CANADA: ITS CRADLE, ITS NAME, ITS SPIRIT:

The Stadaconan Contribution to Canadian Culture and Identity

ABSTRACT

Georges Sioui shares with us some of his 'secret Huron Knowledge" about the Stadaconas's relationship with Jacques Cartier and his people, including the treacherous acts committed by the Frenchmen despite the hospitality and cordiality extended to them by their hosts. The author believes that a better understanding of the history of the encounters between Aboriginals and Europeens in Canada can potentially lessen the "glacial indifference of mainstream society" towards Canadian aboriginal people.

I am a Huron and a Canadian Indian. I am well aware that my nation originates in part from the Wendat of present-day Ontario and that the name "Huron" was given by the French to the Wendat as a way to belittle, negate and ultimately, dispossess them. However, I am able to fully assume the history that made me and my people what we are today, that is, Hurons. That name allows us to see the whole picture of where we have been, where we are and where we want to go. To me, Huron means being Canadian in a uniquely profound way, a sacred way. Being a Huron means being directly related to the Stadaconans, the people who were there before Quebec City existed, just like the rocks, the trees and the Saint-Charles and Saint-Lawrence rivers. The Stadaconans were those of my ancestors who, in 1535, gave Jacques Cartier a cradle, a name and a spirit for the country he fancied he had discovered: Kanatha.

I guess my dear reader already has a sense that if asked to talk or write about "Aboriginal Contributions to Canadian Culture and Identity," I can really get going. I will use the opportunity to share with my fellow Canadians some of my secret Huron knowledge about what the most ancient Canadians, the Stadaconas, did in order to help create a country that would, from then on, have to include Cartier's people and, as they already knew, so many other Europeans. I use the words "have to" because the French and others (such as the Basques) showed clear signs, by 1535, that they were going to keep coming here, many to stay. We knew this from at least two of our own Stadaconan youth who had been deceitfully captured by Cartier the year before and brought back home to Stadacona in 1535 on Cartier's second voyage.

At this point, some readers may object that the Huron, reputed to have come from (what is now) Ontario to (what is now) Quebec about 115 years later (1650), when their country was definitively destroyed "by the Iroquois," cannot claim to be ethnically related to the Stadaconans. I would answer that recent archaeological findings have confirmed our "coming to Quebec" in 1649-1650. It was, in fact, a return home for many of our families who had their roots as Stadaconans, but had had to flee from their ancestral "Quebec" lands as a result of the first impact of the French and European invasion in Cartier's time. More than any other Amerindian group, the Huron of today, though few in number, carry the heritage of the Stadaconans, just as they are the principal carriers of the spiritual and intellectual heritage of many of the great Iroquoian (or Nadouek) peoples and confederacies who have disappeared: the Tionontati or Tobacco, the Attiwandaronk or Neutral, the Erié or Cougars, the Wenro, the Susquehanna, the Hochelaga and others.

Cartier first used the word "Canada" in his log book in 1535, on his second voyage, to designate both the town of Stadacona (now Quebec City) and the country whose centre it was, which extends approximately from Trois-Rivières to l'Ile-aux-Coudres. The previous year, Cartier's three ships had entered the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence and had encountered two groups of Amerindians: Mi'kmaq (Micmacs) and Stadaconans. These people possibly journeyed far away from their homes with other people from "Canada." The Stadaconans camped at present-day Gaspé and were catching lots of fish and smoking them.

On Friday, July 24, 1534, Cartier had a large cross made and planted at the entrance of the bay of Gaspé, carrying the inscription: "Vive le Roi de France." Donnacona, whom Cartier will identify a year later (September 8, 1535) as the "Seigneur du Canada," paddled up to Cartier's ship with three of his sons. This historically important moment was described in some detail by Cartier. First, we learn that the Stadaconan leader and his people did not come as close to the French as they had

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during the initial days of this one-week encounter. Rather, Donnacona's canoe remained at a distance while he addressed the French to explain to them that, as Cartier understood, "all the land is his" and that his people opposed the making and the planting of that object, which the French call a cross and collectively worship. (We know from many early sources that Aboriginal people were then able to and, in fact, did enforce their strict prohibition that the Europeans should not cut even a twig or to take anything from their land without their permission.) We also learned that even though very far away from their homes and immediate country, these first Canadians shared territorial rights and, therefore, land stewardship with the Mi'kmaq. Also importantly, we learned that these Frenchmen, far from being affected by this defensive act against their intrusion, had a subterfuge ready to use that was intended to make the Native people understand that the French did not believe they had to respect the political order that Native peoples had already established on their lands. At the end of Donnacona's harangue, which Cartier found lengthy, he showed the Stadaconan leader an axe, feigning a wish to barter it for a bearskin that the Chief wore. The latter, moved by this gesture, came closer to the French ship, "believing he was going to get [the axe]." Upon this, one of the sailors grabbed the Stadaconans' canoe, which allowed two or three Frenchmen to get into it and force two of Donnacona's sons to climb into Cartier's boat. Fear of French arms and the vulnerability of the women and children present may have been a factor in the lack of Stadaconan resistance to the treacherous act of the French, to whom the Aboriginal people had given no motive whatsoever to conduct themselves in such underhanded manner.

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The French, on board their ship, made "a great show of love" for their two captives in presence of their people gathered in many canoes in the bay of Gaspé. Cartier, then, responded to Donnacona's speech about the cross and about Aboriginal "ownership" of the land by explaining (again deceitfully) that the cross was only meant to be a landmark for future visits, which they intended to make soon, and that, at any rate, they would then bring with them all sorts of gifts, of iron and otherwise, for Donnacona's people. This, of course, meant that the French, despite the strange way they had acted by seizing Donnacona's sons, still felt that they had to pay for using the land and, furthermore, had to account to the Aboriginal people for that use and for their presence. The Stadaconans considered all the components of this new necessary relationship: the love and solicitude the French showed for their two captured "Sauvages;" their promise to bring them back soon; and the strategic knowledge about the French these two young men would bring back. The Stadaconans, then, decided that they would, in time, be able to control and contain those newcomers. They showed themselves to be happy enough about everything. They even promised that they would not cut down the cross. Thus ended, on July 24, 1534, this prelude to France's Canadian adventure.

Over the next year they spent in France, Cartier's two Stadaconan captives, Domagaya and Taignoagny, studied the French in order to understand their motives and their aims and devised their own Aboriginal strategy. Most certainly, the two young men, probably drawing maps, had spoken to Jacques Cartier and other French about their "Kanatha," that is, their "chief town," which was Stadacona (present-day Quebec City). Little did they know that the French would use this descriptive word as the name of a country, an actual "Kingdom" called "Canada." Nor could the two Stadaconans imagine that their father, Donnacona, had been made a European-style monarch in this new land, which the French fancied and planned to conquer (steal). Certainly, these two sons of an important Aboriginal Headman could not have foreseen that their father, too, would soon be deceitfully and forcefully captured by Cartier and his men on May 3, 1636, and would die in France less than two years afterwards, sick and mortally sad for his lost people and country.

However, much happened before Donnacona's capture that is very significant to the Stadaconan contribution to Canada's culture and identity. As promised, Cartier did return on a second voyage the following year. Cartier's three ships left Saint-Malo on May 19, 1535. Taking advantage of their two Amerindian guides' knowledge of the geography of the two coasts from the entrance of the gulf right up to Montreal (Hochelaga) and beyond (Cartier is explicit about that knowledge and assistance), the French took their time to reconnoitre (they, of course, said "discover") the country, where they met inhabitants in every part.

The French were intent on visiting three "countries," namely, Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga. Cartier's account and other evidence (including our own oral tradition) indicate that Donnacona's sons, already well trained in the region's geopolitics, had reasoned that such an exploratory plan, still to be approved by leading Stadaconan Councils and their allies, could potentially develop into an eventual alliance between their people and the French. They first took the French to Canada, where Donnacona, their father and major leader, lived.

Donnacona was a man whose authority the French already knew extended at least as far east as Gaspé.

Cartier and his people believed that during their year spent in France, Taignoagny and Domagaya had become naturally imbued with a sense of French cultural and religious superiority in relation to their own people, and would, therefore, once back home in Canada, be perfectly prepared to help the French conquer their land and peoples. To Cartier's dismay, the attitude of the two young men changed radically from the moment they set foot on their own soil once again. Understandably, that evening and night of September 8, 1535, was one spent in intense discussion and long-awaited revelations about the French and their land. The Aboriginal people of the region had, by this time, been aware of and mystified by the Europeans for almost four decades.[1]

Fixated on the idea of finding a passage to the Orient, its gold and its other riches, the French were determined to visit Hochelaga and, at a later date, Saguenay, another very rich "kingdom," according to the two Stadaconan captives and guides. During the trip back, the Stadaconans had agreed that they would lead the French to Hochelaga. However, Donnacona and other council leaders did not think the time was appropriate. Not only was the season too advanced to travel much more, but there were also strict protocols to be learned and observed regarding the laws of a particular territory, the respect to be paid to its leaders, customs of different Aboriginal nations, the advance notice to be sent to another country that one wished to visit, and many other things to be aware of.

The French had only been in "Canada" for six days when on September 14, they began pressing their two former captives to lead them to Hochelaga. On the next day, Taignoagny, whom Cartier resented more than he did Domagaya, informed the French captain that the Headman Donnacona was annoyed to see the French constantly bearing arms, to which Cartier replied that he (Taignoagny) knew very well that this was the way in France and that he would, therefore, let his men bear arms. Still, the Stadaconans remained cheerful and optimistic that they would eventually find common ground and make the French see their real interests, which meant using the friendship that was being offered them to create a larger, more affluent and powerful society from uniting the two peoples.

On September 16, Donnacona and 500 of his people (roughly the population of the town of Stadacona) approached Cartier's two main boats anchored in the harbour of the Saint Charles River. The leaders entered Cartier's boat to once again try to impress on the French that they should not navigate towards Hochelaga (Montreal) at this time (they, of course, thought of another time, likely the following spring). Taignoagny, once again acting as the spokesman for the Stadaconans, withdrew his offer to guide Cartier, stating that his father, Donnacona, did not wish him to go because the Headman had said, "la rivière ne valait rien" (the river forebode nothing good). The French explorer answered that his mind was set to go anyway, adding that should Taignoagny change his mind and agree to accompany them as he had promised, he would receive gifts and attention from the French that would make him happy. At any rate, Cartier explained, his aim was only to make a quick trip to see Hochelaga and then return to Canada. Taignoagny remained firm in his refusal to go and the visit ended.

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The next day, the Stadaconans staged a very sensitive and solemn effort to make the French reconsider their plan to go to Hochelaga and, mostly, to appreciate the great solidarity that would result from uniting their two peoples. They attempted this by actually marrying Jacques Cartier to the highest-ranking of their marriageable young women. To this day, an account other than Cartier's own has never been presented to Canadians about this very meaningful event in their country's history.

I have personally witnessed wedding ceremonies and other similar ceremonies still practised by Canadian Aboriginal peoples whose spiritual ways are almost identical to ours. I will take the reader through Cartier's account of what happened to him, the young maiden and the people of Canada that day. First, we are told that the people of Stadacona walked up to the French boats at low tide with large quantities of eels and other fish, as gifts for the French. Then, there was much chanting and dancing, which usually occurred at such visits, Cartier said. What Cartier did not see, at this point, was that these particular songs and dances were preparatory to a specific ceremony that was about to take place. As well, the abundant quantities of fish and the prevailing feasting atmosphere that was described, indicate that the whole town (very likely with many guests and visitors from neighbouring places) was present for a very important event – a ceremony ordained after much praying, chanting, council-making and, quite likely, fasting, under the highest spiritual leadership.

Then, the Agouhanna (a title carried by Donnacona, which implies very high stature in society) had his people

(likely, the other leaders) stand to one side and drew a circle on the sand, inside of which he had Cartier and his own principals stand. Donnacona then made a long speech in front of the, thus, reunited French and Stadaconans. While he spoke, the headman "holds the hand of a girl of about ten to twelve years old" whom, after finishing speaking, he presented to the French captain. At this point, all of Donnacona's people began to "scream and shout, as a sign of joy and alliance." Now, the fact that Cartier accepted the girl was affirmed by the loud, festive reaction of the throng. At any rate, was not Cartier and all of these Frenchmen, in the eyes of the Amerindians, much too long deprived of normal social relations, including those of a man with his wife, or a woman's companionship, as sadly seen in their disorderly behaviour and appearance? Could so many negative traits in the present state of their intercultural relations not be modified by beginning to create a normal human life, a society around those angry, rude, rowdy strangers?

Following this ceremony, two younger boys were given to Cartier in the same official way, upon which the Stadaconans made similar demonstrations of joy.[2] Cartier then officially thanked Donnacona for these presents. Finally, a crucial detail was given by Taignoagny: the "girl" (in Aboriginal cultural terms, she is a *young woman*) ceremonially given (again, in the Aboriginal social frame of reference, that gift was a wife) to Jacques Cartier was "Lord Donnacona's sister's own daughter." This, in the matrilineal system of these Huron-Iroquoians, meant that the young woman was called "my daughter" by Donnacona, and that she belonged to the same clan as he does, as opposed to his own children, who belonged to their mother's clan.

Thus, that young woman was the highest, as well as the purest, gift that could possibly have been offered to the first man among these Frenchmen. The Stadaconans probably thought, given these gifts and a chance to establish a normal life in this new land, who would care about an oppressive monarch back in problem-ridden France and about the lifelong odious obedience that was owed him: this land was Donnacona's, this was a pure and abundant, free country, this was Canada. Most surely and naturally, there was a burning desire in many French hearts present to make that Canadian way of thinking their own.[3] Unfortunately, of course, it was, for that time, impossible. It was almost entirely a matter of religious prejudice.[4]

Cartier had his human gifts "put on board the ships." He gave no details about what occurred to the three young Stadaconans thereafter, except that the "older girl," had, three days later, fled the ship and that a special guard had been arranged so that the two boys would not do likewise. When finally "found" by Donnacona and her own family, the young woman explained that she had escaped because "the pages had beaten her," and not, as the French contended, because her own people had tried to make her (and the two boys) leave the French. Cartier showed reluctance to take the young woman back until, he said, the Stadaconan leaders (her family) begged him to do so. (To them, at least, Jacques Cartier and she were husband and wife.) She was accompanied to the ship by her father and other relatives. Nothing further is said about her.

Cartier tells us that Taignoagny said to him, after the bride-giving ceremony, that these three human presents had been given in order to keep the French from going up to Hochelaga. I have already presented my reasoning, based on the available evidence which includes my own culturally informed perception, about the Stadaconans' motives for trying their hardest to create unifying bridges between themselves and the French. At any rate, I believe Cartier's blinding obsession about going to Hochelaga is self-evident. The last-ditch attempt of the Stadaconans to make him stay, on the next day, and the strange but accurate warning that he received about having to prepare for wintering right away, are further proof of Cartier's foolhardiness and spite toward his Aboriginal hosts, friends and benefactors.

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On September 18, 1535, the Stadaconans, again attempting to avert misfortune from the French, turned to supernatural forces. Cartier described how this was acted out before his eyes. First, three men clothed themselves in black and white fur (Cartier disparagingly says dog skins) and wore long horns on their heads. The three men hid in a canoe and, momentarily, rose up as their craft approached the boats. The spirit-being in the middle began to make a "marvellous" speech directed at the French, even though the three "devils" never even took notice of the French, as they floated past the French boats. The canoe was steered back to shore. Upon arriving, the three beings dropped to the bottom of the canoe, as though they had died. They were then carried to the woods in the canoe by Donnacona and other men. Every single Stadaconan followed their leaders into the forest and disappeared from sight. Then began a half-hour "predication" by the three spirit-beings. At the end of this, Taignoagny and Domagaya came out of the woods and, after the Catholic way they had observed, walked towards the French, their hands joined as if in prayer. "Showing great admiration," they advanced with their eyes lifted towards the sky and pronounced the words "Jesus, Maria, Jacques Cartier," as though (my interpretation) asking for

protection for Cartier and his men. At that moment, the French captain, seeing their grave countenance and having witnessed their "ceremonies," inquired "what the matter was, what new things had occurred." The two young men answered that there was "pitiful news," that nothing foreboded well ("il n'y a rien de bon"). When pressed further by Cartier, his two usual interpreters told him that Cudouagny (likely the Great Spirit for the Stadaconans and possibly the Hochelagans) had spoken in Hochelaga and, through the three spirit impersonators mentioned above, had announced that there would be so much ice and snow that they (the French) would all die. (Actually, 25 sailors died of sickness and hardship over the winter. At one point, Cartier himself became quite certain that all, including himself, would die. We will later see how they were saved.)

To be sure, Cartier made light of the Stadaconans' way of trying to make him stay and to persuade his companions to start preparing for their first Canadian winter. "Go tell your messengers that your god Cudouagny is a fool who does not know what he talks about," retorted Cartier amid laughter from all the French who were there. "If you just believe in Jesus, he will keep you from the cold," added a sailor. As a way of restoring balance in the communication, the two youths then diplomatically asked Cartier whether he had had Jesus' word on the matter, to which the captain curtly replied that his priests had asked him (Jesus) about it and learned that the weather was going to be all right. Taignoagny and Domagaya gave many thanks to Cartier for this exchange and returned to fetch from the woods their own townsfolk who, as Cartier detected, could not conceal their disillusion, even amidst their cheers, shouts, chants, dances and other expressions of joy.

The next day, on September 19, Cartier's smaller vessel left for Hochelaga. The round trip lasted 24 days, during which the rest of his men, back in Stadacona, mostly used their time bracing for imagined attacks from the Stadaconans. As for them, the Stadaconans continued to demonstrate the same goodwill and humanity toward their strange visitors, bringing them victuals and waiting for their visits, which were, in fact, quite infrequent. Because the French did not visit very often, they began suffering from a lack of fresh food, especially meat and fish.

The rest of the story of Cartier's second voyage to Canada is better known. In brief, things soon turned very bad for the French, as foreseen by the Stadaconans. From mid-November, the cold was brutally felt by the ill-prepared Frenchmen. From December, the whole crew was hit hard by scurvy. By mid-February, eight sailors were dead. By mid-April, 25 had succumbed to the scourge and another 40 were dying; of 110, "there were not three healthy men," wrote Cartier. "We were so overtaken by the said disease," confided the explorer, "that we had almost lost all hope of ever returning to France."[5]

Most readers will already know that people stopped dying in Cartier's fort thanks to a remedy (very likely, the white cedar) that the Stadaconans gave the French and taught them how to prepare. The credit for this human solicitude and actual salvation from sure catastrophe, however, was entirely given to God, the Europeans' God. The surviving crewmen, further strengthened by the fresh meat and fish that the Amerindians brought them every day, got better so rapidly that in less than three weeks, they were ready to set sail for France. However, as many readers must also know, they did not depart from Canada before realizing a very pressing dream: that of capturing Donnacona, Domagaya and Taignoagny, along with two other prominent leaders and two other young Stadaconans, one of whom was another pubescent girl. To succeed in laying his hands on these people, especially the headmen, Cartier had to act his wiliest and also use force, as he proudly recounted in his journal. We know that ten Stadaconans, probably all belonging to Donnacona's direct immediate family, were in possession of the French when they left for France on May 6, 1536. Among them were Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaya, two other chiefs, another girl "of about ten," (almost certainly) Cartier's Canadian wife and his two given sons, and lastly, two other persons of unknown gender or age.

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One of Cartier's promises made to appease the Stadaconans after so callously and treacherously stealing their leaders was that he would bring back all ten of their people "in ten or twelve moons" (as, in fact, he had done with his first two captives). When he finally came back, without his captives, five years later and was asked by the Stadaconans what had become of their Agouhanna and other people, Cartier, still his deceitful self, replied that Donnacona had died and was buried in France (which was factual), but that all the others had remained there, where they were now married and had become "grands Seigneurs" (great Lords). We know from Cartier's own chronicle that eight more of his captives had died by then (French archival sources confirm that they all died within two years), except a girl of about 10 (at the time of her capture).

This time, in August 1541, the French arrived in Canada to find an Aboriginal population in a state of

virtual panic. Diplomacy was still present, but was mostly dictated by fear. The French had brought heavy weaponry and were ready for any eventuality. They were here to create a French colony. The Canadians' country would be theirs, for civilized Europeans were not bound to virtues practised by "Savages."

However for now, the task proved too great, support from France was not quite sufficient and the enmity of the First Peoples was too overwhelming. Cartier's third and last voyage ended in failure. However, the French (and Basque) presence in the Laurentian region increased year by year, drawn to the wealth of fur and fish. Hochelaga and Saguenay endured, but Canada's peoples, directly and forcibly affected by the European invasion (not just the sheer human pressure, but also, and mostly, by the ever-present, devastating new epidemic diseases), had to seek refuge, which archaeology in the last few decades has revealed (again confirming our own traditional belief), that they mostly found among the Wendat of present-day Ontario (in the Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay area). According to leading archaeologists,[6] it is more likely that the original Canadians joined the Wendat Confederacy in the last decades of the 16th century, becoming its Nation of the Rock (maybe in remembrance of Stadacona: the place of the Big Standing Rock[7]).

Conclusion

No foundation can forever rest on lies, especially lies rooted in racial prejudice. While it is necessary to find the reasons and to understand why the French, like many Europeans at the time, perceived reality and other peoples as they did and acted with corresponding spite and inhumanity, it is equally necessary to help today's heirs to that ancient society (which means most of us, in greater or smaller measure) shed any lingering thinking and behavioural patterns related to that inheritance. We are long past the time when Europeans came here needing new places and new conditions for a renewed lease on life. However, after providing the same "Canadian" generosity and contributing the very best of themselves and what they have, our Aboriginal peoples are still being deceived, mistreated and visibly destroyed as peoples in this great, rich and powerful country. One can take the Stadaconans' history of contact with Europe and, thereafter, non-Aboriginal Canada, and apply it exactly to the historical and present-day experience of any other Canadian Aboriginal group or nation. After all the political, social, academic and religious rhetoric, the very real fact remains that Canada, born in 1534 with an Aboriginal spirit, given an Aboriginal name in 1535 and tenderly cared for in an Amerindian cradleboard by the people of Stadacona, has seen, and caused, its Aboriginal peoples to waste away during its 468 years of existence, while everyone else who has come here has, as Jacques Cartier and his men were, been cared for, healed and found a new life. Can we now stop saying that this was, and will continue to be, the price to pay for a true civilization, until Canada's "Indian problem" has been settled?

In this essay, I have mainly wanted to suggest to my readers and fellow Canadians that a better understanding of the way things happened in their country at the beginning of the contact between Aboriginals (the first Canadians) and Europeans is necessary if one is to also understand why all Canadians are still collectively afflicted by an immense incapacity to empathize, communicate and construct as we should, the kind of secure, happy future that we all desire for our children and their descendants. As an Aboriginal historian, I believe an ignorance of history is the major reason for the glacial indifference of mainstream society that is still felt by most of my Aboriginal fellow citizens and is known and denounced by many non-Aboriginal Canadians and others, and is the major reason so much impedes us collectively to tackle and conduct our many common affairs in normal, empathetic, intelligent ways.

Finally, a am grateful for this opportunity to write about our peoples – their very many important past, present and, maybe especially, potential future contributions to our great and dear country's culture and identity. I also wish to greet and thank my readers for their time.

Long live my country, Canada!

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Endnotes

[1] Two centuries or so after the Vikings ceased coming to the region, vivid memories of them were certainly still present. However this time, these newcomers behaved in very different, much more aggressive ways than had their Norse predecessors.

[2] With a high-ranking young wife given to him by the first Headman of the land and two young boys, one of whom was Donnacona's own son, did Cartier not have prime human material with which to start up a very good life in "Canada?" The Stadaconans certainly thought he did.

[3] The "ensauvagement" of the French "coureurs des bois" probably was the most marking trait (and simultaneously the one most damned by the religious authorities) in French-Indian relations throughout the next two centuries. It produced Canada's Métis nation.

[4] Cartier exhibited his deep European religious conditioning and unfeelingly uttered a very dark sentence regarding the original Canadians when, pondering what little he knew about their spiritual beliefs, he simply wrote: "One must be baptized or go to hell."

[5] Since mid-November, the Stadaconans also had lost about 50 people. Cartier, reflecting the knowledge of his epoch, could and did blame the "Canadians" for his people's sickness. Today's science, however, informs us that, rather, the Stadaconans' disease was caused by the Europeans' presence, because they were beginning to be struck down by "contact epidemics."

[6] For sources, readers may consult my book *Huron-Wendat. The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999).

[7] Because of the imposing rocky promontory it presents, Quebec has historically been called "Canada's Gibraltar." I encourage readers to consult a remarkable book on Quebec City, published in 2001 by Les Presses de l'Université Laval: *Québec, ville et capitale*, a volume in the *Atlas historique du Québec*, which is edited by Serge Courville and Robert Garon.