researches, prosecuted under our direction by Messrs. B. F. Stevens and Brown, of London, at the British Museum, and by their agent in

This date is assigned by the late Georges Duplessis, in his *Catalogue de la Collection des Portraits français et étrangers conservée au Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1897, vol. ii.

the Bibliothèque Nationale, of Paris, failed to discover a Moncornet portrait of Champlain. These investigations were conducted in the libraries of printed books and the print departments. At the British Museum two remarkable collections of Moncornet portraits were examined; the one located in "1762 a 1," embracing two hundred and seventy-nine portraits, and another collection, catalogued under *France* and located in "562* L8—fo 1660?" They consulted also various biographical dictionaries of celebrated Belgian, Flemish and French persons, but found no mention of a portrait of Champlain. A similar report was returned by their Paris representative. By the kind permission of J. O. Wright and Company, well-known print dealers, of New York city, I was enabled to examine a list of many hundred portraits engraved by Moncornet, which a member of that firm had seen, in America and Europe, during many years of research as a specialist, but no portrait of Champlain was mentioned, nor any portrait of an American subject.

In 1870 the first volume of the *Œuvres de Champlain*, edited by the abbé C. H. Laverdière was published at Quebec. He included as a frontispiece an oval portrait with the inscription "Moncornet Ex. C. p.," but gave no further particulars of its source. This portrait, we believe, is from a pen and ink sketch, reproduced by the zincographic process, or what is today generally known as line-engraving. It is a poor reversed copy of the Ducornet lithograph, but the fictitious view of Quebec and the cat-boat are not reversed, the draughtsman having adapted his drawing in this respect.

In 1876 French and English editions appeared of François Pierre Guillaume Guizot's *Histoire de France*,



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN
Fondateur de Quebec Capitale du Pays de Canada

1608

THE LAVERDIERE CHAMPLAIN.

vol. v. This work contains in both versions many woodcut portraits designed by Eugène Ronjat, a French "artiste peintre-dessinateur," who is yet active. His sketch is given on p. 149 of the French edition, and on p. 163 of the English translation by Robert Black. He prepared the sketches, but the woodcuts were made by others. In a letter from him, dated April 18th, 1904, he says: "Ce portrait a été dessiné par moi, d'après un portrait *gravé par Moncornet* et non d'après une *lithographie de Ducornet*. Le portrait gravé par Moncornet fait portée de la collection de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris. Viola, Cher Monsieur, les seuls renseignements que je puisse vous donner à propos de ce portrait." Now, we have already seen that no original Moncornet portrait of Champlain exists at the Paris library, notwithstanding M. Ronjat's statement to the contrary. How, then, can this contradiction be explained? We believe that he used the so-called Moncornet frontispiece in Laverdière's first volume, which he adapted and altered freely, as is the case with other sketches by him in Guizot, from well-known portraits of other historical subjects. Everybody familiar with the methods of book-illustration knows that this is of all too common occurrence even at the present day. The portrait in Gabriel Gravier's *Vie de Samuel Champlain* (Paris, 1900), is merely the Ronjat portrait reversed. Gravier gives no hint as to its source, nor anything relative to portraits.

Another portrait derived from the Ducornet lithograph was painted by the Canadian artist, Théophile Hamel, as one of a series of the governors of Canada, which hangs in Mr. Speaker's reception room, in the Parliament House, at Ottawa. Hamel was a native of Quebec and a well-known Canadian artist, ranking among the best in Canada in his day. Although but

about thirty-five years of age in 1862, he had, as Morgan states, "produced one of the largest and best series of portraits in oil painting on this continent. We allude to our 'National portrait gallery,' composed of all the speakers of both houses of Parliament before and since the union, and also a large number of our governors." Slafter stated, in 1880, that Hamel's portrait was painted "from a copy of Moncornet's engraving obtained in France by the late M. Faribault." At this stage it should be borne in mind that Hamel married a daughter of G. B. Faribault, by whom he had two children. His descendants are still living in the Dominion. It seems reasonable, therefore, that he was furnished with a portrait by his father-in-law, who as a Canadian antiquary was just the kind of person who would be interested in these matters. But the portrait was not an engraving by Moncornet.

A bust of the Hamel painting was engraved on steel, by O'Neill, as a frontispiece for the second volume of John Gilmary Shea's translation of Charlevoix's *History and General Description of New France* (New York, 1866), where it is stated to be "From the painting by Th. Hamel after the Moncornet portrait." This is the earliest instance in print of its attribution to Moncornet. The same steel engraving was used again by Shea for his translation of Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith in New France* (New York, 1881), opposite p. 65, and it had also been loaned for Slafter's first volume (1880), to which Shea added a copyright note, dated 1878. In neither case did Shea contribute any evidence of the authenticity of the portrait as being by Moncornet.

On October 20th, 1885, Henry H. Hurlbut, of Chicago, presented to the Chicago Historical Society,



THE RONJAT CHAMPLAIN.

on behalf of his daughter, Harriet Persis Hurlbut, a painted portrait of Champlain, whose canvas measures twenty-one by seventeen inches. In his address to the society, he said it was "intended as a copy of one of the engraved portraits by Moncornet, as it appears in a volume of the Prince Society publications;" that is to say, in Slafter's first volume of Champlain's works.

Finally, it has been shown that there is a good lithographed portrait of Champlain, designed by Ducornet, presumably in 1854; that Hamel painted a portrait, which is an adaptation from a print; that Shea for the first time published a bust portrait, engraved from Hamel's painting, in 1866, and called it a copy after Moncornet; that Laverdière introduced a sketch, within an oval, in 1870, which shows clearly that it was taken from the Ducornet lithograph; that Ronjat made a sketch for Guizot's work, published in 1876, which he says was copied from a Moncornet engraving in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, of Paris, but which does not exist in that institution; and that Miss Hurlbut's painting was copied from Slafter's first volume. In addition to the evidence presented above, we show also reproductions of five of the portraits alluded to. We believe that this evidence demonstrates overwhelmingly that no Moncornet portrait exists, but that all these portraits are derived from a lithograph by Ducornet, made in modern times. Hence, as no authentic portrait of Champlain, of contemporary origin, is known, the use of this picture, in any of its various forms, as a real portrait, should no longer persist in historical publications. But one thing can alter this conclusion—the discovery of a real Moncornet portrait of Champlain. Until that is produced, we believe, a negative attitude should be maintained.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Men-ah-quesk.



HERE is some uncertainty as to the real meaning of the word Men-ah-quesk, which the Indians have applied from time immemorial to the site of the city of Saint John, but this uncertainty is characteristic of many such names, the origin and significance of which are as great a mystery to the Indian as to the white man. Per-

haps the most acceptable of the various interpretations that have been attempted—and one that no modern resident of the city of St. John is apt to condemn—is that of “the Place of mighty People.” To the savage mind the idea suggested by such an interpretation would not have seemed inappropriate, for in early Acadian days the Maliseets of the River Saint John were deemed by their neighbors a very important and powerful tribe.

To the red Indian Men-ah-quesk was the gateway of the magnificent stream on which his ancestors had lived for generations in greater comfort and content than most of the tribes in Canada and where, remote from the war paths of the dreaded Iroquois, they dwelt in peace and safety.

The 24th of June, memorable as the day on which, in 1497, John Cabot discovered the American continent, has an even greater significance to the people of New Brunswick as the day on which, in 1604, de Monts and Champlain discovered the St. John—a river which their



ISLE EMENENIC OR CATON'S ISLAND IN LONG REACH.

contemporary, the historian Lescarbot, terms one of the most beautiful mortal eye had ever seen, its soil of the best and its trees the finest in the world, and as to the fish they were so abundant that after placing the pot over the fire the explorer had often taken enough of them to dine before the water was hot!

Nevertheless in the eyes of de Monts and Champlain the discovery of the river St. John was regarded as a passing episode and Port Royal, not Menahquest, became the site of the first permanent settlement of Acadia.

There is a little island some miles up the River St. John in the "Long Reach," now known as Caton's Island, but formerly by its Indian name of Emenenic. Here a party of traders from St. Malo established a small settlement in 1611, the first on the river; they built themselves rude habitations and cultivated friendly relations with the Indians with whom they bartered for their furs and peltry. It was here too that the missionary Pierre Biard, of the Society of Jesus, held the first religious services of which we have any record on the River St. John.

The attempt of de Monts to colonize Acadia met with indifferent success, but the French still retained a feeble hold of the country and Biencourt, with young Charles LaTour and a few kindred spirits, cherished the hope of ultimate success. As early as the year 1630 LaTour had desired to establish a fort at the River St. John, and some few years later the company of New France gave him a grant of a large tract of land at the mouth of the river, including "the fort and habitation of La Tour." To this "fort and habitation" LaTour brought his young bride, Frances Marie Jacquelin, the "heroine of Acadia." She was a devout Huguenot, but the difference of religion be-

tween husband and wife seems never to have marred the harmony of their domestic relations; disturbance came from another quarter.

Across the bay, on the shores of Port Royal, lived the *Sieur d'Aunay Charnisay*, the rival of *La Tour*. The fact was speedily manifest that Acadia, large as it was, was not large enough for two such ambitious men as *Charles LaTour* and *d'Aunay Charnisay*, and ere long *Charnisay* sallied from his stronghold with the determination of seizing the person and property of his hated rival. Never in any vital emergency had man more faithful ally than *Charles La Tour* found in his faithful and devoted wife. The vicissitudes of the struggle that ensued, the courage and resource of the *Lady LaTour* when attacked in her husband's absence, her repeated triumphs, and then the sad story told by *Nicholas Denys* of the traitorous sentinel, who betrayed the garrison, and of *Charnisay's* barbarity in compelling the unfortunate heroine to stand at the scaffold with a rope around her neck while in anguish of spirit, she beheld her brave soldiers hanged before her eyes—all this is matter of history too well known to be re-stated here. But to those who dwell amidst environments, that once were her's, and to their children in the generations to come, there will always be a peculiar charm in the story of the heroine of Acadie whose ashes lie in an unknown grave near the spot consecrated by her devotion, the scene of so many hopes and disappointments.

The close of the seventeenth century was notable in Acadia for the outbreak of the most terrible Indian uprising in the history of eastern North America. During its progress the white settlers of New England suffered the most fearful outrages at the hands of the infuriated savages, but as in many other wars that the



MAJOR GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON.

Indians have waged with the whites the latter were responsible for its origin. The most capable French leader in Acadia at this period was Villebon, who was a native of New France. It was he who animated the savages of the River St. John to unite with the neighboring tribes in the forays that devastated the frontier settlements of New England. With all his faults—and doubtless he had many—Villebon is one of the most picturesque characters in the annals of Acadia, and his name is inseparably connected with the history of the River St. John. He was greatly admired by the savages, who deemed him one of themselves in consequence of his formal adoption of their chief Taxous as his Indian-brother. Villebon transferred the capital of Acadia from Port Royal to Fort Jemseg on the River St. John, removing it not long afterwards to the mouth of the Nashwaak, where in the upper angle, formed by the junction of that river with the St. John, he constructed in 1692 a palisaded fortification 125 feet square, with four bastions and eight cannon, which he called Fort St. Joseph.

From Villebon's journals and correspondence, aided by other contemporary manuscripts* of this period, we gain a fair idea of the condition of the St. John river region two centuries ago. There was a very extensive fur trade with the Indians, the coal mines of Grand Lake were not unknown, the tall pines which then abounded were being shaped into masts for the navy and specimens more than eighty feet in length were carried home by the French war-ships on their return voyages from Men-ah-quesk—or, as the French called it, "Havre de Menagoueche." Even the cultivation of the soil and raising of cattle was receiving attention at

*Several of these manuscripts are now preserved in the Boston Public Library, where they are guarded with much care, but may be seen by special permission of the librarian.

the hands of the brothers Louis and Mathieu d'Amours and of their neighbors Bellefontaine and Martel. These settlers were assisted in their husbandry by English captives taken by the French privateers and committed to their care by Governor Villebon. One of the most touching and beautiful incidents of Acadian story may be mentioned in passing, namely the ransoming of the little English captive, John Gyles, from the savages, by Louis d'Amour and his wife Marguerite and his subsequent devotion to his benefactors. An English expedition came sailing up the river to attempt the capture of Villebon's fort. Louis d'Amour had gone to France on private business, the pathway to freedom lay open to the captive. "Little English," said Marguerite d'Amour, "we have shown you kindness and now it lies in your power to serve or to injure us, as you know where our goods are hid in the woods and that Monsieur is not at home. I could have sent you to the fort and put you under confinement, but my respect for you and assurance of your love to us have disposed me to confide in you, persuaded you will not injure us nor our affairs."

To this appeal the boy of sixteen replied, "Madam, it is contrary to the nature of the English to requite evil for good. I shall endeavor to serve you and your interests, I shall not run away to the English." And then comes the sequel which appeals to our race pride. The "Little English," (as he is termed by Madame d'Amour) turns his back upon the would-be deliverers of English captives, and in a frail Indian canoe conveys the helpless Marguerite and her little children up the Jemseg river to a place of safe retreat. The incident is worthy of an artist's pencil. In recognition of his fidelity Louis d'Amour desired to adopt John Gyles as one of his family, but the boy's heart was with his



SITE OF FORT BOISHEBERT.

Woodman's Point.

people and opportunity was soon found to send him to Boston, where, after his nine years absence, he was welcomed as one risen from the dead.

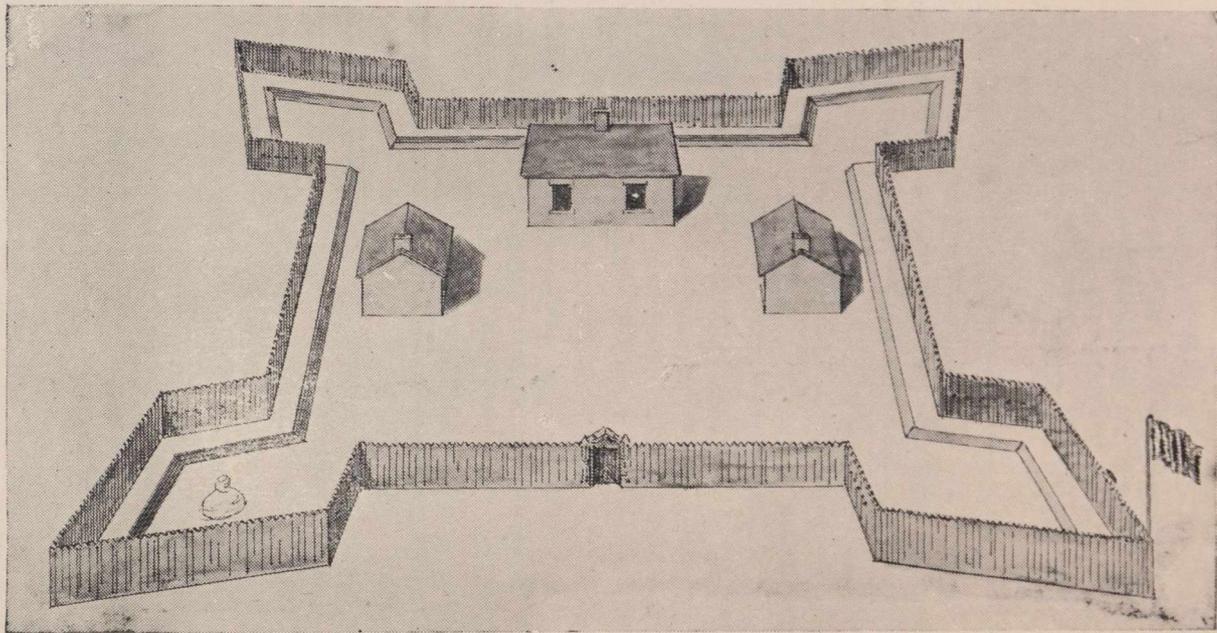
In 1698 Villebon rebuilt the old fort of Menagoeche at the mouth of the river. Its general plan was nearly identical with that of Fort St. Joseph at the Nashwaak, but it was considerably larger, nearly 200 feet square. Within the palisades were barracks for the soldiers, a residence for the governor with small chapel adjoining it, a house for the officers, lodgings for surgeon, gunner and armorer, a small prison and a well. The period of Villebon's residence at Men-ah-quesk was of only about two years duration. He died on the 5th of July, 1700, and was buried near the fort. The life of this devoted son of New France went out with the century, and with his death the seat of government was again transferred to Port Royal.

Little is recorded of the progress of events on the River St. John in the earlier years of the eighteenth century. The next French commander of note, who figures in the history of the region, is the Sieur Pierre de Boishébert, who was sent thither in the early part of 1749 by the Governor of Quebec to look after the interests of France. Acadia had been ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht, but France still claimed jurisdiction on the St. John as a river situate upon the continent and not included in the limits of Acadia. Boishébert built just above the junction of the Nerepis with the River St. John, at the place now called Woodman's Point, a fort which he called "Fort de Nerepice," more commonly known as "Fort Boishébert." It was but a frail defence and the commander received orders to restore Fort Menagoeche at the mouth of the river which had fallen into a ruinous condition. The position of Boishébert, however, was

extremely precarious, and when Capt. John Rous entered the harbor in the month of June, 1755, with three twenty-gun ships and a sloop, he realized that resistance with his small garrison was worse than useless. He accordingly burst his cannon, blew up his magazine, burned everything he could and beat a retreat up the river. It was not, however, until Colonel Monckton's expedition three years later that the French abandoned their struggle for possession of the Saint John.

The troops that accompanied Monckton in this expedition were the 2nd Battalion of the Royal American Regiment, four companies of New England Rangers, a detachment of artillery and the 35th Regiment of Light Infantry. The troops were conveyed to their destination by the transport ships "Viscount Falmouth," "Lord Bleakney," "Alexander the Second," "Wade," "Isabella," the sloops "York" and "Ulysses," and other vessels under convoy of the "Squirrel" man-of-war. Vessels and troops had lately been at the siege of Louisburg. The fleet sailed from Halifax on the 11th of September and a week later arrived off Partridge Island. Their entering the harbor and subsequent disembarkation were witnessed by a band of more than two hundred savages who lay in ambush, but the chief, overawed by the strength of the invaders, would not suffer his warriors to fire on them but retired at once to their village of Aukpaque, thirty leagues up the river.

The 20th of September, 1758, is a day memorable in the history of Acadia, for on that day the flag of Britain was planted on the ramparts of Fort Menagoeche, and the control of the St. John river passed finally into the hands of the English. In his journal Monckton has this brief account of the historic event:



FORT ST. JOSEPH (OR FORT NACHOUAC,) A. D. 1692.

“ Sep’br, ye 20th.—Made the Signal for Landing about nine and
“ soon after landed near the Old Fort, with as many Men as the
“ Boats could take, being about 400. Met with no opposition. The
“ 2nd Division being landed I sent off Maj’r Scott with about 300
“ Light Infantry and Rangers to made discovery and advanced the
“ two companys of Grenadiers to support him in case of necessity.
“ The Maj’r returned, having been above the Falls; he found some
“ few Tracks but not the least signs of any road or Path—the woods
“ very thick and bad marching. The troops being all landed I
“ ordered the Tents to be got on shore and encamped the two regi-
“ ments just at the back of the Fort. The Light Infantry and
“ Rangers under Maj’r Scott encamped on the Hill above.”

By order of Col. Monckton the fort was entirely rebuilt and greatly strengthened, six hundred men being employed daily in the construction of the works. Barracks were erected on the 2nd of October, but the fortifications were not completed until some weeks later. The fort was named Fort Frederick and its remains may yet be seen in Carleton. Under its protection the first permanent settlement was made by James Simonds and James White, a few years later, at Portland Point. It is interesting to notice that in several of his letters James Simonds applies the old Indian name Men-ah-quesk (or Monuguash) to Saint John, and its use was not finally laid aside until after the landing of the Loyalists. At the place where they landed in the Upper Cove, a little schooner, one of the first vessels ever launched at St. John, was built in the year 1770 by Jonathan Leavitt and Samuel Peabody, and named the “Monuguashe.” She was a pigmy craft compared to the Atlantic steamships that enter the “Winter Port” to day. But the spirit of the pioneers is with us yet, and as regards her commercial enterprise Men-ah-quesk endeavors, as of old, to be “the Place of mighty People.”

W. O. RAYMOND.

St. John, Past and Present.



HONOR and glory are due the memory of Champlain and de Monts for their discovery of the St. John river, but there was another Frenchman, Charles Etienne de La Tour, who should be remembered with equal if not greater honor.

LaTour established the first white settlement at the mouth of the St. John, and he, to an extent, exploited the commercial possibilities of the country Champlain and de Monts had made known. While his name will be forever enshrined in the history of St. John, because of the noble heroism of Lady LaTour in the defence of her husband's little fort, it was not as the soldier but as the trader and settler that he came. Such he would have been content to remain but the jealousy of rivals of his own race and the incessant wars of France and England compelled him to be a soldier. Interesting and exciting his story is as that of any of the many soldiers of fortune who sought to make a name and win fame in New France. In 1606 his father, Claude de LaTour, a Huguenot exiled from France, landed at Port Royal with Charles, then a lad of but fourteen years of age. It was not until 1630 that he came to St. John, establishing a fort and trading post. Up to that time there had been no permanent settlement at the mouth of the river, but one or two priests had spent brief periods with the Indians and some traders had made short calls to buy furs. LaTour came to St. John because he had learned that the English intended

attacking his fort near Cape Sable. He knew that he would be safe at St. John and that he could rely on the assistance of the large tribe of Indians who had their headquarters on what is now known as Navy Island. He built up a large and profitable trade with the Indians, buying furs and selling them to merchants in New England. For several years life flowed along peacefully in the little settlement, supposed to have been located on the western side of the harbor near the foot of King street. In 1636, on the death of Governor DeRazilly, the country he had ruled was divided between LaTour and Charles de Manou, Seigneur d'Aulnay Charnisay, a relative of the great Cardinal Richelieu. The fort and territory of LaTour were in the country given to Charnisay, but LaTour was unwilling to give up the splendid trade he had developed. His refusal to vacate the territory began a struggle for supremacy that ended only with the death of Charnisay in 1650. Charnisay had the support of the French government which sent him men and ships and authority to capture LaTour, a feat he never accomplished. LaTour appealed for assistance to the New Englanders with whom he traded and also to friends in France. The result of their first conflict was the complete discomfiture of Charnisay, who went back to France for fresh supplies, and on his return succeeded in making a treaty with the New Englanders that deprived LaTour of their help.

LaTour was fortunate in having for his wife a Huguenot lady of great ability, energy and judgment, who aided and supported him in all his undertakings. She went to England in his behalf and came back with a ship load of supplies. The captain broke his charter by going to Boston instead of to St. John. Lady LaTour at once entered suit and recov-

ered £2,000, which enabled her to fit out a formidable fleet of three ships. When she reached St. John it was to find her lord away and the fort in the hands of a few retainers. Soon after Charnisay attacked but was driven off. The next year, 1646, he returned and again Lady LaTour had to defend the fort in the absence of her husband. For three days she kept the enemy at bay and might have succeeded in the struggle, but on Easter Sunday morning a Swiss guard, who had been left on watch and who was in the pay of Charnisay, permitted the besiegers to get close at hand. There was a short, sharp struggle in which Charnisay was repulsed. He then proposed honorable terms of surrender which Madam LaTour accepted, only to find that she had been deceived. Charnisay once in possession hanged the whole garrison and so ill-treated the noble woman who had opposed him that she died in three weeks of a broken heart. LaTour could not command a force sufficient to avenge this wrong so abandoned the struggle and did not return until after the death, in 1650, of Charnisay. Then he visited France, secured a pardon, was appointed Governor of all Acadia, made a treaty with Madam Charnisay, and in 1653 married her, uniting the rival houses and securing absolute control of the territory he had so long and vainly struggled for. In 1656 the country was captured by the English but LaTour was permitted to remain, and with two Englishmen, Thomas Temple and William Crowe, was granted Acadia by Cromwell. The next year he sold out his interests to his English partners and retired from the activities of life. Ten years later, at the age of 74, he was accidentally drowned, meeting the same fate that sixteen years previously had ended the career of his rival Charnisay.

Acadia was returned to France by the treaty of 1657, but for three years there was dispute over the ownership of St. John, the English finally retiring in 1660. For nearly a hundred years thereafter or until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1749, the French were in nominal control, but in 1701 they destroyed the historic old fort and abandoned the country which for nearly half a century remained uninhabited. After the treaty the old question of whether St. John was in the ceded territory was revived. The French, to strengthen their claim, re-occupied the fort and began to repair it. The English protested, and in 1758 sent an armed force which landed at Negrotown Point, now Fort Dufferin, cut a road through the woods to the French settlement and captured the fort. This ended forever the French occupation of St. John and the name of Fort LaTour was changed to Fort Frederick. Two years later James Simonds came to St. John from New England intending to engage in the fish trade. He found the Indians hostile and retired, returning again in 1764 with James White, Capt. Francis Peabody and a small party of fishermen. At this time there were only the fort and a few habitations. The great part of the land on which St. John now stands was virgin forest. In 1768 the garrison was withdrawn and the fishermen were left to pursue their peaceful avocations, but trouble with the Indians compelled the authorities to again occupy the fort. Mr. Simonds in 1775 began the erection of a large vessel at what is now York Point. The craft was well along to completion when a party of raiders appeared and after committing many depredations, burned the vessel on the stocks. In 1776 William Hazen joined Messrs. Simonds and White in their fishing ventures and these three were the pioneer merchants of the modern St. John. At the same time

another industry grew and developed and for some years there was great profit in cutting and shipping to England pine sticks for use as masts for the navy. Many cargoes went forward and many of the ships that upheld England's honor on the seas were fitted with spars cut in the immediate vicinity of St. John. Settlers began to arrive and in 1782 it was estimated that there were on the St. John river a thousand men capable of bearing arms. In that year St. John was made a port of entry and eleven vessels arrived, their aggregate tonnage being 144. Twelve cleared, the tonnage being 165.

Such were the conditions when in 1783 the real settlement of St. John began. The American colonies had gained their independence. Peace had been proclaimed and those living in the new republic who wished to continue their allegiance to the British crown were compelled to abandon all their possessions and seek new homes in the nearest colonies. Thousands turned their eyes toward St. John, and on May 18 twenty vessels from New York landed upwards of three thousand of these loyal men and women on the then bleak and almost barren slopes of what is now a thriving city. During the summer about two thousand more arrived. Many of these Loyalists were people of culture and refinement, while all were possessed of that energy and character so necessary to life under their changed conditions. Resolutely they set to work to carve out homes for themselves. The little settlement which in one day had become a town with a goodly population was named Parr Town, in honor of the Governor of Nova Scotia, which included the present province of New Brunswick. A plan was prepared of the city, on the eastern side of the harbor, extending from Sheffield street on the south to Union street on the north. All

south of Sheffield street was reserved for fortifications and all north of Union street was granted to Messrs. Simonds, Hazen and White. The new town was divided into 1454 lots, and these were granted to the Loyalist settlers. Houses were built, simple log houses they were for the most part, while some of those who had arrived late in the year were compelled to face the first winter in the new land with canvas tents as their only shelter. The very next year a disastrous fire that started about where Centenary Church now stands and spread through the woods to the shores of the Kennebecasis, rendered homeless many of the new settlers and inflicted a still more serious blow on the young town by influencing many of those burned out to go farther into the country.

In 1784 New Brunswick was cut off from Nova Scotia and created into a province with Sir Thomas Carleton as the first Governor. The following year, on the second anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists, Parr Town, together with Carleton on the opposite side of the harbor, a section of land north of Union street, Partridge and Navy Islands, and three islands in the falls, were by Royal Charter incorporated as the City of Saint John, with Hon. Gabriel G. Ludlow as the first mayor. Among the residents of that day was General Benedict Arnold, who owned a lumber yard and was a prominent business man. Many of the Loyalists were men who had occupied positions of influence and importance in New York before the war. They gave the new city the benefit of their experience and judgment, so its government was well ordered and its development and growth steady. Sir Thomas Carleton held two sessions of the provincial government in St. John and then created Fredericton the capital, his reason being that there was

less danger of attack by foreign foes there than at St. John.

The principal event of interest in these early days was the visit in June, 1794, of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent. He held a levee at the residence of Ward Chipman, then Solicitor-General of the province. The old house is still standing, and in 1860 was occupied by the present King, then Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his visit to St. John.

The early years of the eighteenth century were exciting ones because of the Napoleonic wars. There was an ever present fear that a French warship might come up the bay and destroy the new town whose merchants suffered as it was from the French privateers that captured many of their trading ships bound to England. When the war of 1812 broke out American privateers practically swarmed along the coast and trade became almost impossible. Then the merchants of St. John fitted out their own vessels as privateers and in a measure recouped their losses. During this war the picturesque Martello tower on the Carleton heights was built. In 1813 there was a demand from Quebec for more soldiers and on February 11 the 104th Regiment of native troops made the journey on snowshoes in the dead of winter, the men cutting their own road through the trackless forest. The regiment made a march that ranks as one of the most famous on record and did not lose a single man.

When peace was again declared many of the British soldiers settled in St. John and in other parts of the province. Good times followed, a steady immigration set in and trade developed. Lumbering, fishing and shipbuilding were the staple industries and by 1840 St. John was city of 19,281 people, while there were 32,957 in St. John county. Twenty years later the population

had increased to 27,317 in the city and to 48,922 in the county. Many of those living in the county were practically residents of St. John, the houses being in the town of Portland which had grown up outside the city limits on the Simonds, Hazen and White lands. In 1889 Portland, with a population of about 18,000 people, was united with St. John, and the last census, 1901, gave the city a population of 40,701, and the county 51,759.

In the good old days of the wooden sailing ship every St. John merchant was a ship owner or ship builder. There were shipyards all about the city and thousands of men earned their livelihood from the industry. Ships were hurried to completion, sailed across the Atlantic and sold to English merchants at splendid profits. St. John ships sailed all seas, and St. John rose to the fourth position among the ship-owning ports of the world. Those were prosperous times. There was work in abundance for all and many lines of business akin to the shipping trade were developed. The coming of the steel ships and later the steamship killed the industry, and St. John had its years of depression, but her people turned their attention to other lines of trade and today the city sees a future greater than any the hardy pioneers dreamed of.

The record of the century and more that has elapsed since the Loyalists landed here and laid the foundations of modern St. John, has been one of growth and development. The city has, of course, had some reverses, the greatest being the fire of June 20, 1877, when practically the whole business section, and much of the residential section, was laid in ashes. Then 1612 houses were destroyed, 200 acres burned over and 2700 families—13,000 people—rendered homeless. The loss was estimated at \$27,000,000 and

the insurance loss at \$7,000,000. This fire wiped out almost all traces of the early settlers and the new city is a thoroughly modern one, of fine houses, broad and fairly well kept streets and sidewalks, the home of a prosperous, progressive and contented people.

The ambition of St. John is to become the great winter shipping port of Canada, and this ambition there is every reason to believe will be realized. Within the past few years a strong sentiment has grown up in Canada in favor of Canadian trade being handled as far as possible through Canadian channels. The growth and development of this national idea means the growth and development of St. John, for it is easily the best Canadian port through which to ship produce and merchandise during the winter season when the St. Lawrence ports are closed to navigation. Strong in the belief that a winter export trade could be done, the people of St. John invested about three-quarters of a million dollars in building deep water wharves and other terminal facilities at Sand Point within a quarter of a mile of the supposed site of LaTour's fort. These were ready for use in 1895, and the Canadian government was induced to grant subsidies to steamers running to Liverpool and other British ports. Two years later the government entirely cut off the payment of subsidies to mail steamers running from Portland, Me. The Canadian Pacific Railway secured connections with the docks and terminals built by the city and began the business of building up a trade. In the first winter there were 36 sailings, the registered tonnage being 50,892. During the second winter 1897-8 there was a considerable increase in the number of sailings, and the tonnage of the ships nearly doubled, going to 92,492. The value of the exports was placed at \$4,838,736. By 1901 there were more facilities and

the value of the exports jumped to \$8,730,896. In 1902-3 there was a still further increase to \$13,837,911, while in the winter just passed the high water mark was reached, the value of the exports being \$15,745,301 to the United Kingdom, \$788,744 to South Africa, an increase of \$122,908 over the previous winter, and \$79,844 to the West Indies, a total of \$16,613,919. In last winter's shipments there was nearly \$5,000,000 worth of flour and grain, and about the same of butter, cheese, eggs and meat, and \$1,000,000 worth of lumber and the same of miscellaneous freight. This freight was carried in 92 steamers whose registered tonnage was 357,379, almost seven times the tonnage of 1895 when the export trade was started. There has also been a most satisfactory increase in the import trade. Canadian merchants are beginning to order that their goods be shipped in steamers coming to Canadian ports. The business of the past winter represents almost the limit of trade that is possible unless more wharf accommodation is provided. There is ample room for this and the people of St. John are negotiating with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Dominion Government to see how the want can be supplied. Since the development of the trade began the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has purchased a fleet of fifteen steamers, and it is believed will materially add to this number as the years go by, and, as St. John is the Canadian Pacific Atlantic terminus, there is hope that it will be the winter port of all its fleet. The growth and development of Canada, particularly of the northwest, is expected to greatly increase the export and import trade of the country, and St. John hopes in a few years to be handling the winter shipments, not only of the Canadian Pacific but also of the Grand Trunk Pacific, and it may be that the Intercolonial

Railway, extended to the great lakes, will, in a few years, be a feeder to the winter business through St. John. The prospect for the future is bright, and the people are preparing to reap the reward of their energy and enterprise in demonstrating that it was possible for St. John to compete with American ports in handling winter export shipments.

It is not on this winter trade alone that St. John depends, for it has a good, steady, all the year round trade in lumber, fish, and other staples, with Canada, the United States and England. This is seen by the fact that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, there cleared at the custom house for sea 303 steam vessels of 407,644 tons and 991 sailing craft of 144,471 tons. In addition to these there were coastwise clearances of 668 steam vessels of 446,839 tons and 1994 sailing craft of 132,426 tons. Many of these vessels carried away lumber, the shipments to the United Kingdom being 193,181,869 superficial feet of spruce and 4,483,976 of birch, and to the United States about 175,000,000 feet more, a total of nearly 400,000,000 feet. The fisheries of the province are worth over \$4,000,000 annually and much of the catch cured in St. John is shipped to Upper Canada, the West Indies, South America and other markets. There are many industries besides, including the manufacture of lime, pulp wood, etc., that help to swell the export trade of St. John. In 1901 the total exports from St. John were valued at \$11,094,903, and the imports at \$4,623,134. The exports in 1892 had risen to \$14,273,846 and the imports to \$4,990,004. In the fiscal year of 1903 the exports were \$15,364,735 and imports \$5,658,281.

F. B. ELLIS.

Samuel de Champlain.



ACH is the architect of his own fortune (*Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*) is a venerable and true proverb; but it is equally true that a man is also the product of his own time. The political, civil, moral and religious conditions amid which he grows from childhood to age; aye! even the sunshine and shadow, the hill and valley, the bush, meadow and waterless waste, familiar to his grosser senses, furnish elements which qualify his character and influence his destiny, and he may well exclaim with Faust:—

In the currents of life, in action's storm,
I float and wave
With billowy motion!
Birth and the grave
A limitless ocean,
A constant weaving,
With change still rife,
A restless heaving
A glowing life.
Thus time's whizzing loom unceasing I ply
And weave the life garment of deity.

In estimating, then, the character of a man of a past age, we should endeavor to place ourselves amid the surroundings in which he lived, and under the influence to which he was subjected, if we would know him somewhat intimately. I am impressed with the importance of this in attempting to make the acquaintance of a man so little known as Samuel de Champlain, whom I am expected to introduce to you on this occasion.

Brouage, the little seaport on the southwest shores of France, where Champlain first saw the light in 1567, was then and for a century or more later, a strategic

military and naval post, and pronounced by Marshal Montluc to be the first seaport in France. Its principal industry was the manufacture of salt, which furnished profitable employment to its citizens, and gave it a distinct commercial importance.

Champlain's youth was passed amid stirring scenes. The pomp and circumstance of war were constantly before his eyes. He saw the tallest ships of the kingdom come with swelling sails from the gray sea beyond to seek shelter in the sunny harbor of his native town, and the brilliant soldiery of Charles IX and Henry III, of Navarre and Condé, as they swept through the land in triumph or defeat; for, during all the years he was growing to manhood, his country was deluged with the blood of her children, whom religious fanaticism, mingled with self-interest, had deprived of mercy. Over all Europe indeed, the storm which Wolsey had predicted and of which he said that it would "Be better for those who encountered it to die than to live," was raging with a persistence which gave no hope of cessation.

His native town was a coveted position for the contending parties. When he was but three years of age, it was taken by the Huguenots who held it for six years, when Henry of Navarre captured it, and made it his stronghold, holding it against all assaults by land and sea for thirteen years. There were intervals, however, of rest from active warfare, and in these the industrious citizens of Brouage prosecuted their profitable employment in the salt fields about the town.

At a somewhat youthful age Champlain entered the service of the Duc de Mercoeur, under whom he served in Brittany for a number of years. From Champlain himself we learn he was quarter-master under Marshals de Saint Luc and of de Brissac, and was probably about thirty-one years of age when this service ceased. Dur-

ing this period of military service, his duties were onerous, owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies, but the fact that he held his responsible position until the end of the war, shows that he performed his part to the satisfaction of those in command.

With the disbanding of the military forces after the accession of Henry IV., Champlain found himself left in idleness and he at once turned his attention to the sea, which offered to daring spirits an alluring field for adventure. France had not been backward in schemes of discovery and colonization in the past. Her daring fishermen were among the first to brave the perils of the Newfoundland coast to gather their annual harvest of the seas. Verrazano had been sent on his famous voyage to the New World by Francis I., in 1525, and Jacques Cartier had discovered the St. Lawrence in 1535, and passed the winter among the savages of Canada. Others had followed him, but none had been able to make their undertakings of any value to France, which had been so constantly occupied with distracting wars, that she could lend but little support to schemes of colonization. The discoveries of Cartier, however, were not forgotten, and were well known to all interested in maritime adventure. Since Cartier's discoveries, England had sent many expeditions to American waters. Such men as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Frobisher, Davis, and many other Elizabethan seamen of renown had visited the waters of the New World, and Hakluyt had given their discoveries to Europe. Spain, however, had been the most successful among the nations in founding foreign colonies, which she guarded with jealous care from intercourse with her rivals. Her claims in the Western hemisphere were without bounds, and, any efforts at colonization, even in the frozen regions of the North, were regarded as hostile to her interests. For a century she had watched

the futile efforts of her European neighbors to establish themselves in the New World, with malevolent vigilance. Her active spies were at every court, and in every seaport ready to report any rumour of an expedition to the West. Even the maps and papers of Cabot, after he returned from his famous voyage of discovery a century before, fell into her hands and were lost to the world, as were many other important documents, for it was her policy to obliterate the evidence, as far as possible, of England's discoveries, and when Cartier was fitting out his little barks at St. Malo for his voyage to the St. Lawrence some fifty years later, every movement was watched and reported to the King of Spain, who was advised by the Council for the Indies to send ships to intercept the Frenchmen. This he did not do because he said that experience warranted him in relying upon the ice and the tempestuous seas of the Baccalaos to thwart their designs. To those who were caught encroaching upon her preserves, or were suspected of designs not in accord with her interests, but little mercy was shown. The Contraction House took care of them as heretics, and they disappeared from human ken. Only occasionally did one escape to tell the tale, as in the case of Challons, one of Gorges' men, whose letter to Lord Chief Justice Popham is preserved with many another to tell its story of Spanish cruelty. But there are always ambitious men who are ready risk their lives in dangerous adventure, and Champlain was such a man. He knew that Spain's West India possessions were to her a mine of wealth, and he resolved to visit them and study for himself her commercial secrets. How to do this was a problem not easy of solution. Fortune, it is said, helps the brave, and a happy combination of circumstances enabled him to carry his plans to a successful issue. In the civil war which had just closed a considerable Spanish force

had been allied with the Catholic party, and among the French vessels employed to convoy the transports which were to convey these forces to Cadiz, was a ship, the "St. Julian," commanded by his uncle. In this ship Champlain secured a passage, and during a month's stay in Cadiz, employed his time in gathering all the information possible of Spanish affairs. His uncle was fortunate in securing the good will of the commander of the Spanish West India fleet, who chartered the "St. Julian" to accompany it, and made the French captain pilot-general. Thus Champlain was enabled to visit the West Indies, the Mecca of his desires. Touching at various places, he finally reached San Juan D'Ulloa, visited the City of Mexico, and Havana, Cartagena and other places, making a careful study of everything which fell in his way, and numerous sketches, which it must have been necessary for him to guard with great secrecy. On his return home after an absence of over two years, many of these sketches were included in an elaborate report which he made to the king. In his report he suggests making a water way through the Isthmus of Panama, which, he says, would shorten the route from sea to sea "by more than fifteen hundred leagues."

This report upon a subject so interesting to his countrymen brought him at once into favor with royalty, and Henry IV not only granted him a pension but bestowed upon him the coveted honor of knighthood. This brought him to the notice of those in power, among whom was Aymar de Chastes, the Governor of Dieppe, a man much esteemed by the king for his loyalty and patriotism, who at once formed a warm attachment for the young adventurer. As already said the exploits of Aubert, De Lery, Verrazano, and especially of Cartier, whose discoveries over-shadowed all others, were well known, and served as constant incen-

tives to the French to follow up the designs of these adventurers in the waters which wash the stormy shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the still but little known and more remote Canada; indeed, the very year that Henry of Navarre assumed regal authority in France, two expeditions were fitted out for voyages to Canada, the more important under the Marquis de la Roche. These, however, failed in their designs, as well as two under Chauvin and Pont Gravé of Saint Malo, the home of the immortal Cartier, and when Champlain returned from his voyage to the West Indies, he was made acquainted with the failure of these last adventurers to Canada. To many it seemed as though farther efforts to subdue "The frozen North," as it had been designated by Martyr, would have to be abandoned, but Providence at last had ready at hand in Champlain a man in every wise fitted to overcome the obstacles which had hitherto rendered all attempts at Canadian colonization abortive. Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Dieppe, had taken a deep interest in the discoveries in the Western World, and upon the death of Chauvin resolved to send out an expedition of observation preparatory to settling a colony in Canada, which he intended to conduct there himself for the service of "God and King." Having been acquainted with Champlain in Brittany, and appreciating his ability, he hastened to secure his services in this expedition. To this Champlain readily agreed, and the regal consent having been obtained with the charge to make a faithful report of the voyage, he set sail for the St. Lawrence on the 15th of March, 1603, in company with Pont Gravé, a distinguished merchant of Rouen, whom De Chastes had appointed the conductor of the expedition, which comprised two barks, and probably several smaller boats for service in shallow waters. The adventurers had with them two savages, who had

been for some time in France, to facilitate intercourse with the people of the country. The voyage was prosperous, and they soon sighted Cape Ray, passed the northern shores of Cape Breton, the Island of Anticosti, and entering the St. Lawrence, finally cast anchor at Tadoussac. Some time was spent exploring the Saguenay, and then Pont Gravé and Champlain proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the Falls of St. Louis near Montreal. From here they explored the neighborhood on foot, not being able to pass the falls in a canoe, making stops at various points to study the geography and resources of the country while Champlain sketched its more interesting features. Returning to Tadoussac, they set out for Gaspé, carefully exploring that interesting region, and having completed their labors they finally returned to Tadoussac where their companions had collected a quantity of valuable furs. With these and several natives, one of whom was the son of a chief, and another a captive whom they had saved from torture, they set out on their return voyage to France, which they reached in safety on the 20th of September. On his arrival Champlain learned with sorrow that his patron and friend, De Chastes, had died shortly after his departure from France.

Champlain had brought with him from Canada many interesting sketches which he at once laid before the king, with a careful account of the country, its inhabitants and products. This account so deeply interested the king that he decided to foster colonial enterprises in the new land. Such an enterprise was soon set on foot by the Sieur de Monts, who had accompanied Chauvin on a former voyage to Canada. Having obtained a charter of the entire territory between the 40th and 46th degrees of north latitude, and the title of King's Lieutenant in La Cadie, de Monts departed

from Havre de Grace on the 7th of April, 1604, with two ships, and a hundred and twenty men, of all trades. Besides these he was accompanied by a number of noblemen, among whom was Champlain, who was instructed by the king to make a full report of his observations as in former instances.

After seizing several ships engaged in the fur trade and making considerable explorations, the adventurers fixed upon the island of St. Croix, this very ground upon which we are now gathered as the seat of their colony. As we stand here today we can readily behold with the eye of retrospection that little band of Frenchmen, busy with their preparations for making this their permanent habitation. On the sparkling waters their little barks swung at anchor, while boats at frequent intervals passed to and fro between them and the shore. The sky was blue as it is today, and the air was sweet with the breath of flowers and musical with the notes of wild birds which haunted the virgin forests about them. After their prosperous voyage across the great sea their hearts were buoyant, and their hopes for the future high. About them was a great world as yet unexplored through which imagination soared at will, revelling in wonders unsurpassed by any fairyland.

Champlain was charged with the duty of planning and laying out the future town, which he proceeded to do with his usual energy; at the same time he employed all his spare moments in making sketches of the geographical features of the country and the settlements of the savages, whom he visited. While the workmen were engaged in erecting dwellings and storehouses and laying out their gardens as designed by Champlain, he was selected in the early autumn to conduct explorations southerly along the coast of Maine, the mythical Norumbega. He was accompanied by two savage

guides, and his little bark of eighteen tons bore a crew of twelve men. He was detained in Passamaquoddy Bay for a fortnight by the fogs so common there at this season, but finally was able to proceed on his way. Skirting the wild shores of Maine, and winding in and out among the numerous islands which characterize the region, he came to Pemetiq, which he named Monts Desert, on account of its sterile mountains, and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Bar Harbor. From here he explored the shores of the island to a cove "at the foot of the mountains," doubtless Otter Creek Cove. Here he met a party of savages, who were fishing and hunting for otters, by whom he was piloted in friendly fashion to the Penobscot, then known as the Norumbega, but which had been named by Gomez nearly eighty years before the *Rio de los Gamos*, because of the numerous deer which he saw on its banks. Champlain explored this noble river to the mouth of the Kenduskeag, when farther progress was barred by the falls just above the present city of Bangor. On the way he passed scattered wigwams, but the region seemed to have but few inhabitants. Along the shores of the bay and about the river's mouth, the inhabitants were numerous and received their strange visitors with friendliness. From here Champlain attempted the exploration of the Kennebec, but meeting with bad weather was obliged to relinquish his undertaking, and return to St. Croix Island, which he safely reached on October second, just a month from his departure.

In selecting this island for their future colony the adventurers made a fatal mistake, though, for the time, it was well adapted for defence; but it lacked all the essentials for a colonial establishment. Its small size, its unproductive soil and lack of wood and water, rendered it far less suitable for a plantation than scores of other places not far away.

The French, however, had made the most of their time and resources, and had well fortified it against the savages, if such perchance should prove unfriendly, and even against any Spanish or English foe which might come into the vicinity.

Four days after Champlain's return to St. Croix snow began to fall. Soon the island was surrounded by moving ice, and they found themselves imprisoned in their new home. This proved very inconvenient, as they had expected to live largely upon game which abounded on the main land, but which they found it impossible to reach. They were therefore compelled to use the salted meats which they had brought from France, which was productive of the fatal scurvy, a disease from which Cartier had severely suffered in Canada, seventy years before. This scourge to so many early adventurers they named "Mal-de la terre," and by it nearly one-half of the colonists found graves on this little island.

With the return of spring the disheartened colonists began preparations to return to France, but before they were completed, they were cheered by the arrival of Pont Gravé with supplies, and they resolved to seek another site for their colony. It was on the 18th of June, 1605, that Champlain set sail from the island of St. Croix with de Monts and a number of gentlemen, a boat's crew of twenty men, and an Indian guide with his wife, to explore the coast to the west. The French were not aware that on the very day which they left St. Croix, an English vessel, the Archangel, commanded by Captain George Waymouth, was just leaving the shores which they were about to explore, to return to England. For a month past the English had been examining the coast of Maine, and had set up a cross at Penticost Harbor in token of English possession. On board were five natives whom they had captured

and were carrying home to be taught the English tongue, that they might become interpreters and guides for future adventurers.

The French skirting the rugged and picturesque shores of eastern Maine entered the Kennebec seventeen days after leaving St. Croix and carefully explored this noble river and adjoining waters. On their way they frequently met the natives of the country, who received them in a friendly manner. On the 9th of July they passed outside of the islands which lie across the entrance to Portland harbor, which escaped their attention. Had they entered it they would undoubtedly have fixed upon it for settlement, and the history of Maine and of the country might have been completely changed. As it was they landed at the little island now known as Stratton's, and paid a visit to Richmond's Island, where they found vines loaded with green grapes, and therefore named it Bacchus Island. Along the shores of Prout's Neck and vicinity, the savages seeing the white sails of the French barque as it swept by gathered excitedly and followed its course, shouting and lighting fires to attract the attention of the strangers. With the flow of the tide they crossed the bar and entered the Saco, where Champlain had an opportunity to visit an Indian settlement and behold the mode of life of the people, and their manner of cultivating corn, and other vegetables. Two days were spent here when they again resumed their voyage westward, encountering a storm which compelled them to anchor near Cape Porpoise, where they found wild pigeons in great abundance, attracted thither by the wild currants and other fruits which covered the land. From the natives with whom Champlain had friendly intercourse he was able to gain much valuable knowledge of the region to the west, and of the tribes living there.

On the 16th of July, the French bark anchored at East Boston. On every hand the voyagers saw fields of corn and stretches of land cleared for cultivation. To the Charles river was given the title of Riviere du Guast in honor of the patentee. Leaving Boston harbor on the 17th of July they skirted the coast, anchoring at Marshfield, where they held pleasant intercourse with the natives who were engaged in cod fishing with hooks made of wood having a barb formed of a sharp fragment of bone.

At Nauset Harbor the voyagers had their first unpleasant encounter with the natives. While some of the sailors were getting water from a spring a native coveting the copper vessel which one of the party was using, snatched it from his hand, and in the encounter which ensued the sailor was slain.

On the 25th of July the expedition westward came to an end, and the voyagers turned their faces toward the east, stopping finally at the Kennebec, where they learned for the first time of Waymouth's visit there. This was not pleasant news to them. They the enterprise and persistence of the English too well to regard their presence in these waters with indifference, and they no doubt proceeded on their way to St. Croix with apprehension of future trouble. They reached St. Croix on the 8th of August strangely enough, having found no place which they regarded as suitable for settlement. Port Royal, now Annapolis Basin, was known to them, and they decided to remove there for the coming winter, which they at once proceeded to do by taking down and transporting to that place the materials which composed their buildings. While they were putting up their dwellings at Port Royal, de Monts departed for France, leaving Pont Gravé in his place. The winter at Port Royal passed with less suffering to the colonists than the preceding one, but out of forty-

five persons who composed the colony, twelve succumbed to the dreaded "Mal de la terre."

During the coming summer Champlain attempted on several occasions to resume explorations to the south, but was beaten back by storms. Not receiving the necessary supplies from France, promised by de Monts, Pont Gravè resolved to abandon the settlement and return home with the colonists by the fishing vessels which frequented the shores of Cape Breton, and they had departed from Port Royal for that purpose, when they were intercepted by a boat from the supply ship which had passed them unobserved, hence they turned back with the determination to spend another winter at Port Royal. In the supply ship came De Poutrincourt, who, taking the place of Pont Gravé, permitted him to return home.

It was decided now to attempt another exploration to the south, and Champlain set out with De Poutrincourt, touching at various points as they proceeded, until they reached Vineyard Sound, when, not having found a place to their satisfaction, they turned back to Port Royal, which they reached, after escaping many perils, on November fourteenth.

Another dreary winter was passed, relieved somewhat by amusing ceremonies, and spring had arrived, when the colonists were startled by the news brought them by the captain of their former supply ship, that the charter of de Monts had been revoked, which must end their colonial undertaking. Before embarking, however, on the supply ship, which was awaiting a freight of fish, De Poutrincourt and Champlain made extensive explorations along the shores of Nova Scotia in search of minerals. The colonists having at last all assembled at Canseau, departed for France September third, arriving at St. Malo, October first, 1607, after an absence of over three years. Champlain brought back

with him to France sketches and maps of the coast from Canseau to Vineyard Haven, which were a great addition to the geographical knowledge of the time, and added much to his fame.

De Monts, although he had suffered grievous disappointment and loss in his colonial undertakings, Champlain found still as interested as ever in similar projects and contemplating new adventures. Having finally succeeded in obtaining a new concession from the king, he fitted out two ships in the spring of 1608 for Canada. Champlain, whose wisdom and force of character as well as honesty of purpose had won the confidence of de Monts, was selected to command the expedition, and on April thirteenth, 1608, he departed from Honfleur, arriving at Tadoussac on the third of June. On arrival he found Pont Gravé, who had preceded him, suffering seriously from wounds received in a conflict with a fur trader. A less prudent man than Champlain, armed with his power, would have at once inflicted summary punishment upon the aggressor, but Champlain rightly concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, hence he compromised affairs and left disputes to be settled later when they all reached home. Having ascended the St. Lawrence Champlain, on July third, laid the foundations of Quebec. After a year passed in toilsome explorations, amid scenes of savage warfare and cruelty, barely on one occasion escaping a plot to assassinate him, Champlain returned home in the autumn of 1609, and seeking an audience with the king, laid before him the results of his labors.

Again Champlain was engaged by de Monts to take charge of another expedition to Canada, and on the 8th of April, 1609, he once more set sail for the St. Lawrence, and arrived at Tadoussac after a voyage of but eighteen days. Proceeding to Quebec he found the settlement which he had planted there in a prosperous

condition. War, however, between the savage allies of the French and the Iroquois had begun, and he thought it politic to make common cause with the former against their foes. The Iroquois could not stand against the firearms of the French and were defeated with great slaughter. The war ended, Champlain returned to Quebec and began to apply himself to the affairs of the colony, when a ship arrived from France bringing news of the assassination of Henry IV. This was a serious blow to Champlain, and leaving affairs in charge of one of his associates he returned to France in the autumn of 1610.

Eager to return to Quebec, Champlain on the first of the following March again set out to rejoin his little colony. It was too early in the season, and his ships encountered immense fields of ice, amid which they struggled in constant danger of destruction, until May thirteenth when they finally made the harbor of Tadoussac. Proceeding to Quebec Champlain at once began the exploration of the St. Lawrence seeking a site for a trading station with the savages. The point selected by him was the site of the present city of Montreal, the ancient Hochelaga of Cartier, which had now disappeared as well as the people whom Cartier had found there. They had been swept away by war and their lands were possessed by their foes. Trade with Champlain was a matter of secondary interest, but his relations with the colony made it necessary for him to give it attention. To establish the power of France in the new land was one of his chief aims, the other to find a water way to the Pacific, and he devoted himself as far as possible in obtaining, by personal observation and by conversation with the savages, a knowledge of the country and its waterways. The fur trade upon which de Monts largely depended, proving unprofitable, Champlain found it advisable to return to

France to report the situation of affairs to his principal. This he accordingly did, and reached France on the sixteenth of September, 1611. Here he found the affairs of the company, of which de Monts was the head, in an unsatisfactory condition, and he was appointed to reorganize it. Having accomplished this, after overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties, he set out with four vessels for Quebec, which he reached on the 7th of May, and on the 27th started on a voyage of exploration, amusing himself with the dream, which had not yet ceased to delude adventurers to the New World, that he might perchance stumble upon the mysterious waterway which led to rich Cathay. Misled by a man whom he had permitted to live among the savages for some time, he undertook an expedition to discover the "North Sea." After incredible hardships the explorers reached Allumette Island, where they learned from the savages that no such sea existed, and therefore turned back accompanied by a host of their savage friends in canoes. Upon reaching Montreal Champlain found three ships from France sent over by the company, and having embarked the furs he had collected, and arranged to send two of his young men with the savages to learn their language, he embarked for home.

The year 1614 was spent by Champlain in France. The subject of Christianizing the savages had long been desired by him, and he succeeded in interesting the Recollet Fathers of Brouage in the undertaking, hence on the 24th of April, 1615, he embarked with four of them for Canada. Reaching Quebec, his first work was to build a chapel and suitable quarters for his missionaries, and then to visit the savages, who had gathered at Montreal to meet him. They informed him of the difficulty which they encountered in carrying on trade with the French, owing to the Iroquois, who intercepted them when they attempted to reach the French settlements, and begged Champlain to render

them assistance. Realizing the necessity of impressing the savages with his friendship and power, as well as to keep open communication with them, he arranged to accompany them against their enemies. Proceeding into the Iroquois country the allies besieged their stronghold, but after a fierce battle in which Champlain was wounded, his allies lost courage and beat a hasty retreat. Finding it impossible to reach Quebec until the following spring, he was obliged to pass the winter with them, much against his wishes, and it was not until the eleventh of July following that he arrived at Quebec to the great joy of the Recollet Fathers, who celebrated his safe return with public thanksgiving. Having made provision for the enlargement of the fort and comfort of the missionaries, he set out for France, which he reached on the sixteenth of September, 1616.

In each of the two succeeding years Champlain spent a portion of his time with the colonists. He planted grain, and laid before the Council of State the results of his experiments; indeed, he strove in every way to advance the importance of the colony in the regard of those in authority in France. For two years he was absent from his colony endeavoring to compose dissensions in the company, and in May, 1620, having been made the Lieutenant of the Viceroy, and High Admiral of France, he sailed from Honfleur with his young wife for Canada. His arrival was warmly welcomed both by the colonists and missionaries, whose affairs had languished during his absence. His first work was to repair the delapidated buildings and encourage the people to cultivate their neglected lands; then he began to build a fortress on the cliffs above the settlement for their better protection. For four years he labored incessantly to advance the prosperity of the colony, composing differences among the savage tribes, and encouraging the colonies to rely upon the products of the

country for support rather than upon the company. On the fifteenth of August, 1624, he sailed for France with his wife, and reached Dieppe on the first of the following October. For a year and a half he remained in his native land, striving to promote the interests of his colonists, at the end of which time he thought it advisable to return. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of April, 1626, he again set his face toward Canada and reached Quebec on the fifth of the following July, where he found that everything during his absence had been suffered to go to waste. The colonists had even neglected to gather sufficient forage for their cattle, and were constantly menaced by their savage enemies. To improve conditions he had the cattle removed to the rich meadows of Cape Tourmente, where he erected buildings and provided proper protection. He also enlarged the fortress, and again set his hand to the improvement of the buildings of the company, changing what had become a scene of idleness and neglect to one of activity and order. But the colonists were not disposed to rely upon the land for subsistence, preferring to receive their supplies from France, and agriculture was neglected. This neglect Champlain labored to overcome without success, and although twenty years had passed since the founding of Quebec, but a single family depended for subsistence upon agriculture.

Another cause of disquiet was the religious antagonisms which existed between Huguenots and Catholics, and which it was impossible to overcome. Richelieu resolved to change these conditions, and accordingly brought about the dissolution of the company and the formation of another, which he entitled the Company of New France, of which he held control. The authority of this new company was stretched over all the French possessions on the continent, comprising New France and Florida. Everything promised the fruition

of Champlain's dreams for French domination in the New World, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, for these only were the limits which France set for herself. The claims of England seem hardly to have been considered, and yet this virile and aggressive nation had sent out Cabot, who made the first discovery of the northern continent, and had followed up this discovery by frequent voyages to its shores, though it had not, before the advent of Champlain at St. Croix, established a permanent colony within its borders. It had, however, made extensive grants of territory, among others, a grant to Sir William Alexander of a domain of royal magnitude denominated by James I, New Scotland, in honor of his native country. This grant comprised a portion of the Province of Quebec, and while Richelieu, with Champlain's assistance, was shaping his splendid project, Alexander and his associates, wealthy merchants of London, were preparing a fleet of six ships, heavily armed, with authority from the English king to seize and confiscate French or Spanish ships, and to destroy and break up French settlements wherever found on the St. Lawrence or in its vicinity. Champlain had but begun his new duties which promised the greatest success, when he heard through a savage courier of the arrival at Tadoussac of a fleet of six English ships of war, which news was immediately followed by a despatch demanding the surrender of Quebec. Champlain's reply was dignified and sarcastic, and, believing that the French strength was greater than it was really was, Kirke, the English commander, withdrew, destroying all the fishing vessels of the French that he met. On his way along the coast, Kirke met the French fleet under convoy of four war ships, with colonists and supplies for Champlain, and captured them all, twenty-two in number. This was a fatal blow to Champlain's hopes, and

when Kirke's fleet returned the next summer they met with no resistance, as the colonists were in a starving condition.

After the surrender, the English took possession of Quebec and raised the standard of England over the fortress. Champlain was taken to England by the triumphant Kirke, but the victor's triumph was of short duration, for he found upon his arrival that peace had been concluded between England and France before the capture of Quebec, and not only must Quebec be restored to the French, but that restitution of the captured property must be made as well. This was a disheartening blow to the English. On Champlain's arrival in France after his capture, he found affairs in a condition unfavorable to the interests of his colony in New France. Richelieu was too fully occupied in parrying the assaults of his enemies to give much attention to him, and Louis XIII knew little, and cared less, for the faithful servant who so long devoted himself to the task of extending the rule of France over the Western continent. More interesting things immediately about him occupied the royal attention. Even the little pension which his father had bestowed upon Champlain was suspended, and it was necessary to sue for its renewal. A memorial was drawn up by Champlain directed to the king, in which he recapitulated the services which he had performed for the crown, and described the new country, its people, its products, and the advantages which France might gain from it. "Behold, sire," he says in closing his petition, "a sample of the labor of the Sieur de Champlain, who for thirty-five years has rendered continual service to your majesty, as well in the service of the late king as in the voyage that he made thirty years past to the West Indies, and since in New France, where he has almost continually sojourned; and, as recompense can

be expected for services rendered to your Majesty, the Sieur de Champlain dares to pray to grant him this favor, that the pension which he has had for twenty-five years may be continued by the command of your majesty, in order to give him the means of continuing his service, and he will pray God for the increase of your estate, and the health and prosperity of your majesty."

Whether Champlain's pension was continued we know not. The negotiations relative to the restoration of Quebec to France dragged along until the 13th of July, 1632, and on the 23rd of the following March Champlain again sailed from Dieppe for Quebec with three ships, as Governor. On the twenty-third of May his ships dropped anchor at Quebec amid the rejoicings of the colonists who gave him a royal welcome. It was probably the proudest moment of his life. Without loss of time he began the resoration of the neglected buildings, and erected a memorial chapel to commemorate the restoration of Quebec to the French. For over two years Champlain devoted himself earnestly to the affairs of the colony. In the autumn of 1635, he was seized with an illness, which terminated his useful life on the following Christmas.

Never was a man more sincerely mourned than was Champlain by the colonists of New France to whom he had endeared himself by his wise management and unselfish devotion to their welfare. He was buried in the Memorial chapel which he had erected. This chapel was subsequently destroyed, and the place which it occupied forgotten; so that today we know not the spot where he was buried. It is, perhaps, enough to know that his dust is commingled with that of the land he loved, though the name by which he knew it is no longer on the tongues of living men.

It has seemed necessary on such an occasion as this

to give an outline however brief and imperfect it may be of Champlain's achievements in order to bring his personality more distinctly into view, and as it is always asked at the conclusion of a man's life, what did he accomplish? it may be answered that he laid the corner stone of a French empire in America, which, had she possessed the wisdom and virtue necessary to hold and develop it on true lines, might have made her today the chief among world powers.

Moreover, Champlain will always be regarded as one of the few great explorers of this continent. He indeed possessed all the qualities necessary to success in the field of exploration; high physical endurance; passion for adventure; persistence of purpose; sublime courage; unflinching patience; a hopeful spirit; all these he unquestionably possessed. Reared in a community and amid conditions which perhaps unduly exalted the art of navigation, he fostered from youth an admiration for those who "Go down to the sea in ships." His own words on this subject reveal the motive of his life. He says, "Of all the most useful and excellent arts that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place. For the more hazardous it is, and the more numerous the perils and losses by which it is attended, so much the more it is esteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unsuited to the timid and irresolute. By this art we obtain a knowledge of different countries, regions and realms. By it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which won my love in my early years, and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a part of America, especially those of New France, where I have always desired to see the

lily flourish, together with the only religion, catholic, apostolic, and Roman."

France never had a more patriotic son than Champlain. In his devotion to her interests he never faltered. His voyage to the West Indies in which he so persistently labored, to gather a knowledge of Spain's commercial secrets for the benefit of his country, and, as it seems, without prospect of reward, is evidence of this. Though ostensibly acting for a commercial company in New France, whose sole motive was gain, he seems to have been at all times dominated by the lofty purpose of creating a New France in the wilds of North America in which Christianity should hold a chief place. While forwarding this purpose, he never lost sight of his duties to those whose commercial interests were entrusted to his care, and this seems to have been recognized by his associates, though they were not always in sympathy with his philanthropic plans.

But Champlain was more than an explorer and philanthropist. In the difficult negotiations which he was obliged to conduct when at home with those in power; negotiations which involved the colonial and commercial existence of the enterprise in which he was so deeply interested, he exhibited qualities which show him to have possessed broad statesmanlike views, as well as prudence and sagacity. He never seems to have been swerved from his purposes by difficulties which he encountered. It has been said that a man's stability is measured by his faith. The truth of this Champlain well exemplified in his life, for he possessed a soul which, amid the most disheartening conditions, preserved an indefectible serenity, while his own expressions reveal the quality of his faith.

The influence of Champlain's achievements upon American history must ever be acknowledged. His mantle as an explorer fell upon Marquette, Joliet and

La Salle, who blazed the pathway to English power in the great west. For more than a century the New France which he was instrumental in starting upon its career, continued to flourish despite the shifting and repressive rule of royal governors and rigid prelates, who carried on a zealous competition, the one to gain from the savages the most peltries, the other the most proselytes. Beyond her borders, however, was another race, sturdy, self-reliant and ambitious, pursuing more practical methods for its advancement, which soon placed it far in the van. Really it was but the shifting of a scene from an old world stage to the new, for the principles animating the different forms of civilization which characterized the two nationalities, now growing side by side, had long been at strife, and could but come into conflict again in the ripeness of time. We know the result of that conflict, and while we may feel sympathy for the failure of the splendid scheme which Champlain and a few choice spirits of his time so fondly cherished, we can but conclude that this result vastly contributed to the progress and development of this great American people, whose future grandeur and power we can at present but imperfectly estimate. Yet, while we realize this, and thank God for the rainbow of promise which spans our horizon, we may properly do honor to a man like Champlain, of whom, though he might not sympathize with our conceptions of government, nor our forms of faith, it was possible for a thoughtful historian like Grothius to say that "His surpassing love of justice, piety, fidelity to God, his king, and the society of New France, had always been conspicuous," and that "In his death he gave such illustrious proofs of his goodness as to fill everyone with admiration." In doing honor to such a man, whatever may be his nationality or his faith, we do honor to ourselves, to our religion and to our God.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER.

Saint Croix.



THE ship rudely drawn by Champlain on his map of Saint Croix Island, possibly the one in which he and his companions had

crossed the ocean, carries what appears to be the old national flag of France, with its white cross on a lily strown field of blue.

Ten generations of men have lived since the little vessel of de Monts first brought that flag through unknown waters to the place devoutly named by him the Island of the Holy Cross. Not so many years were to pass, as we know, before the white cross banner should be followed by the red cross of St. George; thus foretelling in the first decade of the island's history, a story of more than two centuries of dispute.

A definite point in the little known regions of Acadia, "St. Croix Island, where the Sieur de Monts wintered," served to fix the earliest boundary lines that had a local point of departure. But continued reference to the spot in later grants and treaties, or to the river to which it gave its name, left the intended boundary as uncertain as was, in course of time, the abandoned site of the settlement; and, therefore, when the province which it bounded was not in dispute, the dispute was over the boundary itself. Whether the flag of the old French monarchy, or that of England or of Scotland—whether the Union Jack of Great Britain, or the white flag of the Bourbons, should fly over it in right of sovereign-

ty—whether it and the neighboring shores passed to the British as part of Nova Scotia, or remained to the French as a part of New France—were questions that had hardly ceased to be of living interest when the boundary dispute between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts made it once more to lie within debatable territory. And when this dispute had become again international, and ended with the flag of the new American nation on the right bank of the river, the island itself yet remained in dispute, a few acres of debatable territory, under the name of Neutral Island.

There is little of interest in the history of St. Croix Island since the days of the first settlement, apart from the history of the present international boundary line.

The Sieur de Monts chose to make his fortified post and habitation at Isle St. Croix because it was well hidden from enemies approaching by sea, easy of defence, and well situated for carrying on his proposed trade with the savages of the coast and of the interior. The defence of his monopoly seems to have been the first consideration. The French claim to the territory which he sought to establish by his settlement, he was, no doubt, ready enough to defend by force of arms. It must ultimately rest, however, not upon his ability to hold the ground, but upon the fact of his settlement. But the outer bay was known to Europeans, and he must be prepared for the visits of rival traders of his own and other nations, who might not willingly recognize his claims; so he strengthened his position by a barricade and mounted guns, that he might the more easily ward off any unlawful attack, and the better enforce his rightful authority. Even before his arrival at St. Croix the agents of de Monts had captured a French vessel engaged in business which under his monopoly had become illicit; and had arrested certain

Basque fur traders, who may be supposed to have cared very little for his charter if not supported by force.

The case of these Basque shipmasters was particularly hard; for the Biscayans seem to have had a well established trade along the neighboring coasts. An English voyager, in 1602, found a number of Indians at Casco Bay dressed in European clothes and sailing in a Biscay shallop. But Biscay had no colony there, and no territorial rights that the French were bound to respect. The charter of de Monts created and his settlement founded a French province in America; and in that province he had exclusive rights.

The monopoly was of short duration, and the charter soon revoked; but a grant of Port Royal, which the Baron de Poutrincourt had obtained from de Monts, was confirmed by the king in 1610, and the province continued to exist.

In the meantime, the great charter of Virginia, in 1606, had made an English province extending northward to the parallel of forty-five degrees; and the grantees had established in the following year colonies at Jamestown and on the coast of Maine. Argal, demolishing the unoccupied French buildings on St. Croix Island in 1613, overstepped the boundaries less than ten miles; and the unprotected farming settlement at Port Royal which he ruthlessly destroyed was nominally in Virginian territory.

St. Croix Island had had one inhabitant since the departure of the first settlers for Port Royal, in 1605—a certain Captain Platrier, who lived there in the summer of 1611 and the following winter, paying willing tribute to the son of Poutrincourt as his feudal lord. It seems that he had left before the place was plundered and burned by Argal.

Until after the close of the seventeenth century, though no agreement had been reached concerning the

bounds of Acadia, and though Port Royal was again and again taken by the English colonial forces, and other settlements destroyed, no hostile expedition disturbed the quiet of French residents, if any there were, in the neighborhood of the St. Croix. We do not know, indeed, that there were such residents until 1684. Then the island remained deserted, and its name and history had been forgotten. River and bay were known to both French and English by their Indian names. The Sieur de St. Aubin, who came with the title of seigneur and with a few retainers, was seigneur of Passamaquoddy; and the river was called Schoodic in the grant of another seigniory in 1695, under which Sieur Michel Chartier, established a fishing and fur trading station at the head of the tide. The name St. Croix was still applied to the region, though rather indefinitely. It was remembered, too, by the New Englanders, as that of a river which they sometimes claimed as their boundary; but the identity of the river was unknown to them and was of no importance to the French, whose claims were not limited by it. And so it came about the river was known by its Indian name for the next one hundred years.

On the night of the 7th of June, 1704, almost a hundred years to a day from the time of Champlain's first coming, Col. Benjamin Church sailed into the Bay of Passamaquoddy on his vengeful mission. The English had destroyed Baron St. Castine's post at Penobscot. The Passamaquoddy Indians, incited by the French, had then attacked defenceless villages in Maine; and Church had come to punish them and drive them out. He had with him a force of English colonists and Indians,—for it was not the French alone who enlisted and armed the savages in what we know as the French and Indian wars. Moving rapidly up the bay and river, burning and plundering as he went, he

sought to put an end also to the French occupation and leave the place once more without inhabitants. His account of a second visit, a few weeks later, lets us see how thoroughly this work was done. A woman and her two sons only were there; and from them he learned that the French priests, finding some of the Frenchmen slain and scalped, had advised the Indians to go away, leaving their fields of growing corn and all that they could not carry with them, and the Indians had taken his advice. It is the ugliest picture in the history of the St. Croix.

Perhaps the French mission to the Indians at St. Andrews was established soon after this foray; for it is probable that the Indians or a part of them soon returned. It is almost certain that the ruins of a few French houses found by the English at other points were of later date. Indian trappers probably disposed of their furs to trading vessels, the crews of which have left us French names along the coast where no French settlements were known to exist. Both traders and settlers were gone, however, before the first English settlers came, when the conquest of Canada had made an end of French power and French claim.

To the Loyalists who settled at St. Andrews we owe the rediscovery of St. Croix Island. The identification of the river was needed to fix the boundary line. The discovery of the ruins of de Monts' settlement upon the island, in 1797, furnished the most important evidence for that identification, and virtually established the line.

St. Croix Island then bore the name that it has borne in later years—not Dochet, as it is now written, but Dosia's. It soon took the name of Neutral Island.

Though Neutral Island never made a declaration of independence, and had no government and almost no inhabitants, its independence was acknowledged locally. During the war of 1812, and the days of embargo and

non-intercourse that preceded it, British wares that were much needed by the good people of Eastern Maine could be received only from a neutral port; so it was found convenient to have such a port close at hand, and the island was made to answer the purpose. It has borne other names, of which the origin is more obscure; but none more beautiful than that first given it by its French discoverers, from the shape of the waters above it on their maps—the Island of the Holy Cross.

JAMES VROOM.

Editorial.



WITH this issue which, by the way, is the second double number published during the current year, is completed the fourth volume of ACADIENSIS. In January, 1905, there will appear the first installment of an important historical work, prepared by the hand of one who has for many years lain silent in the grave, but to whose efforts, although he labored under many disadvantages, much of the credit for the interest now taken in New Brunswick history is due.

“The Judges of New Brunswick and their Times,” by the late Joseph Wilson Lawrence, edited and annotated by Alfred A. Stockton, Esq., D. C. L., K. C., etc., of St. John, will be found not only interesting, but historically valuable. The editor of ACADIENSIS considers

himself doubly fortunate in securing the material gathered up by one with an appreciative mind during a period of years when but little attention was given to the study of local history in the Province of New Brunswick, with the additional advantage of the assistance in its preparation for publication of such a capable and painstaking historian as Dr. Stockton.

This series of articles will probably occupy a large space in each issue of ACADIENSIS for at least two years. Each article will be printed upon a sheet by itself, so that it may be detached from the rest of the magazine without injury and bound in a separate volume should the subscriber so desire.

To regular subscribers this number is issued without extra charge, to non-subscribers, and for extra copies, the price is one dollar and fifty cents per copy. This charge is justified by the heavy expense incurred for assistance in making original research, for preparing photographs for the purposes of illustration, for traveling expenses where necessary, for printing, engraving and binding, as well as for numerous other incidentals connected with such an undertaking.

If the financial return is sufficient to cover the actual outlay, the writer will feel well satisfied, and that for him to have been instrumental in adding, though even indirectly, something of permanent value to the literature of his native land will be sufficient reward.

The editor of ACADIENSIS desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Royal Society of Canada for the permission obtained through S. E. Dawson, Esq., Litt. D., the Honorary Secretary of the Society, for the use of the cuts of St. Croix Island which appear in this issue in connection with the article by Dr. Ganong.

The following autograph of Champlain is reproduced from that in Winsor's *America*, for a tracing from which we are indebted to Prof. W. F. Ganong.

Champlain-

The article by Hon. James Phinney Baxter is a copy of the address to be delivered by him at St. Croix Island, June 25th, 1904, he having kindly consented to furnish this magazine with an advance copy.

The name of R. R. McLeod should have appeared at the end of his very valuable contribution entitled "Annapolis."

DAVID RUSSELL JACK.

Book-Reviews.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1903, by J. Castell Hopkins, F. S. S., published by the Annual Review Publishing Co., Ltd., of Toronto, 595+xvi pages, has been received. This is a valuable work for the writer upon Canadian affairs, having been prepared with an earnest desire to present to its readers a clear view of current conditions in Canada. Considerable attention has been given to Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals and to the Alaskan Boundary affair.

There is no other work of this scope or style in Canada, and it neither competes nor conflicts with the Dominion Official Year-Book, the latter being almost entirely statistical in character. The mass of detail given in small type at the end of the different sections is an important part of the general record—as every historian will appreciate—but could hardly be included in the ordinary text of any volume of convenient reference size.

This is the second year of publication, and it is the intention to make the work a continuous and permanent yearly record of Canadian development and history.

INDEX.

	PAGE.
Annapolis.	
<i>R. R. McLeod,</i>	265
Aubrey, A Ballad of Acadie.	
<i>James Hannay,</i>	217
Birds.	
<i>A. Gordon Leavitt,</i>	80
Book-Plates.	
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	84
Book Reviews.	
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	87, 162, 362
Brouage, The Birthplace of Champlain.	
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	226
Champlain.	
<i>S. E. Dawson,</i>	296
Champlain Number, The	
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	160
Champlain's Narrative of the Exploration and First Settlement of Acadia.	
<i>W. F. Ganong,</i>	179
Colonists at St. Croix, The	
<i>Edwin Asa Dix,</i>	274
Critical Examination, A, of Champlain's Portraits.	
<i>Victor Hugo Paltsùs,</i>	306
De Monts and Champlain.	
<i>David Russell Jack,</i>	173

INDEX

	PAGE.
Editorial, <i>David Russell Jack</i> ,	360
Epitaphs, Old Burying Ground, St. Andrews. <i>David Russell Jack</i> ,	36
Epitaphs, Old Congregational Burying Ground, Queens County, N. S. <i>Charles Warman</i> ,	120
Fictitious Portrait, A, of Sieur de Monts. <i>Victor Hugo Paltsits</i> ,	303
Flag, The, of Champlain and its History. <i>George Stewart</i> ,	221
Great New Brunswick Survey, The <i>W. F. Ganong</i> ,	76
Indians in New Brunswick in Champlain's Time. <i>Montague Chamberlain</i> ,	280
LaTours in Massachusetts Bay, The <i>Gilbert O. Bent</i> ,	12
Loyalists' Reception, The <i>H. A. Cody</i> ,	119
Lullaby for Christmas, A <i>J. A. Symonds</i> ,	1
March, In <i>Archibald Lampman</i> ,	157
Men-ah-quesk. <i>W. O. Raymond</i> ,	312
Northern District of Queens, N. S., The <i>R. R. McLeod</i> ,	140
Old Plate. <i>David Russell Jack</i> ,	7

INDEX

	PAGE.
Old Times in Liverpool, N. S. <i>R. R. McLeod,</i>	96
Old Wife, The <i>Charles Campbell,</i>	139
Outlanders, Whence Come Ye Last. <i>William Morris,</i>	10
Queens County, Nova Scotia. <i>David Russell Jack,</i>	93
Rapids, The <i>John W. Gray,</i>	225
Royal Emigrants, The <i>Jonas Howe,</i>	50
Saint Croix. <i>James Vroom,</i>	355
Samuel de Champlain. <i>James Phinney Baxter,</i>	331
Some Prominent Acadians. <i>James Hannay,</i>	257
Stone Frog, The, of Chatham. <i>S. W. Kain,</i>	158
St. John, Past and Present. <i>F. B. Ellis,</i>	320
St. John River, The, and its Past History. <i>George F. Matthew,</i>	236
St. John, The <i>James Hannay,</i>	234
Ter-Centenary of the River St. John, The <i>David Russell Jack,</i>	3
Trade Pipes. <i>S. W. Kain,</i>	86
Waiting. <i>Alexander Rae Garvie,</i>	92