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The Founding of Quebec.

1608.

FROM THE "VOYAGES" OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

Having returned to France after a stay of three years in New France,* I proceeded to Sieur de Monts, and related to him the principal events of which I had been a witness since his departure, and gave him the map and plan of the most remarkable coasts and harbors there.

Some time afterward Sieur de Monts determined to continue his undertaking, and complete the exploration of the interior along the great river St. Lawrence, where I had been by order of the late King Henry the Great † in the year 1603, for a distance of some hundred and eighty leagues, commencing in latitude $48^{\circ} 40'$, that is, at Gaspé, at the entrance of the river; as far as the great fall, which is in latitude 45° and some minutes, where our exploration ended, and where boats could not pass as we then thought, since we had not made a careful examination of it as we have since done. ‡

Now, after Sieur de Monts had conferred with me several times in regard to his purposes concerning the exploration, he resolved to continue so noble and meritorious an undertaking, notwithstanding the hardships and labors of the past. He honored me with his lieutenancy for the voyage; and, in order to carry out his purpose; he had two vessels equipped, one com-

* Champlain sailed on the shores of America on the 8th of May, 1604, and left on the 2d of September, 1607. He had consequently been on our coast three years, three months, and twenty-five days. The notes are reprinted from *Shaffer*.

† The late King Henry the Great, Henry IV died in 1610; and this introductory passage was obviously written after that event, probably near the time of the publication of his voyages in 1613.

‡ In the preliminary voyage of 1603, Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the falls of St. Louis, above Montreal.

manded by Pont Gravé, who was commissioned to trade with the savages of the country and bring back the vessels, while I was to winter in the country.

Sieur de Monts, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the expedition, obtained letters from his Majesty for one year, by which all persons were forbidden to traffic in peltry with the savages, on penalties stated in the following commission:—

HENRY BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, to our beloved and faithful Councillors, the officers of our Admiralty in Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne, bailiffs, marshals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and to each one of them, according to his authority, throughout the extent of their powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, greeting:

Acting upon the information which has been given us by those who have returned from New France, respecting the good quality and fertility of the lands of that country, and the disposition of the people to accept the knowledge of God, We have resolved to continue the settlement previously undertaken there, in order that our subjects may go there to trade without hindrance. And in view of the proposition to us of Sieur de Monts, Gentleman in Ordinary, of our chamber, and our Lieutenant-General in that country, to make a settlement, on condition of our giving him means and supplies for sustaining the expense of it,* it has pleased us to promise and assure him that none of our subjects but himself shall be permitted to trade in peltry and other merchandise, for the period of one year only, in the lands, regions, harbors, rivers, and highways throughout the extent of his jurisdiction: this We desire to have fulfilled. For these causes and other considerations impelling us thereto, We command and decree that each one of you, throughout the extent of your powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, shall act in our stead and carry out our will in distinctly prohibiting and forbidding all merchants, masters, and captains of vessels, also sailors and others of our subjects, of whatever rank and profession, to fit out any vessels, in which to go themselves or send others in order to engage in trade or barter in peltry and other things with the savages of New France, to visit, trade, or communicate with them during the space of one year, within the juris-

*The contribution by Henry IV. did not probably extend beyond the monopoly of the fur-trade granted by him in this commission.

diction of Sieur de Monts, on penalty of disobedience, and the entire confiscation of their vessels, supplies, arms, and merchandise for the benefit of Sieur de Monts; and, in order that the punishment of their disobedience may be assured, you will allow, as We have and do allow, the aforesaid Sieur de Monts or his lieutenants to seize, apprehend, and arrest all violators of our present prohibition and order, also their vessels, merchandise, arms, supplies, and victuals, in order to take and deliver them up to the hands of justice, so that action may be taken not only against the persons, but also the property of the offenders, as the case shall require. This is our will, and We bid you to have it at once read and published in all localities and public places within your authority and jurisdiction, as you may deem necessary, by the first one of our officers or sergeants in accordance with this requisition by virtue of these presents, or a copy of the same, properly attested once only by one of our well-beloved and faithful councillors, notaries, and secretaries, to which it is our will that credence should be given as to the present original, in order that none of our subjects may claim ground for ignorance, but that all may obey and act in accordance with our will in this matter. We order, moreover, all captains of vessels, masters, and second mates, and sailors of the same, and others on board of vessels or ships in the ports and harbors of the aforesaid country, to permit, as We have done, Sieur de Monts, and others possessing power and authority from him, to search the aforesaid vessels which shall have engaged in the fur-trade after the present prohibition shall have been made known to them. It is our will that, upon the requisition of the aforesaid Sieur de Monts, his lieutenants, and others having authority, you should proceed against the disobedient and offenders, as the case may require: to this end, We give you power, authority, commission, and special mandate, notwithstanding the act of our Council of the 17th day of July last,* any hue and cry, Norman charter, accusation, objection, or appeals of whatsoever kind; on account of which and for fear of disregarding which, it is our will that there should be no delay, and, if any of these occur, We have withheld and reserved cognizance of the same to ourselves and our Council, apart from all other judges, and have forbidden and prohibited the same to all our courts and judges: for this is our pleasure.

* This, we presume, was the act abrogating the charter of De Monts granted in 1600.

Given at Paris the seventh day of January, in the year of
 grace sixteen hundred and eight, and the nineteenth of our
 reign. Signed, HENRY.

And lower down, By the King, Delomenie. And sealed
 with the single label of the great seal of yellow wax.

Collated with the original by me, Councillor, Notary, and
 Secretary of the King.

I proceeded to Honfleur for embarkation, where I found the
 vessel of Pont Gravé in readiness. He left port on the 5th of
 April. I did so on the 13th, arriving at the Grand Bank on
 the 15th of May, in latitude $45^{\circ} 15'$. On the 26th we sighted
 Cape St. Mary,* in latitude $46^{\circ} 45'$, on the Island of New-
 foundland. On the 27th of the month we sighted Cape St.
 Lawrence, on Cape Breton, and also the Island of St. Paul,
 distant eighty-three leagues from Cape St. Mary.† On the
 30th we sighted Isle Percée and Gaspé,‡ in latitude $48^{\circ} 40'$,
 distant from Cape St. Lawrence from seventy to seventy-five
 leagues.

On the 3d of June we arrived before Tadoussac, distant
 from Gaspé from eighty to ninety leagues; and we anchored
 in the roadstead of Tadoussac,§ a league distant from the
 harbor, which latter is a kind of cove at the mouth of the
 river Saguenay, where the tide is very remarkable on ac-
 count of its rapidity, and where there are sometimes violent
 winds, bringing severe cold. It is maintained that from the
 harbor of Tadoussac it is some forty-five or fifty leagues to

* This cape still retains its ancient name, and is situated between St. Mary's Bay and
 Placentia Bay.

† Cape St. Lawrence is the northernmost extremity of the Island of Cape Breton, and the
 Island of St. Paul is twenty miles north-east of it.

‡ The Isle Percée, or pierced island, is a short distance north of the Island of Bonaven-
 ture, at the entrance of Mal Bay, near the village of Percée, where there is a government
 light. Gaspé Bay is some miles farther north. "Below the bay," says Charlevoix, "we
 perceive a kind of island, which is only a steep rock about thirty fathoms long, ten high, and
 four in breadth: it looks like part of an old wall, and they say it joined formerly to *Mont
 Tels*, which is over against it on the continent. This rock has in the midst of it an opening
 like an arch, under which a boat of Biscay may pass with its sail up; and thus has given it
 the name of the *pierced* island."—*Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières*, by Francis Xavier
 de Charlevoix, London, 1763, p. 12.

§ The position in the roadstead was south-east of the harbor, so that the harbor was seen
 on the north-west. Charlevoix calls it *Moulin Bände*. The reader will find the position in-
 dicated by the letter M on Champlain's map of the port of Tadoussac. *Bande Moulin* (*Bande
 Mill*), directly north of it, was probably a mill *privilege*. Charlevoix, in 1720, anchored
 there, and asked them to show him the mill; and they showed him some rocks, from which
 issued a stream of clear water. He adds, they might build a water-mill here, but probably
 it will never be done.

the first fall on this river, which comes from the north-north-west. The harbor is small, and can accommodate only about twenty vessels. It has water enough, and is under shelter of the river Saguenay and a little rocky island, which is almost cut by the river. Elsewhere there are very high mountains, with little soil and only rocks and sand, thickly covered with such wood as fir and birch. There is a small pond near the harbor, shut in by mountains covered with wood. There are two points at the mouth: one on the south-west side, extending out nearly a league into the sea, called Point St. Matthew, or otherwise Point aux Allouettes; and another on the north-west side, extending out one-eighth of a league, and called Point of all Devils,* from the dangerous nature of the place. The winds from the south-south-east strike the harbor, which are not to be feared; but those, however, from the Saguenay are. The two points above mentioned are dry at low tide. Our vessel was unable to enter the harbor, as the wind and tide were unfavorable. I at once had the boat lowered, in order to go to the port and ascertain whether Pont Gravé had arrived. While on the way, I met a shallop with the pilot of Pont Gravé and a Basque, who came to inform me of what had happened to them because they attempted to hinder the Basque vessels from trading, according to the commission obtained by Sieur de Monts from his Majesty, that no vessels should trade without permission of Sieur de Monts, as was expressed in it; and that, notwithstanding the notifications which Pont Gravé made in behalf of his Majesty, they did not desist from forcibly carrying on their traffic; and that they have used their arms and maintained themselves so well in their vessel that, discharging all their cannon upon that of Pont Gravé, and letting off many musket-shots, he was severely wounded, together with three of his men, one of whom died, Pont Gravé meanwhile making no resistance, for at the first shower of musketry he was struck down. The Basques came on board of the vessel and took away all the cannon and arms, declaring that they would trade, notwithstanding the prohibition of the King, and that when they were ready to set out for France they would restore to him his cannon and ammunition, and that they were keeping them in order to be in a state of security. Upon hearing all

* *Pointe de tous les Diables*. Now known as *Pointe aux Yches, coms*. The point on the other side of the river is still called *Pointe aux Allouettes*, or Lark Point.

these particulars, I was greatly annoyed at such a beginning, which we might have easily avoided.

Now, after hearing from the pilot all these things, I asked him why the Basque had come on board of our vessel. He told me that he came in behalf of their master, named Darache, and his companions, to obtain assurance from me that I would do them no harm, when our vessel entered the harbor.

I replied that I could not give any until I had seen Pont Gravé. The Basque said that, if I had need of anything in their power, they would assist me accordingly. What led them to use this language was simply their recognition of having done wrong, as they confessed, and the fear that they would not be permitted to engage in the whale-fishery. After talking at length, I went ashore to see Pont Gravé, in order to deliberate as to what was to be done. I found him very ill. He related to me in detail all that had happened. We concluded that we could only enter the harbor by force, and that the settlement must not be given up for this year, so that we considered it best, in order not to make a bad cause out of a just one, and thus work our ruin, to give them assurances on my part so long as I should remain there, and that Pont Gravé should undertake nothing against them, but that justice should be done in France, and their differences should be settled there.

Darache, master of the vessel, begged me to go on board, where he gave me a cordial reception. After a long conference, I secured an agreement between Pont Gravé and him, and required him to promise that he would undertake nothing against Pont Gravé, or what would be prejudicial to the King and Sieur de Monts; that, if he did the contrary, I should regard my promise as null and void. This was agreed to, and signed by each.

In this place were a number of savages who had come for traffic in furs, several of whom came to our vessel with their canoes, which are from eight to nine paces long, and about a pace or pace and a half broad in the middle, growing narrower towards the two ends. They are very apt to turn over, in case one does not understand managing them, and are made of birch bark, strengthened on the inside by little ribs of white cedar, very neatly arranged. They are so light that a man can easily carry one. Each can carry a weight equal to that of a pipe. When they want to go overland to a

river where they have business, they carry them with them. From Choüacoet along the coast as far as the harbor of Tadoussac, they are all alike.

After this agreement, I had some carpenters set to work to fit up a little barque of twelve or fourteen tons, for carrying all that was needed for our settlement, which, however, could not be got ready before the last of June.

Meanwhile I managed to visit some parts of the river Saguenay, a fine river, which has the incredible depth of some one hundred and fifty to two hundred fathoms.* About fifty leagues from the mouth of the harbor there is, as is said, a great waterfall, descending from a very high elevation with great impetuosity. There are some islands in this river, very barren, being only rocks covered with small firs and heathers. It is half a league broad in places, and a quarter of a league at its mouth, where the current is so strong that at three-quarters flood-tide in the river it is still running out. All the land that I have seen consists only of mountains and rocky promontories, for the most part covered with fir and birch, a very unattractive country on both sides of the river. In a word, it is mere wastes, uninhabited by either animals or birds; for, going out hunting in places which seemed to me the most pleasant, I found only some very small birds, such as swallows and river birds, which go there in summer. At other times there are none whatever, in consequence of the excessive cold. This river flows from the north-west.

The savages told me that, after passing the first fall, they meet with eight others, when they go a day's journey without finding any. Then they pass ten others, and enter a lake,† which they are three days in crossing, and they are easily able to make ten leagues a day up stream. At the end of the lake there dwells a migratory people. Of the three

*The deepest sounding as laid down on Laurie's Chart is one hundred and forty-six fathoms. The same authority says the banks of the river throughout its course are very rocky, and vary in height from one hundred and seventy to three hundred and forty yards above the stream. Its current is broad, deep, and uncommonly vehement. In some places, where precipices intervene, are falls from fifty to sixty feet in height, down which the whole volume of water rushes with tremendous fury and noise. The general breadth of the river is about two and a half miles, but at its mouth its width is contracted to three-quarters of a mile. The tide runs upward about sixty-five miles from its mouth.

† If the Indians were three days in crossing Lake St. John here referred to, whose length is variously stated to be from twenty-five to forty miles, it could hardly have been the shortest time in which it were possible to pass it. It may have been the usual time, some of which they gave to fishing or hunting. † In 1647, Father Jean Duquesne, missionary at Tadoussac, ascending the Saguenay, discovered the Lake St. John, and noted its Indian name, Ficonagami, or Flat Lake. He was the first European who beheld that magnificent expanse of inland water."—*Vide Transactions Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, 1867-68, p. 5.*

rivers which flow into this lake, one comes from the north, very near the sea, where they consider it much colder than in their own country; and the other two from other directions in the interior,* where are migratory savages, living only from hunting, and where our savages carry the merchandise we give them for their furs, such as beaver, marten, lynx, and otter, which are found there in large numbers, and which they then carry to our vessels. These people of the north report to our savages that they see the salt sea; and, if that is true, as I think it certainly is, it can be nothing but a gulf entering the interior on the north.† The savages say that the distance from the north sea to the port of Tadoussac is perhaps forty-five or fifty days' journey, in consequence of the difficulties presented by the roads, rivers, and country, which is very mountainous, and where there is snow for the most part of the year. This is what I have definitely ascertained in regard to this river. I have often wished to explore it, but could not do so without the savages, who were unwilling that I or any of our party should accompany them. Nevertheless, they have promised that I shall do so. This exploration would be desirable, in order to remove the doubts of many persons in regard to the existence of this sea on the north, where it is maintained that the English have gone in these latter years to find a way to China.‡

I set out from Tadoussac the last day of the month to go to Quebec.§ We passed near an island called Hare Island,||

*The first of these three rivers, which the traveller will meet as he passes up the northern shore of the lake, is the Peribonca flowing from the north-east. The second is the Mistassina, represented by the Indians as coming from the salt sea. The third is the Chomouchonan, flowing from the north-west.

†There was doubtless an Indian trail from the head-waters of the Mistassina to Mistassina Lake, and from thence to Rupert River, which flows into the lower part of Hudson's Bay.

‡The salt sea referred to by the Indians was undoubtedly Hudson's Bay. The discoverer of this bay, Henry Hudson, in the years 1607, 1608, and 1609, was in the northern ocean searching for a passage to Cathay. In 1610 he discovered the strait and bay which now bear his name. He passed the winter in the southern part of the bay; and the next year, 1611, his sailors in a mutiny forced him and his officers into a shallop, and abandoned them to perish. Nothing was heard of them afterward. The fame of Hudson's discovery had reached Champlain before the publication of this volume in 1613. This will be apparent by comparing Champlain's small map with the *TABULA NAUTICA* of Hudson, published in 1612. It will be seen that the whole of the *Carte Géographique de la Nouvelle France* of Champlain, on the west of Lumley's Inlet, including Hudson's Strait and Bay, is a copy from the *Tabula Nautica*. Even the names are in English, a few characteristic ones being omitted, such as Prince Henry, the King's Forland, and Cape Charles.—*Vide Henry Hudson the Navigator*, by G. M. Asher, LL.D., Hakluyt Society, 1860, p. xlv

§This was June 30, 1608.

||*Isle aux Lièvres*, or hares. This name was given by Jacques Cartier, and it is still called Hare Island. It is about ten geographical miles long, and generally about half or three-quarters of a mile wide.

distant six leagues from the above-named port: it is two leagues from the northern, and nearly four leagues from the southern shore. From Hare Island we proceeded to a little river, dry at low tide, up which some seven hundred or eight hundred paces there are two falls. We named it Salmon River,* since we caught some of these fish in it. Coasting along the north shore, we came to a point extending into the river, which we called Cap Dauphin,† distant three leagues from Salmon River. Thence we proceeded to another, which we named Eagle Cape,‡ distant eight leagues from Cap Dauphin. Between the two there is a large bay,§ at the extremity of which is a little river dry at low tide. From Eagle Cape we proceeded to Isle aux Coudres,|| a good league distant, which is about a league and a half long. It is nearly level, and grows narrower towards the two ends. On the western side there are meadows, and rocky points extending some distance out into the river. On the south-west side it is very reefy, yet very pleasant in consequence of the woods surrounding it. It is distant about half a league from the northern shore, where is a little river extending some distance into the interior. We named it Rivière du Gouffre,¶ since abreast of it the tide runs with extraordinary rapidity; and, although it has a calm appearance, it is always much agitated, the depth there being great: but the river itself is shallow, and there are many rocks at and about its mouth. Coasting along from Isle aux Coudres, we reached a cape which we named Cap de Tourmente,** five leagues distant;

* *Rivière aux Saumons*. "From all appearances," says Laverdière, "this Salmon River is that which empties into the 'Port à l'Équille,' eel harbor, also called 'Port aux Quilles,' Skittles Port. Its mouth is two leagues from Cape Salmon, with which it must not be confounded." It is now known as Black River.

† *Cap Dauphin*, now called Cape Salmon, which is about three leagues from Black River.

‡ *Cap à l'Aigle*, now known as Cap aux Oies, or Goose Cape. The Eagle Cape of to-day is little more than two leagues from Cape Salmon, while Goose Cape is about eight leagues, as stated in the text.

§ The bay stretching between Cape Salmon and Goose Cape is called Mal Bay, within which are Cape Eagle, Murray Bay, Point au Pica, White Cape, Red Cape, Black Cape, Point Père, Point Cornelle, and Little Mal Bay. In the rear of Goose Cape are les Éboulements Mountains, 2,547 feet in height. On the opposite side of the river is Point Oselle, and the river of the same name.

|| *Isle aux Coudres*, Hazel Island, so named by Jacques Cartier, still retains its ancient appellation. Its distance from Goose Cape is about two leagues. The description of it in the text is very accurate.

¶ *Rivière du Gouffre*. This river still retains this name, signifying whirlpool, and is the same that empties into St. Paul's Bay, opposite Isle aux Coudres.

** *Cap de Tourmente*, cape of the tempest, is eight leagues from Isle aux Coudres, but about two from the Isle of Orleans, as stated in the text, which sufficiently identifies it.

and we gave it this name because, however little wind there may be, the water rises there as if it were full tide. At this point the water begins to be fresh. Thence we proceeded to the Island of Orleans,* a distance of two leagues, on the south side of which are numerous islands, low, covered with trees and very pleasant, with large meadows, having plenty of game, some being, so far as I could judge, two leagues in length, others a trifle more or less. About these islands are many rocks, also very dangerous shallows, some two leagues distant from the main land on the south. All this shore, both north and south, from Tadoussac to the Island of Orleans, is mountainous, and the soil very poor. The wood is pine, fir, and birch only, with very ugly rocks, so that in most places one could not make his way.

Now we passed along south of the Island of Orleans, which is a league and a half distant from the main land and half a league on the north side, being six leagues in length, and one in breadth, or in some places a league and a half. On the north side, it is very pleasant, on account of the great extent of woods and meadows there; but it is very dangerous sailing, in consequence of the numerous points and rocks between the main land and island, on which are numerous fine oaks and in some places nut-trees, and on the borders of the woods vines and other trees such as we have in France. This place is the commencement of the fine and fertile country of the great river, and is distant one hundred and twenty leagues from its mouth. Off the end of the island is a torrent of water on the north shore, proceeding from a lake ten leagues in the interior: † it comes down from a height of nearly twenty-

* *Isle d'Orléans.* Cartier discovered this island in 1535, and named it the Island of Bacchus, because he saw vines growing there, which he had not before seen in that region. He says, "Et parcellément y trouuastmes force vignes, ce que n'auoyens veu par cy deuant à toute la terre, & par ce li nommastes Pysle de Bacchus."—*Brief Récit de la Navigation Faite en 1535*, par Jacques Cartier, D'Avenac ed., Paris, 1863, pp. 14, 15. The grape found here was probably the Frost Grape, *Vitis cordifolia*. The "Island of Orleans" soon became the fixed name of this island, which it still retains. Its Indian name is said to have been *Mincipé*—*Vide* Laverdière's interesting note, *Œuvres de Champlain*, tome II. p. 24. Champlain's estimate of the size of the island is nearly accurate. It is, according to the Admiralty charts, seventeen marine miles in length, and four in its greatest width.

† This was the river Montmorency, which flows in Snow Lake, some fifty miles in the interior.—*Vide* Champlain's reference on his map of Quebec and its environs. He gave this name to the river, which it still retains, in honor of the Admiral Montmorency, to whom he dedicated his notes on the voyage of 1605. *Vide* Laverdière, *in loco*; also Champlain, ed. 1632; Charlevoix's *Lettres*, London, 1763, p. 19. The following is Jean Alfonse's description of the fall of Montmorency: "When thou art come to the end of the Isle, thou shalt see a great River, which falleth fifteen or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noise."—*Habylt*, vol. III. p. 233. The perpendicular descent of the Montmorency at the falls is 240 feet.

five fathoms, above which the land is level and pleasant, although farther inland are seen high mountains appearing to be from fifteen to twenty leagues distant.

From the Island of Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3d of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement; but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages,* which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitation there: one I set to sawing boards, another to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies. The first thing we made was the storehouse for keeping under cover our supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

Some days after my arrival at Quebec a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put it into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way.

In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thousand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches.

These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side, so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed; for four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement.

In a word, they were so skilful in carrying out their

*Champlain here plainly means to say that the Indians call the narrow place in the river Quebec. For this meaning of the word, viz. narrowing of waters, in the Algonquin language, the authority is abundant. Laverdine quotes, as agreeing with him in this view, Bellenger, Ferland, and Lacombe. "The narrowing of the river," says Charlevoix, "gave it the name of *Quebec*, or *Quebec*, which in the *Algonquian* language signifies *constriction*. The *Abenakis*, whose language is a dialect of the *Algonquin*, call it *Quebec*, which signifies something about us." — *Charlevoix's Letters*, pp. 18, 19. Alfred Hawkins, in his "Historical Recollections of Quebec," regards the word of *Norwich* origin, which he finds on a seal of the Duke of Suffolk, as early as 1470. The theory is ingenious: but it requires some other characteristic historical facts to challenge our belief. When Cartier visited Quebec, it was called by the natives *Stadacone* — *Vide Cartier's Brief Récit*, 1545, D'Avenac ed., Paris, 1862, p. 24.

intrigues with those who remained that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil, blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed, and strangle me, or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poniarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

On this very day one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith, named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did, but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it from fear of being poniarded.

Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend, you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them; and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a

private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that in such a matter, and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear his statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him some harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid, that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also related to me the remaining particulars in regard to their conspiracy.

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after, and caused them to be seized and held until the next day.

Then were my worthies astonished indeed. I at once had all get up, for it was about ten o'clock in the evening, and pardoned them all on condition that they would disclose to me the truth in regard to all that had occurred, which they did, when I had them retire.

The next day I took the depositions of all, one after the other, in the presence of the pilot and sailors of the vessel, which I had put down in writing; and they were well pleased, as they said, since they had lived only in fear of each other, especially of the four knaves who had ensnared them. But

now they lived in peace, satisfied, as they declared, with the treatment which they had received.

The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Gravé to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done according to the offence which they had committed.

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up.

Pont Gravé arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design.

We had them brought face to face, and they affirmed before them all which they had stated in their depositions, the prisoners not denying it, but admitting that they had acted in a wicked manner, and should be punished, unless mercy might be exercised towards them; accusing, above all, Jean du Val, who had been trying to lead them into such a conspiracy from the time of their departure from France. Du Val knew not what to say, except that he deserved death, that all stated in the depositions was true, and that he begged for mercy upon himself and the others, who had given in their adherence to his pernicious purposes.

After Pont Gravé and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would

be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the discharge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques, of whom there were large numbers in the country, might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence and their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort.

After all these occurrences, Pont Gravé set out from Quebec, on the 18th of September, to return to France with the three prisoners. After he had gone, all who remained conducted themselves correctly in the discharge of their duty.

I had the work on our quarters continued, which was composed of three buildings of two stories. Each one was three fathoms long, and two and a half wide. The storehouse was six fathoms long and three wide, with a fine cellar six feet deep. I had a gallery made all around our buildings, on the outside, at the second story, which proved very convenient. There were also ditches, fifteen feet wide and six deep. On the outer side of the ditches I constructed several spurs, which enclosed a part of the dwelling, at the points where we placed our cannon. Before the habitation there is a place four fathoms wide and six or seven long, looking out upon the river-bank. Surrounding the habitation are very good gardens, and a place on the north side some hundred or hundred and twenty paces long and fifty or sixty wide. Moreover, near Quebec, there is a little river, coming from a lake in the interior,* distant six or seven leagues from our settle-

*The river St. Charles flows from a lake in the interior of the same name. It was called by the Montagnais, according to Sagard as cited by Laverdière, *in loco*, "Cabiscobhat, because it turns and forms several points." Cartier named it the Holy Cross, or St. Croix, because, he says, he arrived there "that day"; that is, the day on which the exaltation of the Cross is celebrated, the 14th of September. 1535.—*Vie de Cartier*, Hakluyt, vol. III. p. 266. The Récollets gave it the name of St. Charles, after the grand vicar of Pontois, Charles des Brosses.—*L'Épave, in loco*. Jacques Cartier wintered on the north shore of the St. Charles, which he called the St. Croix, or the Holy Cross, about a league from Quebec. "Hard by, there is, in that river, one place very narrow, deep, and swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, over against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a town therein; and the country about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as possibly can be seen. This is the place and shere of Donnacona, and of

ment. I am of opinion that this river, which is north a quarter-north-west from our settlement, is the place where Jacques Cartier wintered,* since there are still, a league up the river, remains of what seems to have been a chimney, the foundation of which has been found, and indications of there having been ditches surrounding their dwelling, which was small. We found, also, large pieces of hewn, worm-eaten timber, and some three or four cannon-balls. All these things show clearly that there was a settlement there founded by Christians; and what leads me to say and believe that it was that of Jacques Cartier is the fact that there is no evidence whatever that any one wintered and built a house in these places except Jacques Cartier, at the time of his discoveries. This place, as I think, must have been called St. Croix, as he named it; which name has since been transferred to another place fifteen leagues west of our settlement. But there is no evidence of his having wintered in the place now called St. Croix, nor in any other there, since in this direction there is no river or other place large enough for vessels except the main river or that of which I spoke above; here there is half a fathom of water at low tide, many rocks, and a bank at the mouth; for vessels, if kept in the main river, where there are strong currents and tides, and ice in the winter, drifting along, would run the risk of being lost; especially as there is a sandy point extending out into the river, and filled with rocks, between which we have found, within the last three years, a passage not before discovered; but one must go through cautiously, in consequence of the dangerous points there. This place is exposed to the north-west winds; and the river runs as if it were a fall, the tide ebbing two and a half fathoms. There are no signs of buildings here, nor any indications that a man of judgment would settle in this place, there being many other better ones, in case one were obliged to make a permanent stay. I have been desirous of speaking at length on this point, since many believe that the abode of Jacques Cartier was here, which I do not believe, for the reasons here given; for Cartier would have left to

our two men we took in our first voyage, it is called Stabecoon, . . . under which tower toward the North the river and port of the holy cross is, where we staid from the 15 of September until the 16 of May, 1536, and there our ships remained dry as we said before."—*Vide Jacques Cartier, Second Voyage, Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 277.*

* The spot where Jacques Cartier wintered was at the junction of the river Laird and the St. Charles.

posterity a narrative of the matter, as he did in the case of all he saw and discovered; and I maintain that my opinion is the true one, as can be shown by the history which he has left in writing.

As still further proof that this place now called St. Croix is not the place where Jacques Cartier wintered, as most persons think, this is what he says about it in his discoveries, taken from his history; namely, that he arrived at the Isle aux Coudres on the 5th of December,* 1535, which he called by this name, as hazel-nuts were found there. There is a strong tidal current in this place; and he says that it is three leagues long, but it is quite enough to reckon a league and a half. On the 7th of the month, Notre Dame Day,† he set out from this island to go up the river, in which he saw fourteen islands, distant seven or eight leagues from Isle aux Coudres on the south. He errs somewhat in this estimation, for it is not more than three leagues.‡ He also says that the place where the islands are is the commencement of the land or province of Canada, and that he reached an island ten leagues long and five wide, where extensive fisheries are carried on, fish being here, in fact, very abundant, especially the sturgeon. But its length is not more than six leagues, and its breadth two,—a fact well recognized now. He says also that he anchored between this island and the main land on the north, the smallest passage, and a dangerous one, where he landed two savages, whom he had taken to France, and that, after stopping in this place some time with the people of the country, he sent for his barques and went farther up the river with the tide, seeking a harbor and place of security for his ships. He says, farther, that they went on up the river, coasting along this island, the length of which he estimates at ten leagues; and after it was passed they found a very fine and pleasant bay, containing a little river and bar harbor, which they found very favorable for sheltering their vessels.

* Cartier discovered the Isle of Coudres, that is, the Isle of Aliberts or hazel-nuts, on the 6th of September, 1535.—*Vide Cartier, 1535, D'Avenac ed., Paris, 1863, p. 12.* This island is five nautical miles long, which agrees with the statement of Champlain, and its greatest width is two miles and a quarter.

† Notre Dame Day, *jour de nostre dame*, should read "Notre Dame Eve." Cartier says, "*Le septiesme jour d'iceluy mois jour nostre-dame,*" etc.—*Idem, p. 12.* Hakluyt renders it, "The seventh of the month being our Ladies even."—Vol. iii. p. 265.

‡ As Champlain suggests, these islands are only three leagues higher up the river; but, as they are on the opposite side, they could not be compassed in much less than seven or eight leagues, as Cartier estimates.

This they named St. Croix, since he arrived there on this day; and at the time of the voyage of Cartier the place was called Stadaca,* but we now call it Quebec. He says, also, that after he had examined this place he returned to get his vessels for passing the winter there.

Now we may conclude, accordingly, that the distance is only five leagues from the Isle aux Coudres to the Isle of Orleans,† at the western extremity of which the river is very broad; and at which bay, as Cartier calls it, there is no other river than that which he called St. Croix, a good league distant from the Isle of Orleans, in which, at low tide, there is only half a fathom of water. It is very dangerous for vessels at its mouth, there being a large number of spurs; that is, rocks scattered here and there. It is accordingly necessary to place buoys in order to enter, there being, as I have stated, three fathoms of water at ordinary tides, and four fathoms, or four and a half generally, at the great tides at full flood. It is only fifteen hundred paces from our habitation, which is higher up the river; and, as I have stated, there is no other river up to the place now called St. Croix where vessels can lie, there being only little brooks. The shores are flat and dangerous, which Cartier does not mention until the time that he sets out from St. Croix, now called Quebec, where he left his vessels, and built his place of abode, as is seen from what follows.

On the 19th of September he set out from St. Croix, where his vessels were, setting sail with the tide up the river, which they found very pleasant, as well on account of the woods, vines, and dwellings, which were there in his time, as for other reasons. They cast anchor twenty-five leagues from the entrance to the land of Canada;‡ that is, at the

* This was an error in transcribing, Cartier has Stadacopa. *Vide Brief Récit*, 1545, D'Avezac ed., p. 14.

† The distance, according to Laurie's Chart, is at least twenty-six nautical miles.

‡ Canada at this time was regarded by the Indians as a limited territory, situated at or about Quebec. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Cartier, thus translated by Hakluyt: "Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and the fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships."

Their ships were at this time at St. Croix, a short distance up the St. Charles, which flows into the St. Lawrence at Quebec; and the little Indian village, or camp, which Donnacona called Canada, was at Quebec. Other passages from Cartier, as well as from Jean Alfonse, harmonise with this which we have cited. Canada was therefore in Cartier's time only the name of a very small territory covered by an Indian village. When it became the centre of French interests, it assumed a wider meaning. The St. Lawrence was often called the River of Canada, then the territory on its shores, and finally Canada has come to comprehend the vast British possessions in America known as the "Dominion of Canada."

western extremity of the Isle of Orleans, so called by Cartier. What is now called St. Croix was then called Achelacy, at a narrow pass where the river is very swift and dangerous on account of the rocks and other things, and which can only be passed at flood-tide. Its distance from Quebec and the river where Cartier wintered is fifteen leagues.

Now, throughout the entire extent of this river, from Quebec to the great fall, there are no narrows except at the place now called St. Croix, the name of which has been transferred from one place to another one, which is very dangerous, as my description shows. And it is very apparent, from his narrative, that this was not the site of his habitation, as is claimed, but that the latter was near Quebec, and that no one had entered into a special investigation of this matter before my doing so in my voyages. For the first time I was told that he dwelt in this place, I was greatly astonished, finding no trace of a river for vessels, as he states there was. This led me to make a careful examination, in order to remove the suspicion and doubt of many persons in regard to the matter.*

The first explorer of the American coast in the service of France was the Florentine Verrazano, in 1494. His account of his voyage is given in Old South Leaflet No. 17. This account is the subject of much controversy; but, if it is to be relied on, Verrazano explored the coast from a point a little south of Cape Hatteras, northward as far as Newfoundland, at various points penetrating several leagues into the country. Ten years later, in 1534, came Jacques Cartier. He steered for Newfoundland, and, believing that he was on the way to Cathay, advanced up the St. Lawrence till he saw the shores of Anticosti, when, the autumnal storms gathering, he returned to France. The next year he came again, with three vessels. He gave the name of St. Lawrence to a small bay opposite the island of Anticosti, a name afterwards extended to the entire gulf and to the great river above. Cartier calls the river the "River of Hochelaga," or "the great river of Canada." He confines the name of Canada to a district extending from the Isle aux Coudres in the St. Lawrence to a point some distance above the site of Quebec. The country below, he says, was called by the Indians Saguenay, and that above Hochelaga. He visited the site of Quebec, and ascended the river to a place which he called *Mont Royal*, Montreal. He wintered at *Stadaconé* (Quebec), and the next summer returned to France. He came again in 1541; and Roberval came, and La Roche, and others. It was in 1607 that Champlain first appeared upon the scene.

Samuel de Champlain was born in 1567 at the small seaport of Brouage, on the Bay of Biscay. His father was a captain in the royal navy, where he himself seems also to have served; and he had fought for Henry IV, in Brittany. He also went to the West Indies in the service of the king; and his manuscript account, with over sixty crude colored pictures, still exists. He came to Canada in 1603 with Pontgravé, penetrating as far as Montreal. In 1604 he came with De Monts, exploring the Nova Scotia coast, and establishing a settlement on an islet which they named St. Croix, at the mouth of the river now bearing that name. The next spring De Monts and Champlain, leaving St. Croix in a little bark with twenty men,

*The locality of Cartier's winter-quarters is established by Champlain with the certainty of an historical demonstration, and yet there are to be found those whose judgment is so warped by preconceived opinion that they resist the overwhelming testimony which he brings to bear upon the subject. Charlevoix makes the St. Croix of Cartier the *Rivière de Jacques Cartier*.—*Vide Shea's Charlevoix*, vol. 1, p. 114.

sailed down the New England coast as far as Nausett Harbor, on Cape Cod, passing Mount Desert and the mouths of the Penobscot and the Kennebec, crossing Casco Bay, and descending the distant peaks of the White Mountains, passing the Isles of Shoals and Cape Ann, and entering Massachusetts Bay, giving the name of Riviere du Guast to a river flowing into it, probably the Charles. Champlain describes the islands of Boston Harbor as covered with trees, and says they were met by great numbers of canoes filled with astonished Indians. They passed Point Allerton and Nantasket Beach, and took shelter in Port St. Louis, as they called the harbor of Plymouth, where the Pilgrims landed fifteen years later. The next summer Champlain came down the coast again, this time as far as the neighborhood of Hyannis; and always and everywhere he made maps and charts and pictures, many of which have come down to us, and have the highest historical value.

In 1608 Champlain came from France the third time, now with the distinct purpose of establishing a settlement on the St. Lawrence as a centre of operations for the French in Canada. The founding of Quebec followed, as detailed in the present leaflet. The story can be followed further in his account of his "Voyages," from which this extract is taken. With the story of his explorations and adventures in Canada for the next quarter of a century, his discovery of Lake Champlain, his Indian wars, his discovery of Lake Huron, his surrender of Quebec to the English in 1629, his visit to London and the restoration of Canada to the French crown, and his death in 1635 in Quebec which he had founded, the student of history is familiar. No man did more to plant and spread the power of France in America.

Champlain's books, says Parkman, "mark the man.—all for his theme and his purpose, nothing for himself. Crude in style, full of the superficial errors of carelessness and haste, rarely diffuse, often brief to a fault, they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth." We are most fortunate in having a fine translation of Champlain's accounts of his various "Voyages," by Charles Pomeroy Otis, Ph.D., with historical illustrations and a memoir by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, who is the great American authority upon Champlain and his work. The three volumes, which are published by the Prince Society, are enriched by copies of all the local and general maps and drawings in the early French editions, most curious and interesting; and the work is of priceless value to the English student of Champlain. It is from the account of the voyage of 1608, in the second volume, that the story of the founding of Quebec, given in the present leaflet, is taken.

Mr. Slafter is also the author of the fine chapter upon Champlain, in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. ii.; and the special student is referred to his critical essay on the sources of information, appended to that chapter. This entire second volume of the "Narrative and Critical History" is devoted to the subject of French Explorations in North America. To the general subject of "France and England in North America" our great historian, Francis Parkman, devoted the work of his whole life; and his volume on "Pioneers of France in the New World" contains the most graphic and interesting account which exists of Champlain's life and work. The Old South lectures for 1889, under the title of "America and France," were entirely devoted to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, the first lecture being upon "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec"; and the student is referred to the full list of those lectures and the accompanying leaflets. One of the subjects for the Old South essays for 1898 is "The Struggle of France and England for North America, from the Founding of Quebec by Champlain till the Capture of Quebec by Wolfe."

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