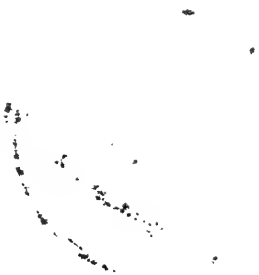


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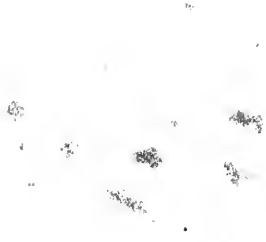

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The Discovery of the Mississippi

Secondary Sources

By secondary sources we mean the contemporary documents which are based on those mentioned in our previous article.[1] The first of these documents contains one sentence not found in any of the extant accounts of the discovery of the Mississippi, thus pointing to the fact that the compiler had access to a presumably lost narrative of the voyage of 1673, or that he inserted in his account some information which is found today on one of the maps illustrating the voyage of discovery. Except for this information, the document is worthless.

The other secondary sources are two questionnaires, a memorial, a critique of this memorial, and a series of answers to this critique. These sources tell us what was known in Paris in the year 1677 about the voyage, *i. e.*, what documentation was available in France at that date. Moreover, a passage in one of these documents contains a legend which was on the lost map which Jolliet had drawn from memory after his return to Quebec in 1674. We shall examine each of these sources in turn.

(1) Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673

The above is the title of the first secondary source with which we are concerned; it is an abridged narrative of the expedition, and has been attributed to Jolliet. Father Steck, for instance, writes as follows: "Some time early in November, Jolliet brought this revised map to Frontenac, together with a written account of the expedi-

[1] "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945):219-231.

tion. In drawing up this account he again used Dablon's report of August 1."[2]

The map referred to is the Franquelin map mentioned in our former article, which is mistakenly attributed to Jolliet. It is important to prove here that the account was not written by Jolliet, because it has been used as a basis for opinions which are seen to be untenable when the document is analyzed and its provenance ascertained.

When last heard of, the document was in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, vol. 7485, pt. II, ff. 176-177v.[3] Formerly the call-number of this volume was Fonds Renaudot, vol. 30. This volume is made up of copies and extracts treating of geography and voyages; with the exception of one Tonti letter, all the documents are unsigned. In the same Fonds Renaudot, vol. 36, now Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, 7491, ff. 351-355, there is a copy of a complete relation of the voyage of 1673. The basis of this copy is a document now in the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 5:no. 16, which we described and compared with the earlier Dablon text of August 1, 1674, from which it is derived.[4]

Eusèbe Renaudot, the former owner of the papers in the Fonds Renaudot, was a fervent Jansenist,[5] who belonged to a small but active coterie whose principal objective seems to have been to tamper with any document in which a Jesuit is creditably mentioned. These gentlemen, now greatly admired by certain modern "impartial" historians, were not above forgery when it served their purpose. A document dealing with the Jesuits, whose provenance can be traced to Renaudot and his clique, should immediately be suspect.[6]

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[2] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928), 183. The "again" in the last sentence of the quotation refers to Father Steck's belief that the Saint-Sulpice manuscript was written by Jolliet. This opinion is discussed in "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944):309-312.

[3] The document is printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888), 1:254-262; reprinted from this compilation by E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississippi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur d'Anticosti* (2d ed., Montreal, 1913), 316-320; translated in Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 184-186; the comments are in the footnotes.

[4] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 312-315.

[5] J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys* (Chicago, 1938), 12ff, 75ff.

[6] A similar abridgment dealing with a voyage of La Salle is in the same Renaudot volume (BN, Mss. fr., n.a., 7485:134-138v); printed (with translation) from a copy in AC,C 13C, 3:23-26, by T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations 1680-1693* (Collections of the Illinois

The author of the Renaudot document used Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac and a copy of the ASH version of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674.[7] Though his identity remains unknown, this compiler was certainly not Jolliet as will be clear from the following considerations.

What first strikes the reader of this narrative is the peculiar interchange of the first and third person singular, the unexpected transitions from "il" to "je" and from "je" to "il." This is queer enough, on the supposition that Jolliet wrote the document. Still queerer, on this same supposition, are the three opening words: "Le nommé Joliet . . ." These words are mistranslated when they are rendered by "The said Joliet," as though the French text had "ledit Joliet." This latter expression is used when the name has already been mentioned; obviously, it cannot be used at the beginning of a document. The words *Le nommé*, on the other hand, indicate that the person referred to is either a man of no importance, or else that he is unknown to the writer or speaker. Hence the correct translation of "Le nommé Joliet" is "A man named Joliet," or "One Joliet." The use of this expression is evidence that the document was written in Paris; for in documents originating in Canada after 1674, the explorer is always referred to as "le sieur Jolliet," or even as "Monsieur Jolliet." Finally, as we have seen,[8] Jolliet never wrote his name with one *l*.

The presence of these incongruities in the first three words should, it would seem, have led to a closer examination of this document, however inconvenient such an examination might have been. Unless Jolliet were an imbecile, he would not have begun with such words "in drawing up this account." He would not have re-

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State Historical Library, vol. 23, French Series, vol. 1, Springfield, Ill., 1934), 1-16.

Both the La Salle and Jolliet abridgments were first published in English (they are not in the original French edition) as appendices to Hennepin's *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (2 parts, London, 1698), part 2:185-195. In the reprint of the second issue of this English edition (2 vols., Chicago, 1903), 2:622, note 1, R. G. Thwaites, the editor, wrote as follows: "This [the Jolliet document] is a poor and inaccurate abridgment of the account given in a contemporary MS. [the ASH manuscript] which is published by Margry in his *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, i, pp. 262-270; it is reproduced (with translation) in Thwaites, *Jes. Relations*, lviii, pp. 92-102."

Those acquainted with Father Hennepin's career will not find it strange that he should have copies of these documents.

[7] It should be noted that a copy of the ASH document is among the Renaudot papers.

[8] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1945):3.

ferred to himself as "one Joliet," and he certainly would not have mispelled his name.

The opening paragraph of the document is a résumé of the two initial paragraphs in ASH, plus a few details taken from the dedicatory letter to Frontenac. The third paragraph, which is also a synopsis of material in the ASH document and the Frontenac letter, contains the first substitution of "je" for "il." With regard to the sentence "je m'estois embarqué avec six homes," Father Steck remarks: "It seems strange that he does not mention Marquette's name." This would indeed be strange, if Jolliet were the author of the Renaudot document, but the omission of Marquette's name is not strange at all, when we remember where and by whom the document was written.

The modified copy of Dablon's letter which the compiler of this document used reads as follows: "Estant arrivé aux Outaouacs il [Jolliet] se joignit au pere Marquette . . . Ils [Jolliet and Marquette] se mirent donc en chemin auec 5 autres françois . . ." In reproducing Dablon's account, the compiler eliminated Marquette's name, but was polite enough to include the missionary in the total number of men who accompanied Jolliet in his voyage down the Mississippi.

Father Steck further notes that the fourth paragraph contains another "strange" statement; namely, the use of the testimony of the Indians about the strength of the Mississippi current when Jolliet himself had direct experience of the contrary. The strangeness of this statement is actually another indication that Jolliet himself did not write the document. If we look at the whole passage, the obvious contradiction between the last sentence and the preceding becomes clear. Jolliet's own statement to Dablon is correctly given as follows: "Cette riviere [the Mississippi] . . . n'est pas rapide au haut, mais au dessous des 38 d. une Riviere qui vient de Louest Norouest [the Missouri] la rend tres rude de sorte quen remontant on ne peut faire que Cinq lieues par jour. *les Sauvages asseurent qu'il y a peu de courant.*" The final sentence, which we have italicized and which flatly contradicts what Jolliet said, is clearly an addition by the compiler.

In his translation of the passage about the Indians giving the explorer "un baston de calumet," Father Steck observes that Jolliet uses the word "calumet" for the first time. As a matter of fact, the expression "baston de calumet" is not found in the direct report of the words of Jolliet. Dablon's letter uses the expression "baston de Petunoir" twice. All the known copies of this letter reproduce

this expression (which Margry changed into "baston á pétuner") the first time it occurs. The second time the peace pipe is mentioned the following variants are found: "baston de Petunoir" (Jersey and Moreau manuscripts); "baston de Petun noir" (Saint-Sulpice manuscript); and "baston de calumet" (ASH manuscript). Since the expression "baston de calumet" is found only in the ASH document, we have here another indication that the compiler used the ASH version of Dablon's letter.

The last sentence of the next paragraph contains still another indication that the Renaudot document is based on a copy of ASH. The ASH document here omits the word "aussy" so that the meaning is no longer clear. The compiler evidently tried to make it clear by changing "peinture" into "tincture," which is certainly not what Jolliet told Dablon, and in this passage it hardly makes sense.

The third last paragraph contains several examples of changes introduced by the compiler. Every copy of the letter of August 1, 1674, repeats in the same manner how the explorers were warned by the Indians that they were approaching European settlements, which, they were told, were three, then two days' journey distant on their left, that is, on the east bank of the Mississippi. This is interpreted as follows by the author of the Renaudot document: the explorers were near to falling into the hands of the Spaniards "quils avoient costoyé 6 jours," along whose settlements they had coasted for six days.

Another change is the interpretation of a passage of the dedicatory letter to Frontenac. Jolliet wrote that he saw a village which was only five days' journey from a tribe trading with the Indians of California, and that "if I had arrived two days earlier I would have spoken to those who had come from this tribe and had brought a present of four hatchets." The compiler of the Renaudot manuscript wrote that the explorers resolved to return "after having questioned Indians who are only thirty leagues distant from the Spaniards in the west."

At the southernmost point reached by the expedition, the Indians told the explorers that they were only fifty leagues to the sea, Jolliet reported to Dablon. In this compilation we are told that Jolliet questioned Indians dwelling at the mouth of the Mississippi who are only fifty leagues from the Spaniards.

The last paragraph begins thus: "La Riviere St. Louis qui vient de proche de Missichiaganen, luy a paru la plus belle, et la plus facile pour estre habitée . . ." Father Steck comments on this passage: "It seems strange that here again he should call the Illinois

River by the name of Saint Louis, while his map has La Divine."[9] Of course it is strange if one takes for granted that Jolliet is the author of this account; but it is not at all strange when we realize that the account is a mere compilation by an incompetent unknown. From the variant of the name of Lake Michigan, it is obvious that besides a copy of ASH and the letter to Frontenac, the anonymous compiler had a copy of the map in which Jolliet's dedicatory letter is inserted.

Anyone who cares to compare the Renaudot document with those studied in our previous article as well as with the critical text of Dablon's narrative of August 1, 1674, will be able to make for himself a still longer list of contradictions, "strange" statements, and other incongruities. Those to which we have called attention are sufficient to show that this account was not "drawn up" by Jollliet. As we said at the beginning, the only value of this Renaudot document is that it sets before us the following alternative: either the existence, at the time when the document was written, of a narrative of the expedition which is no longer extant; or that one sentence in the document is the transcription of a legend on one of the various contemporary maps illustrating Jolliet's voyage of discovery.

(2) Bernou's Questionnaires

All that we know about the documentation of Jolliet's voyage in Paris is found in the papers of Abbé Claude Bernou, which have come down to us either in autograph or copy form.

I have already discussed at length the exertions of this abbé on behalf of La Salle.[10] Bernou was in his time one of the few men in France well versed in the geography of North America. In his voluminous papers, one meets with some erroneous ideas with regard to the North American continent, but these he shared with his contemporaries. He also held geographical views, which appear strange in one whose mind worked along scientific lines; but these views were often based on misinformation received from his correspondents. Although a learned man, he was nevertheless an intriguer, and when it served his purpose, he, like his friend Renaudot, was not averse to garbling the evidence which he had so diligently gathered.

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[9] The evolution of the nomenclature of the early maps of the Mississippi Valley will be examined in a subsequent article.

[10] *Some La Salle Journeys*, 10-14, 51-58; *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana* (Chicago, 1941), 52-64, 111-119.

In passing we may note that we are not here interested in the intrigues of the learned abbé, nor in the wire-pulling which went on in the circle in which he moved; for in contrast to romantically inclined writers, our knowledge of the geographical unfolding of North America does not depend on the Paris or Versailles gossip of a few idle hypochondriacs.

The earliest Bernou document which refers to the voyage of 1673 is entitled: "Memorandum concerning Canada. Bernou, M. Barrois' most humble servant, begs him for enlightenment about the following items."[11]

When the addressee came to Canada, we do not know; his name, Jacques Barroys or Barrois, first appears in a public document of May 1674.[12] At this date he was one of Frontenac's two secretaries and had been dispatched by the governor to take up written depositions of the Sulpicians of Montreal with regard to a sermon preached by M. de Fénelon on the preceding Easter Sunday.

In November 1674, Frontenac sent his annual letter to France in the care of Barrois, and instructed him to give a verbal account of the Fénelon affair to Colbert.[13] We may recall that in the same letter the governor mentions the return of Jolliet from the Mississippi, and that Barrois brought Jolliet's map to Paris. In the same letter also, La Salle is warmly recommended to Colbert. Both La Salle and Barrois were together in Montreal in April 1674,[14] when La Salle declared that he was "Frontenac's man";[15] and we know that they sailed to France on the same ship. At this time, La Salle saw the original Jolliet map of which he made a copy.[16]

It may be that Barrois was connected with the Renaudot-Bernou coterie because he was Frontenac's secretary; or Frontenac may have taken him as his secretary, factotum and messenger, because of his connection with the clique to which the two abbés belonged.

In 1675, Barrois returned to Canada in distinguished company. On board ship besides Bishop Laval, was the newly appointed intendant, Jacques Duchesneau, together with La Salle and Henne-

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11 BN, Clairambault, 1016:396-397v.

12 *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec* (RAPQ) *pour 1921-1922* (Quebec, 1922), 139, 140.

13 Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674; RAPQ, 1927, 69.

14 "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940):287.

15 J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits* (Chicago, 1939), 213.

16 The following passages of La Salle's letters (Margry, 2:137, 170, 179), and a passage in the abridgment spoken of in note 6, *supra*, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 5, prove conclusively that La Salle had a copy of Jolliet's map.

pin.[17] We know that Barrois was again in France in 1677,[18] but we do not know when he returned to America.

Owing to a three year gap in Frontenac's correspondence and the lack of reliable documentation, Barrois' movements are lost sight of until 1679, when Duchesneau accused the governor "as well as the Sieur Barrois, his secretary" of having a share in the profits of the illicit trade carried on by Duluth in the West.[19]

In August 1681, La Salle came to Montreal, whither Frontenac had urgently summoned him; but the governor, who had to leave Montreal before La Salle's arrival, "had sent his secretary, Monsieur Barrois, a thorough man of business, formerly secretary of legation, and Sieur de la Salle at last went up once more to the fort [Frontenac]."[20] From the reference which the explorer makes to this Montreal episode, his meeting with the "thorough man of business" was far from successful; he considered the journey a sheer waste of time, which delayed for a whole year his descent of the Mississippi to the Gulf.[21]

Barrois probably left Canada with Frontenac in 1682 and never returned to America. From subsequent letters, it is clear that he remained closely connected with the Renaudot-Bernou group.[22]

The questionnaire sent by Bernou to Barrois is not dated, but internal evidence shows that it was sent to Canada in the first half of 1676. The abbé kept two copies of his questionnaire. The title of one copy differs slightly from that given above;[23] the other copy is neater and contains brief interlinear answers to the first four questions.[24] The copy from which we shall quote is a two column document; the questions are on the left-hand side, the right-hand column is entitled: "Answers of Sieur St. Martin,[25] lay professor of mathematics at the Jesuit [college] of Quebec, who is coming over to France this year, 1677."

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[17] L. Hennepin, *Nouvelle Découverte d'un tres grand Pays* . . . . (Utrecht, 1697), Avis au lecteur,**4-6.

[18] Dudouyt to Laval, May 1677, *Report on Canadian Archives. 1885* (Ottawa, 1886), cxx. See also Frontenac to Seignelay, November 2, 1861; RAPQ, 1927, 135.

[19] Duchesneau to Colbert, November 10, 1679; AC,C 11A,5:39.

[20] C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl. (2 vols., New York, 1881), 2:159.

[21] La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681. Margry, 2:158.

[22] Bernou to Renaudot, February 24 and April 10, 1685; BN, Mss. fr., n.a., 7497:201v, 214; Frontenac to Villermont, October 30, 1694; BN, Mss. fr., 22804:283.

[23] Memoire sur le Canada pour Mr. Barrois que iay prié de me faire scauoir les choses suiuantes. BN, Clairambault, 1016:168-169.

[24] BN, Clairambault, 848:695-696.

[25] On Martin Boutet *dit* St. Martin, cf. A. Gosselin, *L'instruction publique au Canada sous le régime français* (Quebec, 1911), 36f, 326-331.

For many years Bernou had been compiling hundreds of pages of notes about winds, tides, currents, and other meteorological data observed by travelers in every part of the world.[26] Nothing in this mass of notes indicates what he intended to do with these data. The first items of the questionnaire sent to Barrois in 1676 deal with meteorology. He wished to know what were the prevailing winds in the North Atlantic, along the route of the ships sailing from France to Canada; he also inquired about the tides on the Newfoundland coast, at Quebec, and in the Green Bay region. This last question was prompted by what he had read in the Relation of 1671-1672.[27]

We are not, however, directly concerned with these questions; they are mentioned merely to indicate the context of the eighth question, which is pertinent to our inquiry. This eighth question is as follows:

What is the direction and what is the force of the prevailing winds on both banks of the St. Lawrence River, in the Great Lakes region, and in the country north and south of it, as well as in *Colbertie* or *Louisiane*[28] .... Also, how long does the winter last, and when does it begin and end at Plaisance [Placentia, Newfoundland], Port Royal [Annapolis, Nova Scotia], Cape Breton, Chaleur Bay, Tadoussac, Quebec, Montreal, Fort Frontenac, Lake Erie, Sault Ste Marie, and Michilimackinac. Is it cold and does it snow as far south as the mouth of the *Riuiere de la Diuine* and of the *Riuiere Ohio*, and how long does cold weather last in these two places? When does the rainy season begin in *Colbertie* or *Louisiane,* and how long does it last? This is important.

The request for information about the tides in Green Bay follows, and after mentioning what he had read in the Relation of 1671-1672, he adds: "Since many people are not convinced by one observation, it would be very desirable to have this confirmed by the Reverend [Jesuit] Fathers or by some other interested persons." Bernou also asked Barrois for the census of Canada in the years 1677

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[26] BN, Clairambault, 848:29-278.

[27] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901), 56:134-140.

[28] This query is not in BN, Clairambault, 848:169; from here on the text is the same in the three questionnaires.

This is the earliest appearance of the name "Louisiane," three years before the date of the document published in Margry, 2:20-22; see p. 21, note 1. As the text shows the name is applied to the country bounded by Lake Michigan, the Fox, the Wisconsin, the Mississippi, the Illinois and the Des Plaines rivers, to the section of the United States circled in canoe in 1673 by Jolliet and his companions, the first white men ever to do so. It is fairly certain that Bernou coined the name.—The text also disposes of the theory advanced by M. de Villiers du Terrage in *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives (1681-1819)* (Paris, 1929), 8-10.

and following, and for "the new and beautiful map which he promised to send us (qu'il nous a fait esperer), augmented if possible with the names of rivers and other places not entered [on the map which he had]."

Bernou's eighth question was left unanswered; none of his informants had ever been in *Colbertie* or *Louisiane*, and in 1676, no white man had as yet spent the winter at the mouth of the Ohio or at the mouth of the *Riuiere Divine*.

Bernou, however, was so interested in the question of tides on the Great Lakes that when early in 1678, he heard of a Lyons merchant, Jean Daleyrac, who was about to leave for Canada, he drew up another questionnaire containing some of the items which had been left unanswered in that sent to Barrois in 1676. In this 1678 questionnaire, he asked for information about the currents in the Strait of Mackinac, at the entrance of Green Bay or elsewhere. He also refers specifically to Father Louis André as the author of the letter on the tides of Green Bay which appeared in the Relation of 1671-1672. He asked Daleyrac to obtain "if possible, the full relation with the map of the voyage of Father Marquette and of Sieur Jollyet"; finally, he wished to know whether "some new discovery had been made."[29]

The above summary of Bernou's 1678 questionnaire is based on the copy of it which he kept himself. We were unable to find whether Daleyrac answered these questions, but in a passage in the "Récit des voyages et des Descouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette," there is an allusion to supposed tides in Green Bay, and a few lines about the probable cause of this phenomenon.[30] It is not unlikely that Daleyrac submitted Bernou's questions to Dablon, for, as Frontenac publicly admitted, Dablon had "a better knowledge of the West than anybody in New France."[31]

We conclude that when Bernou wrote the questionnaire of 1676, he had already seen the Franquelin map. What we know is that he redrew this map on a smaller scale and copied the dedicatory letter of Jolliet to the governor from it. The questionnaire of 1678 is an indication that Bernou had not yet met La Salle; for if he had then known a man who had supposedly explored the region south of the Great Lakes and who had allegedly gone as far west as the mouth of

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[29] Monsieur Dalera est suplié par son tres humble seruiteur Bernou de luy faire scauoir les choses suiuantes quand il sera dans la Nouuelle France. BN, Clairambault, 848:363-365.

[30] JR, 59:98.

[31] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1693-1710* (6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891), 2:671.

the Ohio, he would not have sought information from a man like Daleyrac, who was unlikely to go farther west than Montreal. In fact, Bernou did not meet La Salle until sometime in May 1678, when the latter came to Paris to ask leave to explore "the western part of North America," that is, the *Colbertie* or *Amérique Occidentale* of the Franquelin map, which Bernou had christened *Louisiane* two years earlier.

(3) The Penalosa-Bernou Memorial

Before meeting La Salle, Bernou had become acquainted with Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Verdugo.[32] The visionary plans of Peñalosa are embodied in numerous memorials, some in French and some in Spanish, some autograph and some in copy form, which can be seen today among the papers of the abbé.[33] One such undated memorial, written between 1676 and 1677, is entitled: "Memorial for the discovery and conquest of Quivira and Theguayo in North America."[34]

The opening paragraph of this document lists the riches of America: gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones. This, says the document, is well known, but no one in France knows it as well as the "author of this memorial," that is, Peñalosa speaking through Bernou; for he is a native of America and has been Governor of New Mexico. Forced to leave the land of his birth when he tried to restrain the tyranny of the Inquisition, he came to France, now his "second country," as a refugee. Here he began to feel ashamed of remaining idle while Frenchmen were endeavoring "to carry out the illustrious designs of the greatest and most powerful king in the world, and he resolved to submit a plan for the conquest of the kingdoms of Theguayo and Quivira situated to the west of the Great Lakes of Canada."

With the possible exception of Perú and Mexico, these kingdoms are the richest in America, about which "nobody on earth can speak with better knowledge than the author" of the present memorial. After being made Governor of New Mexico in 1661, he left Santa Fé in March 1662, to look for Quivira, and was in fact the first man

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[32] H. E. Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1590," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 16 (1912):6, 17; W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* (Austin, Tex.), 1917, 13ff.

[33] *Some La Salle Journeys*, 65ff.

[34] BN, Clairambault, 1016:211-219; Bernou's autograph.

ever to enter the latter country.[35] He did not remain long enough, however, to investigate all its riches fully, but while there "he obtained reliable information about the kingdom of Theguayo and about its rich gold mines." He spoke to several persons who had seen these mines, and was even given samples of the gold. "He also learned that the French were not far away from Theguayo."

His knowledge of the geographical situation of these kingdoms made him realize that "the conquest of Quivira was very difficult for the Spaniards, and the conquest of Theguayo was quite impossible for them," because the two countries are separated by a huge mountain range. After his arrival in France, as soon as he had heard of western discoveries made by Frenchmen in Canada, the author devised a plan for reaching Quivira and Theguayo by way of New France.

The truth is that this "plan" germinated in the fertile brain of Bernou, who knew the geography of Canada and the conditions in New France much better than Peñalosa. The abbé must have met the Peruvian between 1674 and 1677, and it is undoubtedly Bernou who conceived the possibility of reaching fabulous Quivira and Theguayo through Canada.

Canada, we are told in this interesting memorial, is a poor and sterile country, anticipating by a hundred years Voltaire's "acres of snow." Acadia is said to be better, but better still is

> the country beyond the Great Lakes, where the work of ten men would suffice to sustain five hundred, because of the fertility of the soil which produces two crops a year, and because the lakes and rivers teem with fish and the country abounds in game. The various products can be transported over the Great Lakes or over the beautiful river recently discovered which disembogues into the Gulf of Mexico, or over many of its tributaries, one of which the author [Peñalosa, *i.e.*, Bernou here] has many reasons to believe that it comes from New Mexico. Finally, a large colony could be established [in the country beyond the Great Lakes], and because of its location, might one day be the starting point for the conquest of the rest of America.

It would take time before the colony west of the Great Lakes

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[35] C. F. Duro, *Don Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882); J. G. Shea, ed., *The Expedition of Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, from Santa Fé to the River Mischipi and Quivira in 1662, as described by Father Nicholas de Freytas, O.S.F.* (New York, 1882), Introduction; C. W. Hackett, "New Light on Don Diego de Peñalosa: Proof that he never made an Expedition from Santa Fé to Quivira and the Mississippi River in 1662," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 6 (1919):313-335; *idem*, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1923-1937), vol. 3.

would be sufficiently developed to serve as a base of operations against the "rest of America," whereas the conquest of Theguayo, if the plan of the author is adopted, would be a matter of two or three years at the most.

To show how easily the French can conquer this latter kingdom, the memorialist answers in advance the doubts which might arise in the minds of officialdom as to the feasibility of the undertaking. The objections that could be raised against it number six in all, and each is refuted quickly, and in the mind of the memorialist, Bernou, unanswerably.

The first objection is that Peñalosa is a foreigner. Why, it might be asked, should one believe that he has the advantage of France so much at heart? The answer is that Columbus too was a foreigner, and those countries which refused to help him carry out his plan have been sorry ever since.

The second objection which might be raised is that many men would be needed for such an undertaking, and "it is unlikely that men can be spared for it when France needs all her resources," evidently because of the war with Holland, which was then in full swing. The answer is typical of all those which were to be given in later years to similar objections against "conquests" of vast territories in North America. Very few men would be needed, only 200 regulars and about fifty volunteers, a negligible force to raise in a populous country like France. Those who do not know the country and its inhabitants may think that this handful of men is too small to conquer and occupy Theguayo and Quivira, but the memorialist gives reason why an expedition is more likely to succeed with 200 men than with 2,000.

First, it would be difficult to supply a great number of soldiers with provisions and with ammunition; secondly, a smaller force is sufficient because the Indians of these parts are kind and sociable. "Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet have recently experienced this: they traveled over vast countries through unknown nations to a point near the Gulf of Mexico, without being molested."

The whole secret consists in knowing how to deal with the Indians of these parts of North America, who should not be judged by what is known of the savage Iroquois. Furthermore, Theguayo is a flat country, unfit for ambushes, and firearms would frighten these Indians into submission. "The great deeds accomplished by the Spaniards with fewer soldiers [than the number asked by the memorialist] are well known; and it is also well known that no

nation is more warlike than the French, to whose accomplishments there is no limit, if only they are well led."

The third objection is the remoteness of the kingdom of Theguayo, situated as it is far beyond those vast regions recently discovered to the west of New France, and the consequent difficulty of sending provisions and ammunition to the army of occupation. The riches of the country would hardly cover the cost of transporting them from this distant Eldorado.

The difficulty of communication, counters the memorialist, should not be gauged by distance, but by obstacles to navigation. The route to Brazil or to Rio de la Plata, for instance, which takes two or three months, is not considered long.

The same or nearly the same consideration applies to the route to Theguayo. One can easily go by water from France to Montreal, beyond Quebec. From the entrance of Lake Ontario, one can go to the end of Lake Superior, or to the Gulf of Mexico and to the Northwest by way of the great river and of those which come from the west and empty into it. These rivers come from so far away that no one knows where their headwaters are; in fact, the author is persuaded that one of them arises in Theguayo itself. But even if some overland journey were necessary, he knows that it will not be very long, and that not far beyond the Great Lakes will be found the horses and mules with which the Spaniards have stocked all the western countries. Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet have known of these horses and mules, although vaguely, because in the course of their voyage they traveled through the middle of the country lying south of the Great Lakes.

The main difficulty of the route is between Montreal and Fort Frontenac on account of the rapids of the St. Lawrence. But this is not insuperable to the French; even the Spaniards have overcome greater obstacles, "sluggard and lazy though they are."

The other objections and answers have no bearing on the knowledge of the Mississippi then available in Paris.

At the end of this one-sided debate, persuaded that he had forestalled all the objections that might be raised against the project, the memorialist proceeds to recount the advantages to be derived from the conquest of Theguayo. These are as follows: the propagation of the Faith in these vast countries; the enormous increase of France's colonial domain by the addition of the immense tract of land stretching from "the Great Lakes to the Sea of the South"; additional revenues for the king; the development of commerce, and so forth.

The sixth [advantage] would be the discovery of the Sea of the South or of the West, if one wishes to call it thus, which forms the boundary of the kingdom of Theguayo and which would supply an easy route for the much

discussed trade with China and Japan, a route which all the nations of Europe have [thus far] so unsuccessfully tried to find.

The least of these advantages should suffice to determine the government to sponsor the expedition to Theguayo, all the more since there is no risk. If the French neglect this opportunity, other nations may undertake the conquest of that marvelous land, and unless action is taken now, before Peñalosa died, there would be nobody to lead the expedition who is as well acquainted as he is with the country and its inhabitants.

The memorial also contains some additions obviously by Peñalosa himself, in quaint phonetic French such as a Spaniard would write, in which the honorary and pecuniary reward expected by the originator and leader of the expedition is discussed.[36]

Bernou had doubts whether the royal approval and support of the plan would be forthcoming, in spite of the dazzling advantages he had so eloquently set forth. As an alternative he proposed to conquer Nueva Vizcaya, "where he [Peñalosa] had spent a great deal of time, and which he traversed more than once."

The plans for the conquest of Theguayo and Quivira were soon abandoned, but the conquest of New Biscay continued to be the subject of numerous memorials and petitions to the French government. Seven years after the date of the present memorial, La Salle became a party to this mad scheme. How it all ended is common knowledge.

The sequel showed that Bernou's misgivings about the Court's attitude toward his plan were well founded. The memorial was examined by some government official whose identity has not been ascertained; and his verdict, couched in the form of "observations," was unfavorable. Bernou, however, was not the man to leave any "observations" unanswered, especially when he perceived that the critic was wandering from the point at issue and merely giving expressions to prejudices born of ignorance. To pass judgment on the feasibility of the expedition to Theguayo and Quivira presupposed some knowledge of the geography of North America as well as some acquaintance with the history of exploration of the continent. Bernou must have realized at once that his censor lacked the rudiments of such knowledge, for although he does not say so in so many words, he clearly implies that his critic did not know what he was talking about.

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[36] "Allant honore du titre de vis roy et capitain general de tu se pai quil decubrira, Puplera et conquira." BN, Clairambault, 1016:215v.

The original document containing these "observations" has not come down to us. All that we have is a manuscript among the Delisle papers which gives the remarks of the critic, eleven in all, and the answers of Bernou.[37] Only those passages which throw some light on the voyage of Jolliet and the knowledge thereof in Paris will be discussed.

According to the memorial, the idea of reaching Theguayo *via* New France arose in the mind of Peñalosa when he heard of the western discoveries made by the French. In the third of his "observations," the critic flatly denies that any such discoveries had been made, and asserts that all those who went into the interior had nothing else in view except fur trading. "Sieur Jolliet alone was led by curiosity [in contradistinction to trade] to travel to the southeast. All we know about the West is that ice and rocks are found there."

To this "observation" Bernou answered:

> If the whole [of America] had been discovered, the author [Peñalosa] would have no proposal to make. The fact is that four hundred leagues of country have been discovered west of Quebec. The memorial did not say that Theguayo and Quivira were situated west [of New France].
>
> Sieur Jolliet is not the only one who traveled through curiosity to the southeast. M. de la Salle, Governor of Fort Frontenac, reached the Mississippi River and discovered the Ohio which empties into the former. M. de Galinée went to the end of Lake Erie.
>
> West of Montreal [the starting point of the Theguayo-Quivira expedition] all that one finds is large lakes [in contradistinction to the ice and rocks of the critic]. The country where the Hurons formerly dwelt is very pleasant and very fertile; and south of the Great Lakes, one finds neither ice nor rocks. In fact, the country is so beautiful, even the region lying south of Lake Superior, that in the printed Relation of 1670-1671, the Reverend Jesuit Fathers represent it is an earthly paradise and call it by this name. There are ice and rocks on the northern shore of Lake Superior. But this does not contradict what the author [Peñalosa] said, nor does it mean that the route [to Theguayo-Quivira] is not known.

It is difficult to understand how Bernou could say in his rebuttal that Theguayo and Quivira were not "du costé de l'ouest," when he had actually written in the memorial that they were "scitués au couchant des grands lacs du Canada." With regard to La Salle reaching the Mississippi *via* the Ohio, the abbé simply put implicit

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[37] Response aux observations f^tes^ sur le memoire touchant la decouverte des Roy^es^ de Quivira et de Theguayo par le Comte de Pennalossa 1684. ASH, 115-9:no. 11.—Who dated the memorial is not known; as can be seen later in the text, the answers were written in 1677.—On the Delisle papers, see "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1943):277f.

trust in an interpolation on the Franquelin map. As we have seen, he did not meet La Salle until the following year. The "earthly paradise" is most undoubtedly south of Lake Superior, for Dablon in the passage here referred to is describing the Fox River Valley.[38]

In his next "observation" the critic undertakes to defend Canada, which the memorialist had disparaged. Bernou readily admits that Acadia and "the country south of the Great Lakes" have everything that is found in Canada and even more; "no other proof for this is needed than the relation of Sieur Jolliet which shows the difference" between these two sections of the North American Continent. But this, he insists, is no argument against the Theguayo expedition.

We have already quoted the passage of the memorial in which mention is made of the fertility of the country beyond the Great Lakes and of the means of communication between these lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, *via* the "beautiful river" recently discovered. On this paragraph of the memorial the critic comments as follows:

> Acadia is closer to France and has many good harbors. The country which [the memorialist] supposes to be beyond these alleged lakes is unknown to the inhabitants of the French colony.
>
> Sieur Jolliet did not find any means of communication between the lakes and that great river; he believes that the river itself, instead of emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, disembogues into the Vermilion Sea, beyond California. He went down this river, and heard about Spaniards from a nation in the vicinity who trade with them.

As can be seen, the critic says exactly the opposite of what Jolliet wrote. It was easy for Bernou to refute these assertions. After noting that anything said about Acadia was not pertinent, he continues:

> But he [Bernou] is surprised at the rest of this remark. Sieur Jolliet found not one but two means of communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The first by way of a river [the Fox] which empties into Green Bay; for from this river, after a portage of half a league, they entered into another river [the Wisconsin] which led them to the Mississippi. The second means of communication is by way of the St. Louis River, which has since been called *La diuine*; it flows so near Lake Michigan, that if one cuts [digs a canal] through half a league of prairie, it is possible to go by *bark* from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico.

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[38] The opening sentences of the description read as follows: "Si le pais de cette Nation [Mascoutens] a quelque chose pour sa beauté du Paradis terrestre, on peut dire que le chemin qui y conduit, est aussi en quelque façon semblable à celuy, que nostre Seigneur nous represente pour arriver au Ciel." JR, 55:190.

This shows that when answering his critic, Bernou had a copy of Dablon's report of August 1, 1674, which gives the length of the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers, the length of the Chicago portage, and Jolliet's name for the Illinois-Des Plaines.[39]

The third paragraph of Bernou's answer to the same "observation" reads thus:

This [double means of communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi] is absolutely certain; we can prove it (on le prouuera) by two relations and two different maps of the voyage of Sieur Jolliet which are in the hands of the author [*i. e.*, of Bernou]. Further proof has been given by the voyage of the aforesaid Sieur de la Salle, who has, moreover, found a third route through the Ohio River which flows near Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. The author knows that a map showing this [feature] was given to M. Colbert a few months ago, and also that there is a fourth map in Paris, which, however, is not so accurate, although all these maps agree with one another in general.

The two maps which Bernou had in his possession were very probably a copy of Jolliet's original map, and certainly a copy of Franquelin's map; for we know that he himself redrew this latter map on a smaller scale, and later gave it to Claude Delisle.[40] From his description of the third map which, he says, was given to Colbert a few months previously, we conclude that it was very likely an earlier state of the map known today as Parkman no. 3.[41] The fourth map which was then in Paris cannot be identified, since Bernou does not give sufficient data about it. As for Bernou's two relations of the voyage of 1673, one was certainly a copy of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674; and the other may possibly be the already mentioned lost account of the discovery of the Mississippi.

It would be desirable and would help the author's plan if the Mississippi River emptied into the Vermilion Sea; but Sieur Jolliet found by experience

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[39] See "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 317, 322, 323.

[40] Cf. "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America," *loc. cit.*, 285.

[41] Described in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (11th ed., Boston, 1907), 450f.

There is another tracing of an original map similar to Parkman no. 3 in the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec (Laval University); however, the original of the Quebec tracing had a title, whereas the original of which Parkman no. 3 is a tracing had no title.—Judging from G. Marcel's description in his *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1885), 10, no. 11, the BN, Ge. DD. 2987. No. 8662 map is a later state of those on which the Parkman and the Séminaire tracings were made. The question cannot be settled until a photograph can be obtained from Paris.

In *Some La Salle Journeys*, 37, I erroneously said that Parkman no. 3 was compiled from six Bernou sketches. It is clear that Bernou divided the original into six sketches, just as he copied piecemeal the 1686 Franquelin map of North America. Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1943):64.

that it discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico; besides, there is an insuperable reason in favor of its disemboguing into the Gulf. Thus this whole observation is baseless.

The "raison invicible" is mentioned in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674; namely, Jolliet told the Jesuit that he reached latitude 33°, and that, as he always went toward the south, he was going away from the Vermilion Sea.

In the seventh "observation" the critic says that the author of the plan has never known Father Marquette while the latter was alive; and that Jolliet, a man of singular honesty, intelligence, and disinterestedness, nowhere makes mention of Quivira.

"The author knows very well," says Bernou in his answer, "that Father Marquette died nearly two years ago, and that Sieur Jolliet is very well informed; the latter, however, had no occasion of speaking of Quivira, since it was not on his way." It is the reference to the death of Marquette that enables us to date the document. Since the Jesuit missionary died in May 1675, Bernou's rebuttal was written in the first months of 1677.

The eighth "observation" is the last one which refers to the voyage of 1673. The critic begins by saying: "Neither Father Marquette nor Sieur Jolliet saw a single horse or mule," and he elaborates on this statement in his second last paragraph: "Sieur Jolliet during his voyage saw a great number of domesticated and wild animals, but he did not see even one horse; although, as his account proves beyond question, he visited tribes who trade with the Spaniards."

This last comment shows that the critic had seen Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac, for this is the only source that mentions Jolliet's passing through a village which had been visited by Indians who traded with those of California, and so, indirectly, with the Spaniards. The proof referred to is a present of four hatchets which was brought by the visiting Indians.

Bernou answered this "observation" as follows: "On one of the two maps a place is marked to indicate the presence of horses. The relations also speak of them, although in a vague manner, because the explorers who made the journey by water, only heard of horses through the Indians."

When Bernou wrote that the relations (and he had two different relations, as we saw) vaguely refer to horses, he was very likely thinking of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, which says in part: "There [in the Illinois country in particular] a settler would not have to spend ten years cutting down and burning trees. On the very day

of his arrival, he could begin plowing; and if he had no oxen from France, he could use those of this country, or even the animals which the Western Indians ride as we ride horses."[42]

There are two reasons for concluding that the map spoken of by Bernou is a copy of Jolliet's original. In the first place, we know that when he wrote these answers Bernou had in his possession copies of two maps of the voyage of 1673; we also know that one of these was a copy of the map of Franquelin on which, as can be seen today, there is no legend indicating horses. Hence this legend must have been on the other map. Secondly, that this other map was a copy of the Jolliet original is further deduced from the fact that on the map published by Thévenot a legend inscribed west of the Mississippi at latitude 36° reads thus: "Nations qui ont des chevaux et des chameaux." The proof that this Thévenot map is a variant of the Jolliet original will be presented in a subsequent article.

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[42] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 323f.

The Journal of Pierre Vitry, S.J.

The journal printed below was first published in the original French in the now extinct *Nova Francia* for May-June 1929.[1]

Of the several journals kept by various individuals who took part in the second expedition against the Chickasaw, that of Father Vitry is translated here, because it is the only one which covers the whole time of the war against those Indians. It begins with the departure of the vanguard from New Orleans on September 6, 1738, and ends with the final abandonment of Fort de l'Assomption on April 1, 1740. The other journals cover only a part of these eighteen months. The journal kept by an officer of the Nouailles detachment extends from June 8, 1739 to February 24, 1740; Bienville's journal runs from September 12, 1739 to April 1, 1740; and that of Chaussegros de Léry chronicles the events from February 2 to February 29, 1740, a period of four weeks.

Father Pierre Vitry,[2] the author of this journal, was born on May 2, 1700, and entered the Society of Jesus at Nancy on October 18, 1719. At the end of his novitiate, he taught the lower classes at the college of Nancy for four years, and for two years taught humanities and rhetoric at the college of Langres. From 1727 to 1732, he studied philosophy and theology in Paris. In 1733, he left for Louisiana, and landed in New Orleans at the end of July of that year.[3]

From New Orleans, he went to Mobile to take the place of the absent parish priest, a Capuchin. After his return to New Orleans, he was sent to take care of the French settlers of Natchitoches.

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[1] *Nova Francia*, 4 (May-June, 1929):146-166. We did not reproduce the marginal index, nor the appendix containing the names of the officers and the list of Indian tribes that arrived at Fort de l'Assomption from June 28, 1739, to February 5, 1740. *Nova Francia*, 4 (1929):167-170.

From a sentence in Maurepas' letter of September 21, 1740, to Father Lafitau, this journal was known to exist or to have existed before its publication in the above mentioned review. The Minister wrote: "Vous me feres plaisir de m'envoyer la relation que le P. De Vitry a faite de la dre Campe des Chicachas." Archives des Colonies (AC), B 71:143.—This sentence was later cancelled in the copy of this letter which was kept in Paris, probably when Lafitau sent Vitry's journal to the Minister. The document, however, is not in the French public archives, but is—or was—in the private archives of Count E. de Chabannes La Palice, who gave it to the editors of *Nova Francia* for publication.

[2] Not "de Vitry," still less "Devitry."

[3] C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1906), 1:331, note 1.

While in this post he performed a marriage that nearly caused international complications. He arrived in New Orleans while preparations were being made for the second campaign against the Chickasaw, of which he was appointed chaplain of the vanguard. A few years later, he was made superior of the Louisiana Jesuit mission, and held this post till his death in New Orleans in 1749.[4]

Since Father Vitry merely alludes to the antecedents of this campaign against the Chickasaw, we will briefly recall the events which led to it.

In 1729, the Natchez were goaded to revolt by the petty tyranny of the commandant of the French settlement established near the village of these Indians. The punitive expedition of 1730 against these Natchez ended in failure, as did also that of 1731 led by the inept Governor of Louisiana, Étienne Perier. During this second expedition the French besieged a position on the Washita River where the Indians had fortified themselves. Although surrounded on all sides, the Natchez braves, leaving behind them old men, women and children, escaped during the night and took refuge among the Chickasaw.

From time to time, they sallied forth from among the Chickasaw to harass the French settlements on the Mississippi River, and attacked convoys journeying between New Orleans and the Illinois country. Such an attack on a convoy in 1735 by a party composed of Natchez and Chickasaw was the occasion of the first campaign against the villages of the latter.

This campaign was led by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville who had succeeded Perier as Governor of Louisiana in 1733. He sent orders to Pierre Dartaguette, the commandant in the Illinois country, to join forces with him toward the middle of March 1736, near the Chickasaw villages.

Because of interminable delays in the preparations, Bienville was not able to start until April 2, 1736, though he had planned to leave Mobile in February. Dartaguette was unaware of these delays, and was already in sight of the Chickasaw villages when he learned that Bienville could not join him as intended. With insufficient troops he rashly ordered an attack on March 25, 1736, and was routed by the enemy. He was then burned at the stake, together with other officers and soldiers and Father Sénat, the chaplain of his troops.

[4] J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)* (Washington, D. C., 1935), 423-428, 330f.

The Chickasaw, having found on Dartaguette papers outlining Bienville's plans, entrenched themselves behind fortified palisades where they waited for the arrival of Bienville's troops. The French attacked on May 25, 1736, and were forced to retreat after a two-hour battle.

As soon as Bienville returned to New Orleans, he wrote to Paris that a new campaign would be necessary to restore the prestige of the arms of the king. Maurepas, the Minister of the Colonies, agreed with this, and authorized the governor to begin preparing the second expedition. The story of this undertaking is told by Father Vitry in his journal.

We have two contemporary accounts of the second campaign against the Chickasaw published within twenty years of its termination. The earlier in date is that of Dumont. This former Louisiana officer garrisoned at Port Louis, near Lorient, France, first wrote his memoirs in which this account is found in the form of a long "poem" composed of 4,500 lines in what purports to be alexandrine meter. He sent this poem to the Duke of Belle Isle to whom he had dedicated it.[5]

Our poet must have suspected that the literary qualities of his epic would fail to impress the Duke, for some time later, in 1747, he re-wrote the account in prose and sent this version to the Duke with the following dedicatory letter: "Although the poem which I took the liberty of sending to you contains here and there the details of several years of observations made in Louisiana, yet because a work in rhyme can only give your Highness a sketchy and inadequate idea of the events narrated therein, I thought that I owed it to you as a mark of gratitude to send you a prose version of this work."[6]

In this account, Dumont is more specific as to the source of his information than he is in his poem. He claims that he learned the details of the second campaign against the Chickasaw from a "relation sent from Quebec to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers," and at the end he added that they gave him a copy of it "when they passed through here [Port Louis] on their way to Pondichery."[7] Hence he

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[5] M. de Villiers du Terrage published it *in extenso* in the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, n. s., 23 (1931) :273-440. A variant of this poem, also in the handwriting of Dumont, is in the Library of Congress. Cf. J. Delanglez, "A Louisiana Poet-Historian: Dumont *dit* Montigny," MID-AMERICA, 19 (1937) :32.

[6] For bibliographical details on this manuscript now in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, see "A Louisiana Poet-Historian," *loc. cit.*, 31.

[7] Ayer manuscript, 286, 295.

disclaims all responsibility for any inaccuracies that his narrative may contain.

Substantially, his account is correct, but it is marred in many places by bitter animosity against Bienville, whom he unhesitatingly blames for the failure of the campaign. It is this prose account not the poem, as De Villiers thought,[8] that Le Mascrier edited, having eliminated all irrelevant reflexions.[9]

The second contemporary account is that of Le Page du Pratz. This author begins by saying that since his return from Louisiana, he has kept in touch with men in the colony, and hence he is now able to give an account of the war waged against the Chickasaw by Bienville. "These details were sent me by the late M. d'Ausseville, formerly a Councillor of the Superior Council and Commissaire in that colony."[10] In spite of this assertion, it is quite clear that the account of this campaign, like many other passages of Le Page du Pratz's work, is a paraphrase of the text of Le Mascrier.

The whole campaign and the causes of its failure will be fully examined in later articles, but they should at least be enumerated here, because Father Vitry, whether from prudence or some other motive, resorts to vague generalities instead of stating clearly what these causes were.

Some of them were factors over which Bienville had no control. His original plan had been to follow the same route as in 1736. He knew, however, that this route was difficult and that his success would depend in large measure on the good will of the Choctaw, whose cooperation could only be secured at considerable expense. This is why he sent exploratory parties up the Mississippi to find a spot whence the Chickasaw villages could be directly reached from the west by a relatively short overland route. What decided him in favor of the route which he finally followed was De Vergès' report that he had found a place on the east bank of the river which was only twenty leagues distant from the objective. On this point, unfortunately, De Vergès had been deceived by his Arkansas guides; for the distance was actually found to be more than forty leagues.

Another factor about which Bienville could do nothing was the lack of oxen and horses to transport the artillery and baggage of the

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[8] De Villiers, *loc. cit.*, 284.

[9] *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane* (2 vols., Paris), 1753.

[10] A. S. Le Page du Pratz, *Historie de la Louisiane* (3 vols., Paris, 1758), 3:401.

army. The series of disasters which befell the herds of animals sent from the Illinois country and from Natchitoches, are mentioned in the text below and in the accompanying notes.

A third uncontrollable factor was the weather. The troops which should have arrived from France in March 1739, did not reach New Orleans until two months later. The last convoy left New Orleans for Fort de l'Assomption on September 2, and reached their destination on November 11. By this time the rainy season had made impracticable whatever roads had been built toward the Chickasaw. To make matters worse an epidemic had been raging in New Orleans that summer, and the troops brought the disease to the fort.

The only cause of failure for which Bienville can be blamed was his mistake in appealing for re-inforcements from France. Had he mustered North American Indians who were friendly to the French, and had he used as *cadres* colonial troops, and militiamen from Louisiana, and volunteers from the Illinois country and Canada, the result would very probably have been quite different. It was thought at the time that artillery was needed to "soften up" the Chickasaw villages. This is probably true; but the artillery sent to Louisiana was much heavier than Bienville had asked for. They seemed to have thought in France that the fortified palisades of the Chickasaw villages were Vauban fortresses. As a matter of fact, when Céloron forced the Chickasaw to sue for peace, he had no artillery at all.

The last cause of failure was a very serious mistake which the government in Paris made. There was in France an unwritten law according to which no native French officer should be the subordinate of a Canadian. No matter how experienced a Canadian might be, he was a colonial, and therefore an inferior. Although the organization of the campaign was left to Bienville, the actual command of the expedition, even of the Louisiana militia, was given to Louis de Nouailles d'Aymé, a ship captain from France who knew little about land warfare, and still less about Indian warfare.

It is only natural that under these circumstances Bienville should proceed very cautiously. He clearly foresaw that he would be held responsible in case of failure, and in case of success all the credit would be given to De Nouailles. Immediately after the campaign, De Nouailles hurried back to France and reported to Maurepas, telling him what should have been done, blaming Bienville for not doing it. The Minister, of course, was more inclined to take the word of a French ship captain who had remained a few months in

Louisiana, than that of a mere Canadian who had spent almost fifty years in fighting the English and the Indians from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. In fact, he was only too glad to make Bienville the scapegoat, and declared quite emphatically that the ill success of the expedition "could only be attributed to the fact that proper measures were not taken in the colony."

In the translation which follows, an effort has been made to convey the sense rather than to give a literal rendering. Some passages are so succinct, or contain such elusive references, that interpretation is called for. The notes are intended to elucidate obscure passages of the text and to confirm Father Vitry's closing words: "My journal is true insofar as the facts are concerned."

There is an important point to be noticed in connection with this confirmation of Vitry's statements by contemporary and independent witnesses. Fifty years earlier, the Jesuits had ceased publishing their annual Relations. But Father Vitry's journal is the sort of document which would have been embodied in the Relations if they had been published at the time when he wrote. In the case of the Relations themselves, we have little or no independent contemporary evidence by which we can test the accuracy of the accounts which they contain. All that can be done is to find independent verification for such less transitory facts as the geographical feature of the country, the flora and fauna, and the customs and habits of the Indians.

If after checking these relatively permanent facts we see that those who reported them were good observers, who recorded their observations accurately and truthfully, the presumption is that their testimony regarding other more transitory facts may also be accepted. I say "presumption," for I am well aware that to be scientifically established, the testimony of several independent witnesses must agree at least in all that pertains to the substance of the facts testified to.

The fact that Father Vitry's account is so fully supported, in even the smallest details, by independent witnesses suggests the possibility that the details in the Relations which cannot be independently verified, would be no less solidly supported by parallel contemporary evidence if sufficient contemporary material were now available.

I have always found it rather peculiar that those who are most exacting when they deal with witnesses that do not belong to their party, group, or sect, unquestionably accept the testimony of all witnesses who share their preconceptions, prepossessions and prejudices.

The Jesuit Relations is a case in point. Those who question their

accuracy appeal to the testimony of a few pamphleteers who of set purpose undertook to impugn the credibility of the Jesuit Relations, but had to caricature the contents in order to build up a case against their authors. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on one's point of view, modern research has appraised the literary productions of these pamphleteers at their true value. The unsparing light of criticism has revealed that they were guilty of the very fabrications which they falsely imputed to the authors of the Jesuit Relations.

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DOCUMENT

Journal of Father Vitry of the Society of Jesus, Army Chaplain during the War Against the Chickasaw

From 1738 to the Beginning of 1740

For the past few years the colony of Louisiana has been the scene of important events. War was to be waged against an Indian tribe, which had to be destroyed or subjugated. These Indians kept worrying our voyageurs, and made our colonists uneasy. In 1735, they waylaid one of our convoys killing some Frenchmen and taking an officer prisoner.[1] They furnished asylum to our enemies, the Natchez and the Koroa.[2] Once before, an expedition had been sent against them, but it had been unsuccessful.[3] It was necessary to take more efficacious measures. Some troops came from France, others were levied in the colony, and others were obtained from Canada. Six hundred troops of the marine, and a detachment of 200 volunteers from various places came to the help of this colony, which armed 500 of its own troops and mustered between seven and eight hundred Indians from the northern tribes. It was against the Chickasaw that war was to be waged; the undertaking required great preparations.[4]

On September 6, 1738, M. de Bienville, the governor of this province, sent from New Orleans the first detachment of his troops,

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[1] Details on this attack are given in Bienville's letter to Maurepas, August 20, 1735;AC,C 13A,20:154-155v. Most of the correspondence originating from Louisiana, which deals with the wars against the Natchez and the Chickasaw has been published in translation by D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., in *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion* (3 vols., Jackson, Miss., 1927–1932), hereinafter referred to as MPA, 1:266f. See also Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, February 3, 1736; *ibid.*, 275. Pierre Ducoder was the officer taken prisoner.—This attack was the occasion of the first expedition against the Chickasaw. Bienville to Maurepas, June 28, 1736; *ibid.*, 1:298.

[2] Furnishing asylum to the Natchez was the cause of the first expedition against the Chickasaw. Diron to Maurepas, October 24, 1737;AC,C 13A,22:239v-240.—By 1735, there were few Koroa left.

[3] This is an understatement; the first expedition against the Chickasaw in 1736 ended in disaster.

[4] The report made to the king on January 1, 1739 (MPA, 1:379–388), contains an excellent résumé of the preparations for the second campaign against the Chickasaw.

130 men strong,[5] commanded by M. de Coustilhas,[6] a captain, with the usual staff of aides. There was, moreover, an engineer-in-chief, M. De Vergès,[7] a draughtsman,[8] a warehouse keeper, a surgeon major, and myself, the chaplain.

We embarked on six large boats, each with eighteen oars,[9] going up the St. Louis River.[10] For forty-five leagues we passed by a series of scattered plantations, on both sides of the river, and also three Indian villages, until on September 15, we arrived at a rather large French settlement, which is called Pointe Coupée.

As it was very warm, the crew who had been rowing all day long, drank the river water immoderately, with the result that several fell ill. It is certain that the condition of sick men is very uncomfortable on this kind of voyage. On the boats they are unprotected against the heat of the sun, and no matter how much charity one feels toward them, all the relief which can be given to them comes to nought, because of the adverse circumstances of their condition. Divine Providence and their good constitution enable them to regain their health.[11]

We reach the Tunica on the 18th. It is an Indian tribe where there was formerly a missionary.[12] Christians whom he baptized are still among them.

It is customary for the chiefs and a few warriors to greet the officers. They bring some fowls and vegetables, which we cannot refuse, and after rewarding their generosity with other presents, we take our leave.

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[5] Besides 150 soldiers commanded by Coustilhas, in the convoy were "Sieur Deverges, an engineer, a draughtsman, Father Vitry, Jesuit, the chaplain, a surgeon, a warehouse keeper, and several workmen." Salmon to Maurepas, November 26, 1738; AC,C 13A,23:146. Salmon gives September 8 as the date of departure.—"I sent out last September Captain de Coustilhas with the same engineer [De Vergès], seven officers, 125 soldiers, some workmen and some negroes . . . ." Bienville to Maurepas, May 12, 1739; MPA, 1:390.

[6] Jacques de Coustilhas. The biographical sketch in MPA, 2:363, note 1, should be complemented by the entries in the Alphabet Lafillard, AC,D 2C,222, *s.v.* Coustilhas, and in AC,D, 2C,51:106v, 146v, and 171.—Born in 1691, Coustilhas was a second lieutenant in 1719, when he came to Louisiana directly from France.

[7] Bernard de Vergès. On this engineer, cf. S. L. Arthur and G. C. Huchet de Kernion, *Old Families of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1931), 254–257.

[8] Henri Saucier.

[9] These boats are described in the letter of Bienville to Maurepas, May 11, 1737; MPA, 1:348, and in that of Salmon of June 8, 1737; *ibid.*, 350.—A summary of the contracts for the building of these boats is in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 9 (1926):115f.

[10] The French began to call the Mississippi "Fleuve Saint Louis" in the early twenties of the eighteenth century.

[11] Cf. Louboey to Maurepas, January 16, 1739; MPA, 1:388.

[12] M. Antoine Davion of the Paris Séminaire des Missions Étrangères.

We then went on our way to the Natchez post, which we reached on the 24th. The shore is very high, and an admirable view is spread before one's eyes. But the heart of a Frenchman bleeds at sight of the land which was dyed in blood at the time of the general massacre perpetrated by the Natchez Indians, who slaughtered all the inhabitants, men and women, of what was then the most prosperous settlement in the colony. The story is well known to the public.[13] I only wish to speak of what I saw in the Natchez village. On a point of the bluff, there is a small fort enclosed in a double palisade[14] with a garrison of fifty men who had at that time a Capuchin Father as chaplain.[15] The remnants of an Indian tribe called Ofogoula live in five or six huts under the guns of the fort, which protect them against the onslaughts of the prowling Natchez,[16] who managed to live through the war which we have carried on incessantly against them ever since their treason.

I spent the day at the fort; in the evening I went back to the camp with our officers, where we slept in tents. The fifth night, a sergeant of the fort came to get me at midnight. Since we sleep fully dressed on our travels, because of the enemy, I was soon ready, and accompanied my friend the sergeant. I must, he told me, hasten to the help of a dying man. As we ran up the bluffs, I felt my pleura rupturing, and this brought on a false pleurisy which made itself felt later in the journey.[17]

Our halt was very long, for it took time to renew our supplies and to take enough provisions for the 110 league journey to the next French settlement.[18] Then we resumed our voyage up the river.

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[13] On the massacre at the Natchez post, cf. J. Delanglez, "The Natchez Massacre and Governor Perier," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 17 (1934):631-641; *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 249-252; "A Louisiana Poet-Historian," MID-AMERICA, 19 (1937):42-44.

[14] The fort is described in the *Journal de la Guerre du Micissippi Contre les Chicachas* .... Par un officier de l'Armée de M. de Nouaille, J. G. Shea, ed. (New York, 1859), 25. See also Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, April 8, 1734; MPA, 3:662f.

[15] I have been unable to identify this Capuchin missionary.

[16] The Natchez Indians "les [Chickasaw] engagent à venir faire des irruptions jusqu'au pied de ce fort [Natchez], sur les Offogoulas petite nation de 14 où 15 Guerriers qui y sont estably depuis peu." *Journal de la Guerre*, 23. Cf. Bienville's report of 1733 in MPA, 1:196.

[17] Medical men explain the experience here mentioned by Father Vitry as follows: either pleural fibrous adhesion was separated, or a spontaneous pneumothorax occurred which healed later on, although the missionary experienced for some time painful pleural irritation, which he calls false pleurisy.—I am indebted for this information to Dr. Theodore E. Boyd, through the kindness of Rev. Dr. W. J. Devlin, S.J.

[18] "Le 15 [October, 1739], je dinay vis à vis la rivière des Yasous, distante à mon estimée de 29 lieues des Natchez, et le 25 8bre j'arrivai à la fourche d'en bas des rivières des Arks, distant de 82 lieues du meme

On October 1, I had the honor of being in the boat of M. the Commandant, I was being a burden to him on account of the false pleurisy, which began to manifest itself by sharp stitches in my side. "I am going to be a burden to you," said I, "you know the cause of my sickness. The Lord afflicts us when He pleases; I beg of you to bear with me." "Don't worry," he said, "you will have all the help that we can give you." Men who are indifferent to each other in all other circumstances, have commiseration for those who while sharing their hardships, are victims of accidents that make them more worthy of compassion. I must gratefully acknowledge that I received help from everybody.

The crew is beginning to find food. At our various landing-places, we find what we call wild oxen.[19] This animal is large and is covered with brown hair which resembles wool; the meat is good and succulent. The finding of these animals is a great help for our sick people.

We are now at the mouth of the Yazoo River. Four leagues up this river can still be seen the site of a fort which was built by the French, but which no longer exists since the Natchez massacre. It was there that in 1728, the Jesuit Father Souel was murdered, and several Frenchmen slaughtered. On the very site of our camp here, they tell me, the Jesuit Father Doutreleau was saying Mass when he and the voyageurs accompanying him were attacked by the Yazoo. One man was killed, another had his thigh broken, and the Father with a bullet in his arm had to flee in a canoe, still clad in his sacerdotal vestments.[20]

While we were talking about dangers from Indians, M. the Commandant was told that there was a canoe on the river. They signalled to it, and when it came to shore, we saw in it a dying man who had been sent down to New Orleans for help by his

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poste." Bienville's Journal de la Campagne des Tcicachas; AC,F 3,24: 341-357, printed in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1922–1923* (Quebec, 1923), hereinafter referred to as RAPQ, 1923, 166. —The "fourche d'en bas" of the Arkansas River is what we call the mouth of the Arkansas River; later in his journal, Bienville speaks of the "fourche d'en haut," that is, the mouth of the White River. For an earlier conception of this section of the Mississippi, cf. J. Delanglez, "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1945):43f.

The discrepancy between the two sets of distances from Natchez to the Arkansas River is only apparent: Bienville speaks of the sea league measuring 2,853 *toises*, Vitry of the *lieue moyenne* or land league measuring 2,282 *toises*. There were 20 sea leagues and 25 land leagues to the degree of latitude.

[19] "Boeuf sauvage," the buffalo.

[20] On these two episodes, cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 252-257.

officer, from a point eighty leagues north of here. Our surgeon-major volunteered to take care of him, and asked that the canoe join our convoy.

Taking care of sick people is an important matter. On seeing these men who had come from a post where I would find one of my brethren, I felt my strength revive, so that I was able to assist the dying man, and on the third day after our departure, I administered the last rites to him.

I must be excused if I omit dates for this part of our journey, during which nothing noteworthy took place. I know that we advance, that we stop, that many of our men fall sick, that there are great hardships, and that everyone would like to be at the Arkansas River.

We entered this river on the 29th [of October],[21] and pitched our camp at the mouth of the White River, which empties into this one.

On the 31st, I set off up the Arkansas with M. the Commandant and a few officers, for the French settlement situated four leagues from here. Our boat was small, but the river is not dangerous, for the waters are low at this season. On the banks of the river are three villages, those of the Touarimons, of the Ottoüys, and of the Ougappa;[22] these three tribes are known under the name of Arkansas.[23] Across from the last village is the French post. The fort is small; a larger one is not needed for the twelve men who are there commanded by an officer.[24] A few Frenchmen attracted by the hope of trade with the Indians, are settled nearby.[25]

The missionary is a Jesuit (Father Avond).[26] The lodging of this Father is a makeshift hut: the walls are made of split log, the roof of cypress bark, and the chimney of mud, mixed with dry grass which is the straw of this country. I had lived elsewhere in such dwellings, but nowhere did I have no much fresh air. The house

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[21] On November 21, 1738, Coustilhas wrote to Louboey that he reached the Arkansas post on October 30. Louboey to Maurepas, January 16, 1739; MPA, 1:388.

[22] Torima, Uzutiuhi, Quapaw. There was formerly a fourth village, Tongigua, but it had apparently disappeared at this date.

[23] "Quoyque cette nation s'appelast Akansa en général, il n'y a pas un desdits villages qui en porte le nom." Joutel in P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888), 2:444.

[24] Jean-François Tisserant de Montcharvaux. Bienville's Journal in RAPQ, 1923, 167; Bienville to Maurepas, March 7, 1741; MPA, 3:744.

[25] In the following year Bienville wrote in his journal: "Notre fort des Arkansas tombe en ruine, il n'y a qu'un missionnaire et trois habitans qui n'y font rien." RAPQ, 1923, 167.

[26] On this missionary, see *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 438f.

is full of cracks from top to bottom. However, I consider myself lucky to be here with Father Avond who gives me the best help which his charity can suggest for the recovery of my health.

On November 1, M. the Commandant called together the chiefs of the three villages. Since the Indian is naturally curious and selfish, there was a numerous gathering. The first speech made to them was accompanied by a display of the presents which M. the Governor had sent them in the name of the king.

"You have always been faithful to the king," M. the Commandant told them, "your father, the great chief (M. the Governor), has sent me today to make these presents, so that you may become more and more loyal. You know that we are on our way to wage war against the Chickasaw, your enemies and ours. We come to your country, and we ask that you show us those places whence we can easily reach the enemy. Assemble your warriors, persuade them to accompany us and to stay with us during the time necessary to act as guides. Your father expects that you will give us 200 men."

"The Frenchman is our father," they answered, "we were worthy of pity, and he has supplied our needs. We listen to the words of our father, but you know that we are not the masters of our warriors. We speak to them, but we cannot compel them to listen to us. We will hold councils in our villages, and will invite our people to follow you. Do not blame us chiefs, if we do not give you the men whom you ask for."

For a whole month the Indians kept holding councils and the chiefs kept howling. When a chief wishes to raise a war party, he howls in the evening and during the night. The warriors ask him the reason and volunteer. The ceremony lasted three weeks before the needed number was obtained. The agreement may be arbitrarily broken at any time.

The French renew their provisions at the fort, where the flour from the French post in the Illinois country had been left for the sustenance of the convoy. M. the Commandant, feeling ill, returned to the camp on the 23d. I went back on the 25th, and on the 29th we resumed our journey.

We got Indians from only two villages, twenty-one in all. Among these there was a chief very devoted to the French, but he did not have more influence in his village than the other chiefs in theirs. The Indian is independent and likes his freedom; if you press him for one thing, he will choose the other.

Our Indian guides were to lead us to a spot suitable for our first entrepôt. Relying on them we continued to advance until December

8, but our hopes were far from realization when they stopped: we ourselves had to look for the sort of place we wanted. One boat went ahead, and two skilled officers went reconnoitering. Finding nothing suitable on the banks of the [Mississippi] river, they entered the St. Francis River,[27] where we pitched camp at about noon, on the tenth of the month [of December, 1738].

We were not near enough to a place whence roads could be built to the country of the Chickasaw. Since we were one and a half leagues downstream,[28] it was expedient to go farther up the river, because it was easier to go down with the current than against it. On the 12th, we began our inspection of the banks of the [Mississippi] river; and on the 16th, when reports were in, it was decided that the St. Francis River would be our winter quarters.

The Mississippi is between the St. Francis River and the Chickasaw country. It was important to know how far we were from the enemy, and what kind of country intervened. An officer, a draughtsman,[29] and eleven Indians went off to reconnoiter on the 17th, but because of floods their efforts were frustrated. They returned on the 29th.

This region lies in 34° and a few minutes N. latitude, 220 leagues distant from New Orleans.[30] We find here wild oxen, bears, roebucks, hares, turkeys, all kinds of geese, bustards, swans, and so forth. Winter is the most plentiful season. After unloading the tools, we began work on the 10th; rain on the 17th did not interrupt the work, and trees kept falling all around. M. the Commandant has fallen dangerously ill and is preparing himself for death. To our sorrow, we lost him on the 19th. He was buried on 20th.[31]

When the rain stopped for a while on the 21st, we carried our tents to the place where the fort and the other buildings will be put up. The spot is already cleared and ready for us.

The ground is not quite flat; there are small hills which we call

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[27] The river was christened by the Lesueur party in May, 1700. Margry, 5:403.

[28] On May 12, 1739, Bienville wrote to Maurepas that he had received news "that the establishment had been placed at the entrance of the St. Francis River, two leagues below the landing of Sieur de Vergès." MPA, 1:390. The governor refers to the De Vergès' exploratory journey of 1737. Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, December 22, 1737; *ibid.*, 357f.

[29] Saucier. See Louboey to Maurepas, January 16, 1739; MPA, 1:388.

[30] The mouth of the St. Francis River is 676 miles from New Orleans; it lies in latitude 34°38′.

[31] He made his will before leaving New Orleans. See the abstract in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 10 (1927):117. Coustilhas was succeeded by the chevalier d'Orgon as commandant of Fort St. Francis. Bienville to Maurepas, May 12, 1739; MPA, 1:390.

buttes, which are so disposed as to indicate that they are man-made. We are confirmed in this belief by what we find, for we come upon Indian earthenware, a small pitcher intact, bones, the lower jaw of a child, and so forth. This country has long been inhabited by the Indians; for on the buttes there are trees three fathoms in circumference. The Arkansas are unable to tell us what nation used to dwell here.

The fort will be a large one,[32] with lodgings for officers, barracks, two great warehouses, a bakery with three ovens, a powder magazine, a hospital, and kitchens. The bakery which is the most necessary was finished [first], and on January 17 [1739] we eat fresh bread. The work has been laborious; the ground had to be thawed with fire and then mixed with hot water to make mud. Our wine is frozen, and must be heated before we can drink it. We live in tents. I often ask myself what kind of men we have here. They are always on the go; neither rain, nor snow, nor ice interrupt their work; and yet the pay is very small.

Though we had no reason to expect anything in the way of news, on January 25, two boatloads of salted meat came from the Arkansas. On this occasion we had the satisfaction of seeing M. the Commandant of the Arkansas post and Father Avond. We had the pleasure of their company until February 3. Hardly had they left when other canoes arrived loaded with salted meat.

It would be too long to enter all the dates at this period. Suffice it to note that during the months of April, May, June, and July, there arrived here more than forty boats or pirogues loaded with 30,000 pounds and from 12,000 to 15,000 pounds of provisions for the sustenance of the army. The Illinois country, 150 leagues farther up the river, supplies us with flour and corn in abundance.

To come back to the month of March. On the 23d, an Arkansas chief arrived at the fort with his band of men. The hunt is over, and the Indians offer to entertain us. Our officers are curious to see their dances and to hear them tell their war exploits.

The 24th is the day fixed for the entertainment. A barrel with a roebuck skin stretched over one end is the instrument which keeps time for the dance. In the middle of the clearing, a stake is set up, to be struck with the blows which they struck against their enemies. The French also boast of their exploits, and freely distribute gifts of merchandise, which was what the Indians had in

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[32] See the description of this fort in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 37.

view. Next it is the women's turn to entertain us. The girls enter the circle, decently clothed in Indian-fashion, loaded down with bells, and shod with buskins. With their arms hanging down, and their head bent on one side, they form a line and start at the first beat of the drum. They move up and fall back in cadence, crossing each other at intervals and adding their voices to the noise of the drum. The chief is satisfied, and renews his assurances of loyalty toward the French.

We took this opportunity to persuade two of his men to guide two Frenchmen to the Illinois country. Their journey is long and laborious, for it means going 150 leagues through the woods. They left on the 25th, with no other provisions than their guns, powder and lead. The French in the Illinois country had to be told where we were, since they had to bring 115 yoke of oxen and 100 horses for our rolling stock. Wagons and carts are most essential, and they are being built with great care.

The 8th of May was gratifying: a second detachment comprising two boats with forty men each arrived from New Orleans, commanded by M. de Benac, Knight of St. Louis.[33]

On Trinity Sunday,[34] I had the consolation during Holy Mass of publicly receiving the abjuration of a Calvinist soldier of the garrison, whom I had instructed.

M. de Benac thinks that it would be well to send reconnoitering parties in enemy territory. He knows that the success of this venture will depend on the Arkansas. When these Indians do not arrive at the time they had promised, he sent an officer and seven men on the 23d to invite them. This officer returns on the 27th and brings the news that a third convoy is at our Arkansas post, composed of four boats and commanded by M. de Noyan, Knight of St. Louis and major of New Orleans.[35] This convoy arrived here on the 28th.

As the season advances, operations become serious. The roads

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[33] Étienne de Benac. Lafillard (AC,D 2C,222) does not give the date when he received the Cross of St. Louis.—He had left New Orleans on March 20, "to settle the quarrel in which Sieur de Vergès became involved with the chevalier d'Orgon after the death of M. de Coustilhas." Bienville to Maurepas, May 12, 1739; MPA, 1:391.

[34] May 31, in 1739.

[35] Gilles-Augustin Payen, chevalier de Noyan (1697-1751), Bienville's nephew. On May 1, 1735, he married in New Orleans Jeanne Faucon Dumanoir. *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 8 (1925):124. He was made chevalier de Saint-Louis on October 15, 1736; Alphabet Lafillard, AC,D 2C,222.—The biographical sketch in MPA, 1:249, note 2, is that of his elder brother, Pierre-Jacques, who never came to Louisiana.

leading to the Chickasaw are very imperfectly known.[36] On July 4, not wishing to waste a moment, M. de Noyan sent men capable of enlightening him on the terrain which he had given orders to reconnoiter.[37]

On the 17th, when the Arkansas finally arrived, he sent them with an officer and a draughtsman to a known spot one league and a half from here, and ordered them to go as far inland as they could.

On the 25th, they reported that from the bank of the river to high ground there are six leagues of low country impassable in bad weather; beyond this, there is a fine road for twenty leagues until one reaches a river at which they stopped; here they noted a well-frequented trail, with marks made by the Chickasaw.

The first party reported that twenty leagues farther up the [Mississippi] river they had found bluffs close by the bank of the river; that the spot could be reached by boat and that the carts could be loaded directly from the boats.

During this time, an Indian who acted as guide for the drivers of cattle from the Illinois country, came to the fort with six Frenchmen, and said that the herd was about to arrive. They reached the fort on the 15th, but half their horses were lost.

After deliberating as to which of the two routes we would take,[38] and after considering whether it would not be dangerous to expose ourselves to the inconveniences of the low lands [two leagues below the mouth of the St. Francis River], it was resolved to go twenty leagues farther up the Mississippi.[39] M. de Benac remained as commandant of the fort with two officers and a small

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[36] Ignorance of the geography of this section of the country was one of the causes of the failure of the expedition. When De Vergès returned from his exploratory journey in 1737, he told Bienville that there was "only eighteen or twenty leagues" between his landing place on the east bank of the Mississippi and the Chickasaw villages. But at the beginning of 1739, the engineer wrote that he had been deceived by the Arkansas guides in 1737, and that the distance was more than forty leagues. Bienville to Maurepas, May 2, 1739; MPA, 1:390.

[37] Those were Bienville's instructions to Noyan; *ibid.*, 391.

[38] Namely, the route previously explored by De Vergès, "one and a half leagues from here"; or that of which the starting point was situated on the Mississippi twenty leagues north of the mouth of the St. Francis River.

[39] Noyan reported this decision to Bienville in his letter of July 28, 1739; AC,F 3,24:301–306. "The officers of the navy were all the more disconcerted by the small success of these explorations, for they expected that there would be no difficulty after seeing the letter written by M. de Noyan to M. de Bienville on July 28." Salmon to Maurepas, May 4, 1740; MPA, 1:442. See, however, what Bienville wrote to the minister two days later; *ibid.*, 448. Beauchamp's accusations were out of place (*ibid.*, 435); Noyan had nothing to do with the selection of the Mississippi in preference to the Tombigbee route to the Chickasaw country.—The distance from the St. Francis River to Memphis, Tenn., is eighty miles.

garrison. We set out on August 4 in six boats under the command of M. de Noyan.

Since the river is at its lowest, we find it difficult to row against the current. It is feared that this difficulty will cause some delay in transporting the effects we have left behind. Some expostulate that we go back. The reasons already set forth at Fort St. Francis[40] were repeated, and we decide to continue our journey.

In enemy territory, it is wise to proceed with caution. We are now in sight of the land where we shall live. Scouts are sent to find out whether there are traces of our enemies. We land on the 11th, and work begins immediately with sentries always on the watch. Although the fort from one angle of the bastion to the other measures thirty-four fathoms on one side, and twenty-eight fathoms on the other, it was finished and the whole garrison was tented within on the 16th.

On the 17th, it was christened Fort de l'Assomption; for M. the Commandant wished to place it under the protection of the Blessed Virgin.[41]

We no longer have the river between us and the enemy, for we are now in his territory. He knows that we are here, and begins to prowl about. On the evening of the 18th, he fired across the river on three boats commanded by two officers who were returning from Fort St. Francis where they had gone to fetch our vehicles.

The enemy even comes up to the gate of the fort, though he approaches it only during the night. On the morning of Sunday the 27th, a club, that is, a flat handle topped by a ball, was found in a workshop. The scratches on the handle indicated the number of men killed by the owner of the club. The same Indian also made seven red marks on a small board, which meant that there are seven Chickasaw villages.

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[40] A note dated "au fort de l'entrepos dans la Riuiere St. François le 14 Feurier 1739" and signed "Vitry Jesuite," is attached to a deed of April 15, 1739; Archives of the Superior Council, New Orleans, 11275. The documents are listed in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 6 (1923):496. —Both in his journal (RAPQ, 1923, 167), and in his letter to Louboey of December 8, 1739 (MPA,1:410), Bienville calls the first entrepôt "Fort St. François."

[41] "J'avais depêché le sr Broutton [Broutin] pour le fort des Écores à Margot nommé fort de l'Assomption." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 166.—"Ce fort a été commancé vers les jours de la my Aoust, ce qui lui fait conserver le nom du fort de l'Assomption." *Journal de la Guerre*, 40.

Et ce fort s'appeloit Fort de l'Assomption.
On le nommoit ainsi, vu que toute l'armée
Arriva dans ce lieu cette meme journée
Mil-sept-cent-trente-neuf.

Dumont's poem in the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes*, n. s., 23 (1931):366. *Toute l'armée* did not arrive *en ce lieu* until October 13, 1739.

We are here in 35° and a few minutes N. latitude.[42] Of our 200 men there is hardly one who is not down with fever. This is not surprising, for it is well known that recently cleared lands give out vapors which are always unhealthy.

All the detachments should have arrived by now, and we should have taken the field. The detachment from Canada was sighted on October 10.[43] Seventy-six bark canoes are scattered all over the river, each one having a flag, with the canoe carrying the commandant's pennant in the middle.[44] The canoes of the French and those of the Indians are intermingled; all drift down the river on a single line. It is a beautiful sight. Now we can heard their drums; after firing three volleys, they shout three times "Long live the King." They number 600 men[45] who traveled 800 leagues by two different routes to come here, the two groups met on the river.

On the same day, the Indians from Canada asked for an audience which was granted to them. We see more than 300 well-built and good-looking men sitting in two rows before the tent of M. de Noyan.[46] One of their chief men rose and said:

"We love the King of the French, he is our father. The great chief of Canada (the Governor General) told us that you wanted us to eat your enemies who are also ours. We saw our brothers,

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[42] Fort de l'Assomption was built on the site of present-day Memphis, Tenn., on the bluff north of the Wolf River. The latitude of Memphis is 35°15′.

Il faut savoir que par cinquante-et-un degrés
De latitude nord, il est bien situé.
C'est le climat certain de ladite contrée,
Et qu'il y fait grand froid presque toute l'année.

Dumont's poem, *loc. cit.*, 369. North latitude 51° on the Memphis meridian is fifty miles west of the northern shore of Lake Nipigon, Ontario, Canada.

[43] Father Vitry did not know that Bienville had sent a courier to Longueuil asking him to delay his arrival until the beginning of November. Bienville and Salmon to Maurepas, June 9, 1739; MPA, 1:400. The governor's reason was that the troops from France were two months late in arriving to New Orleans. Report to the king, September 22, 1739; AC,C 13A,24:98.

[44] Charles Le Moyne, second baron de Longueuil (1687-1755), a nephew of Bienville.

[45] The force that left Montreal in June 1739 was 442 strong: 75 officers and soldiers, 45 *habitants*, and 319 Indians; one chaplain ministered to the French, and two missionaries to the Indians. RAPQ, 1923, 182. Some of these Indians abandoned the party and returned to their villages; but Céloron enrolled additional French volunteers and Western Indians on his way to the fort.—According to the author of the *Journal de la Guerre*, 41, a force of 486 men, 190 Frenchmen and 296 Indians, arrived at Fort de l'Assomption. The number of Indians from various tribes corresponds with the figures given by Father Vitry at the end of his journal. *Nova Francia*, 4 (1929):169.

[46] The Indians' greetings to De Nouailles and to Bienville are described in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 46f.

the French, leave to wage war against them, and we have followed. God, the Great Master of Life, has kept us in good health during our long journey, and we thank Him because you who have been here so long a time are well. It is a long time, Father (M. de Noyan), since you have seen your children; your milk must hurt you, we would like to relieve you."

It is his way of asking for brandy. When some is brought, two young Indians take the bottle and glasses and pass it out along the rows. During this time the elders shuffled down the rows in a war dance singing their war song.

When the brandy is drunk, the same speaker rises again and continues his speech saying: "Your milk is good, Father, but we only drank it on one side, we do not know how it tastes on the other side." It costs us a few more bottles, after which the gathering disbands.

Most of the Indians from Canada are Christians. Two missionaries came with them, the Sulpician M. Du Perret,[47] and the Jesuit Father de la Bretonnière.[48] The troops from Canada have a Recollect Father for their chaplain.[49]

The event of October 12, is the arrival of the first marine detachment in twelve boats.

On the 13th, were found in two different places two letters from the Chickasaw, both written by Frenchmen who were taken prisoners at the beginning of the summer. The first is addressed to M. de Noyan, the second to M. de Bienville. Our enemies offer to return the French prisoners and ask for peace.[50] With these letters were significant symbols, such as a wooden club with its top broken off, and white feathers; these are symbols of peace.

The Indians of the colony, that is, from the Illinois country, have not yet come. They arrive on the 25th, with M. the Commandant[51] who brings along more regular troops and many volunteers.[52]

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[47] In RAPQ, 1923, 182, this Sulpician is said to be "Mr Encret, ecclesiastique, missionnaire des Sauvages du lac des deux Montagnes."

[48] Jacques-Quintin de la Bretonnière, "missionnaire des Iroquois du Sault." *Ibid.*, 182.

[49] Father Vernet, *ibid.*, 181.

[50] In his narrative of May 6, 1740 (MPA, 1:450), Bienville confirms what Vitry says here. A summary of the contents of these two letters is in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 42f.

[51] Alphonse de la Buissonnière, who arrived on October 24.

[52] Forty soldiers, a few *habitants*, and 117 Indians from four different tribes. *Journal de la Guerre*, 43.

Further tokens were discovered on the 28th: a leaf of corn, some tobacco, a piece of bear skin, and some medicine. By these, the Chickasaw are asking that the French eat the same bread with them, smoke the same pipe, sit on the same mat; also that the trails be left white, that is, that no more blood be shed by either side.[53] However, a band of these enemies crossed the river on logs of wood tied together (on *cajeux*), and on November 2, two leagues from the fort, they attacked our Indians who were returning from the hunt.[54]

The second marine detachment arrived at the fort on October 31; the third followed on November 11,[55] and on the 13th, M. de Bienville came with the rest of the officers and the regular troops of the colony.[56]

The artillery is fine; eight-pounders and four-pounders, mortars of cast iron, bombs of sixty and twenty pounds. The warehouses are full of provisions, and the cattle which we had left behind at St. Francis are coming. God grant that so many preparations may have a successful issue!

The Fort de l'Assomption is situated on the heights called bluffs of the River á Margot, because at the foot of these bluffs there is a small river which empties into the Mississippi and which is called "Margot." I do not know the origin of the name.[57] From the top

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[53] "Ces marques enigmatiques qui toutes signifient la paix suivant l'interpretation des sauvages et des gens du pays," were found on October 27. *Journal de la Guerre*, 44.

[54] According to the author of the *Journal de la Guerre*, 45, the Iroquois were attacked four leagues below the fort on November 12, *i.e.*, November 2, for the next entry is dated November 3.

[55] "Le 10 9^{bre}... nous sommes arrivés á 5 h. du soir au fort de l'Assomption y ayant beaucoup d'intervale entre chaque arrivée des Battaux, accause des courants extremes que nous trouvâmes, et qui ne me permirent d'arriver qu'a minuit." *Journal de la Guerre*, 40.

[56] The same date is given by Bienville in his journal (RAPQ, 1923, 168); the *Journal de la Guerre*, 47, has November 14. Bienville had left New Orleans on September 12, two months later than he had planned because of the delayed arrival of the troops from France. Bienville to Maurepas, May 12, 1739; MPA, 1:392. In October, Louboey had accurately computed the time it would take to make the journey. *Ibid.*, 404.

[57] The Wolf River. "On dit que des Sauvages Loups qui estoient avec M. de la Salle, lorsqu'il passa par ici, avoient pris une petite fille, à qui les François donnèrent le nom de Margot [diminutive of Marguerite], et que cette petite Margot s'enfuit la nuit qu'ils estoient cabanés à cette rivière qui porte son nom." Lesueur's journal in Margry, 5:403, note 2.—"Le 26^{e} [of October 1700], nous auons passé la Riuiere a Mayot au Sud [*i.e.*, on the east bank of the Mississippi] du nom d'un sauuage de la nation des Loups qui etoit de la decouuerte de M^{r} de la Salle." Gravier's journal in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896–1901), 65:112–114.

of these bluffs, which give us a view up and down the river, we can see from afar the boats coming from the Illinois country or from New Orleans. All our boats are beached in a row at the foot of the bluffs. The view is pleasant and we often admire it. The landing place is reached by seven ramps of cedar wood.[58]

Small detachments of Indians and French often leave the place, and go out to find the best roads; others to take by surprise hunting parties of the enemy. One of these detachments, composed of Potawatomi, came back after having killed one man whose scalp they brought, and after taking three slaves, a man of thirty, and two women, one aged fifty and the other sixteen. They made their entrance on November 25 and brought their prisoners to the door of the Governor.[59]

The prisoners belong to the Natchez whom the French have been pursuing for several years and who have found refuge among the Chickasaw. This event gives great satisfaction to our Indians, and they all come to the assembly with joyful faces. The Potawatomi chief addressed himself with the air of a conqueror to M. de Bienville:

"Father, the Great Master of Life has favored my warriors by delivering these enemies into their hands. Here is some meat for which you are hungry; it is not fat. I beg you to accept it at once."

They push forward the Natchez man around whose neck is bound a slave's collar while his body and arms are tied with the ropes that hung from the collar; they put a white stick in his right hand, and in his left a calabash in which there are grains of corn. They then force him to dance and to sing the death song. The women are not bound but stand by and watch the proceedings.

"I accept your present," answered M. the Governor, "and I hope that you will enjoy yourselves. I now return your slaves, except this young girl who cannot have harmed the French."[60]

The Indians first fulfill the demands of etiquette. The Potawatomi leave the fate of the slaves in the hands of the Iroquois. The latter hand over the men to the Missouri Indians, and the woman to the Missisauga. The Missouri have no intention of postponing their celebration. They have already put on their finery, wearing

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[58] See the description in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 40f.

[59] Compare Vitry's narrative of what follows with Bienville's laconic entry in RAPQ, 1923, 168.

[60] Bienville "adopta la jeune pour en faire presant à Me de Noyant espouze du Major de la Colonnie." *Journal de la Guerre*, 49.

their headdresses, which consists of long colored feathers and two horns of wood painted blue, they are also wearing a piece of white roebuck skin to cover their nakedness. The calabash and the drum, or rather the barrel, are sounding; the Indians come forward in the rhythmic cadence of their dog dance. They imitate the barking and ferocity of a dog; at certain beats of the drum they fall on the body of the victim and rise with a piece of his flesh in their teeth, their mouths full of blood. This is their prelude to the torture. During the night they show the wretched prisoner the brands with which they are going to burn him. Early in the morning two forked sticks are set up with a pole across them;[61] the man is hung by his wrists from the pole; and fire-brands and torches are applied to all parts of his body until death.

The woman was also put to the torture by fire, but with less cruelty. The Missisauga shortened her sufferings by lethal blows. Human nature stands aghast and trembles with horror at the sight of these tortures. One asks oneself what force sustains these barbarians in the midst of their most horrible torments, to such a point that they neither shed tears nor cry aloud. The Natchez woman was a striking instance of fortitude.[62]

The barbarians are equally cruel to the French who have the misfortune of falling into their hands. I must set down here the report which M. de Carqueville,[63] a cadet from Canada, gave me of the death of Father Sénat.

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[61] This was called a *cadre*, a rectangular frame made of poles to which the victims were fastened while being tortured. See the engraving in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 2:facing p. 429.

[62] Cf. the narration of this episode in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 47-53.

[63] Four Drouet brothers accompanied Dartaguette in 1736; two were killed, one died of his wounds at the Arkansas post, the fourth was also wounded; he was taken prisoner by the Chickasaw, and later escaped. Father Vitry calls him Carqueville, but he is referred to by officials in Louisiana and in Canada as Drouet de Richarville, Richardville, Richerville, and Richerdville. Beauharnois writing to Maurepas on October 12, 1736 (AC,C 11A,65:125), refers to the father of these boys as "Le Sieur Drouet de Richarville."

The ex-prisoner of the Chickasaw is called Carqueville in two casualty lists of the Dartaguette expedition. The first list (AC,D 2C,51:143), sent from Fort de Chartres by Montcharvaux to Beauharnois, reads thus:

Drouet de la Graviere Enseigne
Drouet de bellecar
Drouet de Carqueville } volontaires
Drouet de Chauderot ce dernier blessé

In his letter of April 24, 1736, to Beauharnois (AC,C 11A,67:159v), Montcharvaux says that the most violent fighting took place at the ammunition dump "ou Mrs Droüet de la Grauiere de Richarville se sont les plus

"I was involved," he told me, "in the defeat of M. Dartaguette. Three of my brothers were killed and I was taken prisoner and led to their villages. On the day of the defeat, at four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw Father Sénat and M. Dartaguette bound on the *cadre*; they were the first among the French to be burned.[64] I was not allowed to see the end of the tragedy, for I was dragged to another Chickasaw village where I had the good fortune of being pushed into the hut of a chief and having my life spared. I found means of escaping through the English colonies and of returning to Canada."

M. de Carqueville is a tall young man, still a cadet,[65] who is now at the Fort de l'Assomption with his brother, M. de Richardville, an officer of the troops which came from Canada.[66] He deserves great praise for having remained in Canada just long enough after his return from slavery, to obtain leave to come back against the enemy.[67]

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distinguez, trois ont este tuez sur la place, et le 4e Dangereusement blessé."

The second casualty list is appended to a narrative of the Dartaguette expedition. Among the army officers who were killed was

De la graviere Enseigne en second;

and among the militia officers and *habitants* were

Tous 3 freres de l'officier compris dans la presente | Bel Ecars la Graviere
Carqueville la Graviere
Richardville la Graviere, mort de ses blessures aux Akançpas

The last is the Drouet de Richarville mentioned in the document listed in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 7 (1924):507.

When these lists were made, what had happened in the Chickasaw village was not yet known in Louisiana. One of the soldiers, Pierre Guibert *dit* Courte Oreille, whose life was also spared is entered as having been killed.—Drouet de Richerville's account of his captivity and of his escape is in AC,F 3,24:252–254v.

64 On the circumstances of the death of Pierre Dartaguette and of Father Antoine Sénat, see *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 301-310.

65 He heads the list of *cadets à l'aiguillette* and is called "Drouet de Richerville," RAPQ, 1923, 181.—For the distinction between *cadets* and *cadets à l'aiguillette*, cf. M. de Villiers du Terrage, *Les dernières années de la Louisiane française* (Paris [1903]), 51, note 1. They wore a shoulder-knot with tags, *aiguillette*, hence the name.

66 Listed as "Drouet de Richerville, enseigne en second," in RAPQ, 1923, 181, and as "Mr. de Richerville du Canada," by Father Vitry in *Nova Francia*, 4 (1929):168. He is also called "le sieur de Bondicourt" in Beauharnois' letters of July 10, 1739, RAPQ, 1923, 183.

67 He reached Montreal on June 10, 1739; AC,F 3,24:252. On this day Beauharnois wrote to Maurepas that, if he had returned a month earlier, he would have joined the Longueuil expedition. RAPQ, 1923, 183. Three weeks later, however, the Governor of New France wrote that "Drouet de Richerdville . . . s'est fait un plaisir de suivre le party, ce qui a été un sujet de grande joie généralement pour tous, il parle anglais et chicachas; il sera d'un secours par les connaissances qu'il a du pais." *Ibid.*, 184. He accompanied parties searching for a route to the Chickasaw villages. *Journal de la Guerre*, 61.

Indians recognize distinction of rank among Frenchmen, *pour avoir* [a line seems to be missing at this place], but all those invested with leadership stir him up to greater fury in his revenge. This is why M. Dartaguette and Father Sénat were the first to be put to death.

There are eighty leagues between us and the Choctaw; these Indians are nearer than any other tribe to the Chickasaw. They make common cause with us in this war, and have been warned to be ready to take the field as soon as they receive the order. The difficulty is how to send this order and let them know on what day to set out. A Chakchiuma chief, who is devoted to the French and is a man of great determination, has undertaken to carry the message and leaves on December 1.[68] He intends to land forty-five leagues below our fort and go overland from there to the Choctaw villages.[69]

On December 16 a Chickasaw scalp is brought to us; it was taken by Shawnee Indians in the Chickasaw villages off to the east. They had met only two of the enemy, and one sold his life as dearly as he could, by wounding the chief of the Shawnee party in the thigh. The other ran away.[70]

Of greater interest is the coming of the cattle on the 18th. Their number is much diminished; there remain only forty-five yoke of oxen and forty horses in rather poor condition.[71] We hope to receive more pack animals; for we are expecting 100 head of cattle and 300 horses from another part of the colony. The Natchitoches have undertaken to bring them here from their villages, but they must journey 240 leagues through the woods. Their delay causes worry.

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[68] "Le meme jour [December 1], je fis partir le grand Chachouma avec 4 Sauvages de la Mobile pour aller aux Chactas." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 169.—"Le Grand Chacchoux, chef depuis fort long temps de nos amis est parti ce matin [December 1] pour aller s'embarquer á la Riviere des Hyazoux, afin d'aller aux Jaquetas y donner de nos nouvelles et Rapporter des leurs." *Journal de la Guerre*, 54.

[69] On this voyage of the "grand Chachouma," see Chaussegros de Léry's Journal of the Céloron raid in RAPQ, 1923, 157.

[70] This skirmish is described in greater detail in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 56f.

[71] "Le soir [December 16], le sr Saucier parut de l'autre bord du fleuve avec 39 chevaux. Les boeufs au nombre de 86 étaient encore à 3 lieues du fort... [Saucier reported that] les chevaux et une partie des boeufs étaient en fort mauvais état.... Le 18 [December]... les chevaux furent traversés et conduits au parc. Je les trouvai tous exténués. On traversa les boeufs qui se trouvèrent en assez bon état." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 170.—"Le 15e Xbre les Boeufs et chevaux sont arrivez au nombre de 80 paires [?], et 40 chevaux." *Journal de la Guerre*, 56.—These oxen and horses were coming from Fort St. Francis; more than half were lost or died on the way.

We learn the sad truth on the 22d from a few drivers of these animals, who tell us that they had to leave the herd at a point 100 leagues from the place where they started. Most of the horses had died, because the high waters of the rivers had flooded the country, and the long delays before these rivers could be crossed, had caused heavy losses. They say that there are no more than eighty horses at most, and these they have left in the prairies of the Arkansas, eighty leagues from here.[72]

The beginning of November was rainy, and the month of December was even more so, but rain does not put a stop to the war parties.[73] There are now eighty Frenchmen in the field as well as many Indians.

The Illinois and the Shawnee having joined forces to pursue a band of Chickasaw, took three prisoners and brought them to the fort on January 1 [1740], after having taken one scalp.[74] Their prisoners are all men. One of them, who is a chief, is brought in with the white stick in his hand. He is spared the other ceremonies, for he will be used as an exchange later on.[75]

Though the Missouri did not take any prisoners, they came back on the 7th, riding six horses after having killed five others.[76]

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[72] On December 22, Montcharvaux arrived at Fort de l'Assomption from the Arkansas post with news about the herd of horses and oxen that was coming from Natchitoches. The man in charge of the herd, "sr. de Guedenock [McDonough]," had written to Montcharvaux asking for provisions and guides. "Il donnait avis en même temps que des 230 chevaux qu'il avait en partant des Natchitouches il ne luy en restait plus que 50 fort maigres, que M. de St-Denis avait fait passer pour l'armée, estant resté au village des Kadodakio et qu'il avait été impossible de leur faire passer la rivière de ce nom, que d'ailleurs les Espagnols qui avaient été engagés pour les conduire avaient deserté et emmené les chevaux avec eux." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 170f.—"A Midy [December 22], Mr. de Moncharvaux, commandant aux *Arcanças*, est arrivé : il á apporté des nouvelles du convoy des *Natkytoches*, les Boeufs et chevaux qu'on attendoit, sont demeurés aux vilages des *Kadoudakioux*, fatiguez et extenuez de faim. Il rapporte que des 200 chevaux il peut en estre arrivé 80 aux *Arcs*, en tres mauvais estat, et que les autres estoient morts ou perdus." *Journal de la Guerre*, 62f.—The lack of horses and oxen was one of the main reasons for calling off the expedition. See Bienville's speech of February 9, 1740; MPA, 1:428f.

[73] Missouri Indians left on December 20; Iroquois on December 21. *Journal de la Guerre*, 61. See also Bienville's narrative in MPA, 1:449.

[74] Cf. the entry for January 1, in Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 172.

[75] According to a letter written to Salmon, the three prisoners were taken by Indians from Canada. Salmon to Maurepas, January 28, 1740; MPA, 1:419. Cf. *Journal de la Guerre*, 65-69.

[76] The author of the *Journal de la Guerre*, 70, says that the Missouri returned in the afternoon of January 6; but Bienville wrote in his Journal: "Le 7 [of January], le party de Missouri qui estait dehors est revenu avec 6 chevaux qu'ils ont enlevés tout près des cabanes" of the Chickasaw. RAPQ, 1923, 172. Cf. Salmon to Maurepas, January 28, 1740; MPA, 1:419.

Two young Missisauga also returned after more than a month's absence. They had watched five women with axes on their shoulders, leaving the Chickasaw villages to chop wood. It was lucky for these women that they had a dog which scented our two men hidden behind a huge fallen tree. The dog let out a yelp and the women ran back to their villages, so that only one was killed and her scalp taken.[77] The Chickasaw who heard their cries did not come out to defend them, for they feared an ambush.

Some Iroquois who were hunting fifteen leagues from here found an old letter written in English, but the writing is so faded by rain that it is impossible to decipher it. With it was some corn and shreds of bear skin.[78] The Chickasaw make use of all the symbols they can think of to let the French know that they want peace. They could have killed some of our men and taken others prisoners, but we learned that they had decided not to trouble us so as not to destroy all their hopes.

In most countries winter is not a favorable season for waging war; but here the winter is entirely unfavorable. It is forty leagues from here to the Chickasaw, all the way through the woods. The trail is broken by a river which is easy to cross in summer, but too difficult in winter. The difficulties and obstacles are very great. I see measures being taken which make me understand that we will never set eyes on the forts of the Chickasaw. Our Indians have had this idea for a long time; they have assured us again and again that it is impossible to drag artillery and rolling stock through a country soaked by winter rains.

These men who are fickle by nature have shown up to now a constancy which surprises those who know their character.[79] It may be that their steadfastness was being sustained by their interests,

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[77] "Deux Missagins arrivèrent [on January 18] avec la chevelure d'une femme qu'ils avaient tuée presqu'à la vue des villages." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 173.

[78] This was on January 21, 1740. "Ils [Iroquois] y ont aussi trouvez une lettre, un sac plain de mahys, un paquet de Buchettes et deux cassetestes, qu'ils ont rapportez. La lettre est escritte en anglois, en pinte [tinte, *i. e.*, teinte] de poudre deleyée dans l'au, ce qui en rend le caractere, inpossible á dechiffrer; tout ce qu'on en a pû lire jusqu'á presant, apres l'avoir bien fait seicher, c'est qu'elle est fort ancienne." *Journal de la Guerre*, 76

[79] Defections and murmurs began in December. *Journal de la Guerre*, 61. On December 23, the Potawatomi left with arms and baggage, and during the night, "il nous deserta environ 100 sauvages de differantes nations." *Ibid.*, 63. See also the entries for January 13, 22, 25, 1740, in Bienville's Journal; RAPQ, 1923, 172-174. In his narrative (MPA, 1:449), Bienville blames the Iroquois for these defections.

but not everybody agrees with this explanation. I know that in general they are ruled by their own interests.

Their passion for liquor renders them unbearable to their fellow Indians and more so to the French.[80] People who only see them occasionally cannot help sympathizing with those who by their state of life are obliged to live with them.[81] We should not, however, be entirely unjust, and we must admit that, except for liquor, they are tractable enough, and that not all are inclined to drunkenness.

These same men have a personal interest in attacking the enemy. They declare that such is their wish, that this is the reason why they came, and that they will not return until they find out what the enemy has in mind. They ask the volunteers from Canada, whom they call brothers,[82] to go with them. Before leaving they have a feast, as is their custom when going on a war expedition. The Christian Indians have another way of preparing themselves; they receive the sacraments and ask the Lord's blessing. The work of making preparations is carried on in haste, and everything is ready by February 2. The volunteers and the Indians, lightly clad, and with scanty provisions, leave on that day. They are all gone before noon. The Recollect Father goes with them as chaplain, the whole party numbering 550 men.[83]

The duties of chaplain of the regular colonial and marine troops have kept me busy; the main work has been in the hospitals, where the Lord gave me great consolation. I was particularly consoled

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80 This is an allusion to the killing of a drunken Potawatomi chief by a Canadian from whom the Indian was demanding brandy. *Journal de la Guerre*, 58-60. On this affair, see Bienville's Journal (RAPQ, 1923, 170), entries of January 18, 20, 21, and 22, 1740.

81 Father Vitry refers to the missionaries.

82 On January 25, the Indians told Bienville that they were tired of waiting, that they would tell him on the following day how many would leave for the Chickasaw villages, "et que tout ce qu'ils me demandaient était que les chefs et guerriers canadiens fussent de la partye." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 174.—See *Journal de la Guerre*, 79-80, on what occasion the Iroquois called the Canadians their brothers. The Indians despised the French troops, "soldats paresseux, qui n'alloient point en Guere: (Cette parolle s'adressoit á nous)."

83 The detailed narrative of this expedition is in RAPQ, 1923, 157ff. It is entitled: "Journal de la campagne faite par le detachment du Canada sur les Chicachas en février 1740 au nombre de 201 Français, et 337 Sauvages de Canada, Illinois, Missouris et 58 Chactas faisant en tout 596 hommes." The original is in AC,F 3,24:323-337.—Its author is Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, a twenty-year old engineer and *cadet à l'aiguillette*. P.-G. Roy, ed., *Inventaire des Papiers de Léry* (2 vols., Quebec, 1939), 2:4. On his return to Canada, he received, as a reward for his services, "une expectative d'enseigne." *Ibid.*, 14.—The author of the *Journal de la Guerre*, 85, says that the force was composed of 200 Canadians and 300 Indians. More Indians left with Céloron on February 8.

today, the Feast of the Purification. An artillery man abjured Calvinism in the presence of the artillery officers who acted as witnesses. This man did not want to postpone signing the act which contained his profession of Faith. It was the last thing he did, for his agony began on the same day, and he died without having recovered consciousness.

The Chakchiuma chief returned from the Choctaw safely, bringing back with him a party of fifty-eight Indians. Two young Frenchmen joined themselves to the band. One, M. Canelle, who is a cadet in the colonial troops, is learning the Indian language, and in addition to his personal qualifications, he is thus making a good record for himself so as to obtain advancement more easily later on. On their journey from the Choctaw country, they went up close to the Chickasaw villages in order to get back here. They arrived on February 5.[84]

The manner in which an Indian travels through the woods is remarkable. It is enough for him to know where the sun rises and where it sets at the place where he sets out, then he comes back to his starting point by ways which he has never seen. On his outward journey, the Chakchiuma went by water and by land; the return journey was wholly by land across a country which he knew only in part.

They appreciate the generosity of this Indian as well as his attachment to the French. He is the chief of his tribe, and we have given him a medal which is given to chiefs only. This medal is for the Indians what the Cross of St. Louis is for the French; for the Indians have been made to understand that it is the reward for conspicuous bravery and faithful service.[85] This medal, which they wear around their neck is made of silver, at least as large and as heavy as the crown of six livres; with the king's picture on the reverse.[86]

The Choctaw did not meet the large party which left here on

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[84] News that sixty Choctaw were coming reached Bienville on February 4; they arrived on the following day. Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 174. Fifty-eight Choctaw joined the Canadian party on February 12. Journal of Chaussegros de Léry, *ibid.*, 157.

[85] On the meaning of the Cross of St. Louis, cf. A. Fauteux, *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Louis en Canada*, 8ff.

[86] Compare this description with that in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, F. W. Hodge, ed. (4th ed., 2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1912), *s.v.* Medals.

the second of this month,[87] though their paths did cross. Wishing to join forces with the others, the Choctaw left again on the 8th; they expect to make a combined attack on the enemy during their homeward journey.[88] The commandant of the troop, a captain from Canada (M. de Céloron) whom the Indians had asked for as their leader, left after they did.[89]

It is really true then that the distance from here to the Chickasaw villages is forty leagues. There is no question of taking artillery along, because the winter season makes this impossible.[90] We should have 100 officers and 800 regular troops marching in formation and well equipped.[91] But how can this be done when the season is so unfavorable, and there is such a dearth of oxen and horses?[92]

The question was debated on the 15th; since there were insuperable difficulties in the way of every plan, the impossibility of the

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87 Father Vitry refers to the departure of the main body of the party on February 2.

88 "Le 8 [February, 1740], je fis partir des Chactas avec des munitions et des vivres pour se joindre à notre gros party." Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 175. See Salmon's version in his letter to Maurepas, May 4, 1740, MPA, 1:443f.

89 Because of illness, Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville had been unable to leave Fort de l'Assomption with the main body of troops on February 2. Journal of Chaussegros de Léry, RAPQ, 1923, 157.—"Toute cette troupe estoit partie [on February 2] sans [*i. e.*, sous] les ordres de Mr St Piere Lant d'une compagnie du Canada, mais on croit que Mr de Celoron qui avoit esté incommodé, partira en peu, pour en aller prandre le commandemant." *Journal de la Guerre*, 81.

The Indians had asked for Longueuil, but the latter could not go because he was suffering from "a rather severe sciatica." Bienville's narrative, May 6, 1740; MPA, 1:449.—"Le 6e Mr de Celoron, le reste des Canadiens et sauvages, sont partis pour aller joindre le gros de leur party." *Journal de la Guerre*, 85.—The instructions given to Céloron, which Bienville mentions in his journal under date of February 6 (RAPQ, 1923, 176), are dated February 5, 1740; *ibid.*, 180.—On February 7, Céloron caught up with the main body of troops, ten leagues from Fort de l'Assomption. *Ibid.*, 157.

The order of departures is inverted in Vitry's journal: Céloron left first; he was followed two days later by the Choctaw.

90 See the letter of Bienville to Louboey, December 8, 1739; MPA, 1:410f.—On December 26, 1739, most of the artillery was brought down to the foot of the bluff, with the intention of shipping it to New Orleans. *Journal de la Guerre*, 64. All the artillery, except two mortars, one hundred bombs, and a four-pounder cannon, had been brought to New Orleans before the end of January. Salmon to Maurepas, January 28, 1740; MPA, 1:419.

91 Bienville's estimates revised by Broutin (MPA, 1:423-427) explain what Father Vitry means by "bien munitionés."—The decision to send 800 men had been taken on January 13. Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 173.

92 On the lack of beasts of burden cf. Bienville's Journal, entries of January 13, 26, February 8, RAPQ, 1923, 173-175.—After it had been decided to evacuate the fort, the oxen were slaughtered to provide meat for the sick.

project was evident, and we decided to evacuate the fort.[93] Such were the events at the fort.

During this time, as the war party came nearer to the enemy, their activities were of a more serious nature. They sighted the enemy on the 22d [of February] and the clash began with a skirmish.[94]

They sighted three forts, over two of which the English flag was waving, while the French flag waved over the third. Twenty men carrying flags came out of the forts, but they were forced to retire inside by the gunfire of our people,[95] who were no more than 150 steps away.[96] The firing went on uninterruptedly. The Chickasaw had a great advantage over us, for they were protected by their forts, while our men were in the open. We compensated this disadvantage by adopting Indian tactics; that is, we constantly changed position and kept on firing. In this way, although the battle lasted from nine in the morning until noon,[97] only eight men were wounded, two Frenchmen and six Indians.[98]

Though it was not known then how many casualties were suffered by the enemy, our men were sure that they killed a woman. They saw her fall down from the top of a hut where she had perched herself; from this vantage point this heroine was urging her people to deeds of valor.

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[93] Nothing was decided at a meeting of officers (*Journal de la Guerre*, 86) on February 9. On February 15, the assembled officers after hearing Broutin and after examining his estimates, were of the opinion that it was better to evacuate the fort. Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 175. The speech which Bienville made on this occasion is in MPA, 1:428-430. Compare these two documents with Broutin's letter to Salmon, February 18, 1740; *ibid.*, 431-433.—In his narrative of the campaign (*ibid.*, 449), Bienville defends his course of action by saying that he took advantage of the Chickasaw peace feelers, and he quotes the instructions of the king ordering him to act in this manner, should the circumstances demand it.

[94] From this date until March 5, Father Vitry's Journal is a résumé of that of Chaussegros de Léry in RAPQ, 1923, 161-165. The passages quoted in the footnotes will show this dependence.—A summary of Chaussegros de Léry's Journal is in that of Bienville (*ibid.*, 176), and the running account of the Céloron raid in Bienville's narrative of the Chickasaw campaign (MPA, 1:45-455) is also based on the Journal of Chaussegros de Léry.—Some of the facts are twisted and garbled in Beauchamp's letter to Maurepas, May 19, 1740; *ibid.*, 439f.

[95] Cf. Salmon's comments on the firing on the flag bearer (MPA, 1:44); and see Bienville's version; *ibid.*, 451. The latter repeats the entry in Chaussegros de Léry's Journal.

[96] "Nous nous avançâmes toujours et en peu de temps nous fûmes à 150 pas de trois forts très voisins les uns des autres." Chaussegros de Léry's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 161.

[97] "Nous nous bâtimes depuis environs 9 hrs jusques à vers midy." *Ibid.*

[98] "Nous n'eûmes que huit blessés dont deux Français, Mr. de Gannes, cadet, et de Lachauvignerie, interprète." Chaussegros de Léry's Journal. *Ibid.*, 161.—Beachamp, who was hundreds of miles away, wrote to Maurepas that many men, both French and Indians, were wounded. MPA, 1:439.

We had hardly begun to withdraw,[99] when another flag bearer came out of a fort. He was driven back as the others had been. It was noted that all during the battle, not a shot was fired from the fort over which the French flag waved.[100] The rest of the day was spent in catching and killing horses.

On the two following days we moved forward from the first line of trenches, and went nearer to the villages. We put up a double palisade as a protection, so as not to be caught without shelter should the enemy make a sortie. Rain prevented the resumption of the battle. Except for one Chickasaw who came out in the evening and walked around the forts bearing a French flag, nothing noteworthy occurred during these days.

After holding a council, our Indians decided that if any more flag bearers came out of the forts, they would send one of their own to find out what the Chickasaw wanted. Since the Iroquois were in majority, they prevailed in the council and brought the other Indians to their point of view.

Two young Chickasaw of unquestioned loyalty had been living with the Iroquois for the past six years. When the attack was resumed on the 25th, as soon as the Iroquois noticed a flag bearer coming out of the fort, they gave a French flag to the more intelligent of these two Chickasaw and sent him forward. Although two shots were fired on him from the gate of one of the forts, this man went straight ahead, without stopping or hastening his pace. The shots had been fired by an Englishman who was displeased with what he knew was going to happen. The Chickasaw pushed him violently back into the fort, and came out to meet the flag bearer. The latter told the assembled Indians who he was and gave the following message:

"All the tribes have their hatchets raised over your heads," said he, "they ask you to have pity on your women and children, but we are willing to intercede for you. By returning the French prisoners, and by delivering up the Natchez in your villages, who are the enemies of the French and of ourselves, you will dispose your father, the Frenchman, to pardon you."

"We are ready to do the bidding of the tribes," answered an Iroquois, an Illinois and a Piankashaw chief, "and will visit your

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[99] They were defeated, says Beauchamp in his letter to Maurepas, May 21, 1740; MPA, 1:464.

[100] "Le fort sur lequel était le pavillon Français ne fit point feu pendant toute l'action." Chaussegros de Léry's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 161.

camp without fear. Leave your flag with us, take our flag and tell your people that today we are wise."[101]

The deputy returned to our camp and was sent back with a wampum belt from the Iroquois of the Lake of Two Mountains and from the Nipissing. Among the Indians, wampum belts are the symbol of good faith and the best of guarantees. Thereupon, three Chickasaw chiefs trustingly came to our camp, protesting that they sincerely desired peace, and would endeavor to catch the Natchez and surrender them to us. We shook hands, a favor which they greatly appreciated. Before returning, they asked us to stop killing their horses. The Iroquois made them a present of two Limbourg blankets.[102]

On the morning of the 26th, we deliberated whether we would send to the villages a French officer and the three Indian chiefs asked for by the Chickasaw. On noticing that there was some hesitation about sending the Frenchman, the Iroquois murmured so loudly that M. [Jacques Le Guardeur] de Saint-Pierre, an officer from Canada, was sent at once. He was well received in a hut surrounded by Chickasaw and Englishmen. While he was detained in the villages, between sixty and eighty Chickasaw and five Englishmen came to our camp and were received outside the palisade. Afterwards the officer was sent back to us and the Chickasaw embassy returned satisfied. The presence of these enemies in our camp gave us a favorable opportunity to compel the acceptance of our conditions by arresting them. This was favored by some of our Indians, but not all were willing to consent to it.

When the Iroquois saw that the Chickasaw were not fulfilling their part of the agreement, they wanted to break off the negotiations on the 27th. "You began these negotiations," the Potawatomi and

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[101] At the end of his Journal, Father Vitry says that he merely gives the sense of the various speeches made by French and Indians. A comparison of the speech which he reproduces here with the entry for February 25 in Chaussegros de Léry's Journal (*ibid.*, 163), illustrates this statement.

This last paragraph does not correctly summarize the account in the journal which Father Vitry used as his source. The mistake, however, is corrected two paragraphs farther down. The answer reported here was not made by the three chiefs mentioned, but was a joint request of all the Chickasaw, who asked that a Frenchman and three Indian chiefs, an Iroquois, an Illinois, and a Piankashaw, be given to them as hostages, as a guarantee of the good faith of the French. See Chaussegros de Léry's Journal, *ibid.*, 162.

[102] Dumont uses the word "limbourg" in his poem and defines it in a footnote: "C'est un drap bleu ou rouge que les Sauvages aiment beaucoup." *Journal de la Société des Americanistes*, n.s., 23 (1931):368.

the Nipissing said to the Iroquois, "we are not leaving until the matter is ended. Much may still happen today." In fact, a Chickasaw chief and four Englishmen came to our camp later in the day. The Englishmen, we thought, were responsible for the delay, and the chief, whom we suspected of intending to deceive us, was reproached for his bad faith. With regard to the missing Natchez, the chief explained how difficult it was to catch them, and promised that before the day was over, he would deliver some of them up. That evening he handed over two Natchez, and one more on the following day, together with two Frenchmen. He asked to be allowed to keep the third Frenchman as a safeconduct when going to see M. the Governor. His request was refused, and he brought back the third and last French prisoner.

These Frenchmen said that there were few Natchez in the Chickasaw villages during the battle, and that the few who were there had fled for fear of being handed over to the French, for they knew that this was the intention of the Chickasaw who had also resolved to wage war against the Natchez until the last Natchez had perished.

Presents were exchanged with the Chickasaw chief, who as token of reconciliation gave us a calumet; that is, a long pipe decorated with braids of animal hair and white feathers.

Before we broke camp, two Chickasaw chiefs came and addressed us as follows: "Brothers, you are going back to the great chief, our father. Tell him that in two days' time we are coming to put ourselves in his hands." After this, we broke camp on the 29th of February.

Hardly had we traveled one league, when we saw two Englishmen riding at full speed after us. They asked us to return their horses which our men were riding. More than 150 horses had been caught or killed, and some of them we had eaten. "Your men have surrendered," they were told, "we are taking your horses with us. If you want your horses so much, come along; but we intend to take them with us to the fort."[103]

The diarist whose journal I copied says that the three villages which were first sighted and attacked are situated on a hill in a prairie. They lie in a north south line, each has its own fort, and the three seem to form only one village. To the east of these,

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[103] Vitry's account of the events of February 26-29, is a short summary of the entries in Chaussegros de Léry's Journal for these dates. RAPQ, 1923, 163-165.

there are three more villages, but not so close together, each one also has a fort. To the southeast there is a seventh village.[104]

Our small army was back at Fort de l'Assomption by March 5.[105] A boat loaded with provisions arrived from New Orleans on the 6th, and we were told that another boat had been left at Fort St. Francis.

On the 7th, six Chickasaw and four Englishmen entered our fort on horseback. Since the Englishmen had no passport they were arrested as spies on the 8th. On the same day we ordered one of the Chickasaw to go back to the villages, and we told him to return hither with the chiefs in twelve days' time, when they would learn our final decision.[106]

All the volunteers from Canada and from the Illinois country as well as the Indians from the north had gone by the 15th of March.[107]

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[104] The following parallel passages prove beyond doubt that the journal which Father Vitry summarized is that of Chaussegros de Léry.

Chaussegros de Léry	*Vitry*
Les 3 villages chicachas que nous vîmes d'abord et que nous attaquâmes sont situés dans une prairie, sur un cotteau dont les 2 bouts sont nord et sud. Ces trois villages paraissent n'en faire qu'un tant ils sont près les uns des autres. Il y a dans chaque village un fort où ils se retirent lorsqu'ils sont pressés, par derrière de ces villages on en voit encore 3 qui sont plus éloignés les uns des autres dans chacun desquels il y a un fort comme dans les premiers. On dit qu'l y en a encore un un peu plus éloigné du côté du sud mais nous ne l'avons pas vu.	Les 3 villages que nous avons vus d'abord et attaqué dit le journaliste que j'ai copié, sont dans une prairie sur un côteau, ils ont chacun Leur fort, Ils s'Etendent nord et sud les 3 ne paroissent en faire qu'un. a Lest paroissent 3 autres villages plus Eloignés Les uns des autres qui ont Egalement chacun leur fort: au sud est, se voit Le 7me.

[105] Bienville's Journal gives the same date, March 5, for the return of the Céloron expeditionary force.—The second last entry in the *Journal de la Guerre*, 88, is dated February 24; the last dated entry begins thus: "Le 20e de Mars, Mr de Celoron est arrivé avec toute sa troupe"; the next paragraph opens as follow: "Comme la maladie m'avoit obligé de dessandre á la vile [New Orleans] avec plusieurs de nos officiers, je n'ay pû sçavoir qu'au retour, de toutes nos troupes, l'isseü de cette arrivée." It would seem, then, that the author of this journal left Fort de l'Assomption before the return of Céloron.

[106] Vitry's entries for March 5-8, contain in brief the facts mentioned in Bienville's Journal (RAPQ, 1923, 176) for these dates.—In his narrative (MPA, 1:456f), the governor says that De Nouailles advised him to arrest the Englishmen. "Il [Bienville] soupçone que leur passeport est faux, ce qui me fait croire qu'ils n'auront pas leurs elargissement." *Journal de la Guerre*, 92. On May 4, 1740, Salmon wrote to Maurepas (MPA, 1:454) that the prisoners would be shipped to France.

[107] They began to leave on March 10, and were all gone by the 14th. Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 177. "The detachment of troops and

Nobody can figure out the reason why the Chickasaw are delaying so long; no one had made an appearance by the 25th. Nevertheless, the troops are being sent away; the marine detachment embarked for New Orleans on the 30th.[108]

In the morning of the 31st, just as the fort was about to be completely abandoned, a flag bearer and two Chickasaw were sighted. They announced that five more Chickasaw were about to arrive; they came at 2:00 P. M. bringing a Natchez woman and three little children.

"If we are late in coming," said the chief who had been here previosuly, "it is not because we wish to create difficulties. Our chiefs were about half way on their journey hither, when they noticed marks made by our enemies and returned to our village. (These marks were made by twenty-one Iroquois who killed five men and took four prisoners on their way home.)[109] Have mercy on our women and on our children. We will act wisely, and you will have every reason to be satisfied with us."

"Your lives are in your hands," we answered, "you know the greatness of the Frenchman's power. We have armed all the tribes against you, and we will arm them again any time we choose. Do not force us to recall these warlike tribes, now that they are acquainted with your country. What would have become of you if we had brought the big guns (the cannons) and the big piles (the mortars) to your villages?"

"We would not have dared to wait," they replied, "we would have fled, and would not have returned until the storm had passed."

In the preceding December, a party of twenty Choctaw had gone to the Chickasaw villages, I do not know under what pretext. The mistrusting Chickasaw had treacherously killed most of them.[110] "Have you thought of giving satisfaction to the Choctaw?" we asked them. "We will not attack them," they answered, "but

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of volunteers both from Canada and from the Illinois country departed at the same time, so that by the 12th only our regular troops remained, and these, because of sickness, were reduced to about 500 mn." Bienville's narrative, MPA, 1:457.

[108] Bienville's Journal, entry of March 30. RAPQ, 1923, 177.

[109] At the time, Vitry did not know that this was only a small part of what the Iroquois did to the Chickasaw on their way home. See the following letters to Maurepas: Salmon, May 4, 1740; MPA, 1:444; Hocquart, July 6, 1740; RAPQ, 1923, 188; Bienville, April 30 and September 30, 1741; MPA, 3:749f, 751f.

[110] This episode is narrated in detail by Chaussegros de Léry, RAPQ, 1923, 157f. See also Bienville's Journal, February 5, *ibid.*, 174; and Beauchamp's version in MPA, 1:434.

if they attack us before means of settling this affair have been agreed upon, we will defend ourselves."

The seven Chickasaw who came here were from three different villages. We freed two of their men whom we had kept in chains.[111]

After seeing to it that nothing was left in the fort or in its vicinity which the enemy could turn into fortifications, we definitively embarked for New Orleans on April 1.[112]

My journal is true so far as the facts are concerned. With regard to the speeches, I have set down the sense, with possible additions or omissions here and there.

I have no intention of commenting on the events lest I should misinterpret them. I can only say that I saw a very good army at Fort de l'Assomption. All the officers were very kind to me, and the one thing they wanted was an opportunity to display their fighting spirit. Even gratitude will let me go no farther than the statement of this truth.

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[111] In his Journal (RAPQ, 1923, 177f) as well as in his narrative (MPA, 1:455-457), Bienville gives a detailed account of what took place on March 31. Salmon's interpretation is in his letter to Maurepas, May 4, 1740; MPA, 1:444f.

[112] The fort was set on fire. Bienville's Journal, RAPQ, 1923, 178; Salmon to Maurepas, May 4, 1740; MPA, 1:445.

Book Reviews

Wartime Mission in Spain. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Macmillan, New York, 1945. Pp. xii, 313.

In the story of American historiography, this book promises to win a special place. Its appearance early in November of 1945 was heralded by a barrage of reviews whose cudgeling recalled gauntlet-running in a seventeenth century Mohawk village. The country, it seemed, was waiting for it, quite in the spirit of the Belfast public among whom, rumor says, the pedestrian may never forget that ancient motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, or as locally rendered, "When you see a head hit it." R. L. Duffus in the New York *Times* thought it of some merit though impregnated with disdain for popular opinion and with a thorough misunderstanding of the under lying issue in Spain. Benjamin Uhl in *PM* lowered his sights. *Newsweek*, *America*, *Time*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, variously labored to reenforce editorial concept with sledge and anvil, hammering down the narrative to a basic contest between good and evil in the current ideological world. Philip Murray followed with a demand that our Department of State at once sever relations with the Spanish government. And the Department itself, now under new management, and before the volume reached the bookstores, dispatched warning forecasts to its present representative in Madrid.

From the foregoing one might correctly deduce that the book would not be judged on its own form and content. The author was on trial as the spokesman of a national policy to which President Roosevelt adhered unswervingly during the entire course of the late war. That Mr. Hayes followed that policy with a loyalty that drew enthusiastic praise from Messers. Roosevelt and Hull seemed beside the point. He had been spokesman for an aim much disliked. Nor only that. Shortly before he returned to resume his professional work on February 11, 1945, his name was in nomination for the presidency of the American Historical Association, during the annual convention in December of 1944. Those who attended the business session in which he was the subject of debate will never forget the manner of opposition to his election to that office. His "consorting with fascists" for three years threatened to overrule a vote to give him this richly deserved honor among his colleagues.

And yet to the historian, the "mission" and its record remain matters of enduring value. The former resulted in a "Peninsular Campaign" of peculiar strategic merit. The latter offers a picture of diplomatic success in Washington and in foreign service rarely excelled in the annals of the country. The contrast between this story and the *Jungle Diplomacy* so painfully described by Charles Franklin Sands earlier in 1945 marks a great growth in United States talent in international affairs.

Mr. Hayes took up his task with reluctance. The post called for immediate success in a field altogether alien to his experience as a professor of history in Columbia University. There he enjoyed every mark of con-

fidence in his academic and personal competence, coupled with an outstanding record of achievement as a scholar and as a leader noted for integrity and solidly democratic attitudes. Now he was summoned by the President of the country for war service of the utmost difficulty.

The work in Madrid involved two vital problems, to keep Spain and Spanish potential out of the Axis war camp, and to protect and eventually foster our position, by peaceful use of the central bastion that lay between the future campaigns in the Mediterranean and in Normandy. Failure in either point would have prolonged the war and exposed it to a dubious resultant, as General Marshall has shown in his summary of the fighting.

Four phases are discussed by Mr. Hayes in his report. The first led to the dismissal of Serrano Suñer from the Spanish Foreign Office in September of 1942. The second, to June, 1943, found Spain still "non-belligerent" but now granting significant facilities to the Allies: removing worry about obstacles to our North African landings; *de facto* recognition of the De Gaulle Committee in Algiers; free transit through Spain of over 25,000 volunteers from beyond the Pyrenees; non-internment of several hundred American military airmen detained by forced landings; and freedom to carry on economic warfare against the Axis on Spanish territory.

From July, 1943, to May, 1944, there evolved the shift to "neutrality" by the Franco regime, with curbing of discrimination in the Falangist press, withdrawal of Spanish forces fighting against the Soviet, rescue of state-less Jews from the "Inner Fortress" of Germany, an embargo on tungsten-bearing wolfram against the Axis, and the closing of the German Consulate at Tangier with the consequent end to sabotage and espionage across the Mediterranean lifeline. Finally came the "benevolent neutrality" in 1944, resciding restrictions on American journalists in Spain, and the pledge to prevent Axis criminals or Axis loot from residing in Spain after the war was over.

The service done, Mr. Hayes now asked for permission to go back to "private" life and university pursuits. He accompanied the request with a memorandum on future policy toward Spain. President Roosevelt wrote in reply: "I value most highly your views and recommendations and I am sure that they will be most useful and helpful to the State Department. Your work in Spain was outstanding and I want you to know how much I appreciate your help." The President died only two weeks after sending that letter.

Mr. Hayes might have omitted mention of this memorandum, had his purpose been to conciliate opponents and ward off future attack. Yet his nature and sense of duty to the country would in this have suffered eclipse. As it is, these recommendations have in themselves nothing to provoke condemnation except from the "unalterably opposed." He asks the State Department to inform the country of the reasons for its policy and not to shrink from bringing the public mind to recognize realities in international situations. And he asks for a continuation of traditional attitudes of respect for neighbors and all others in their own concerns. His remarks on the unity of our policy toward Latin America and Spain deserve special attention.

The book is written in the best Hayes manner, urbane, exact, thorough, objective. His own mistakes and those of others receive proper and proportioned notice. Between the lines runs a high regard for his chief and for his country.

W. Eugene Shiels

University of Detroit.

Consular Relations Between the United States and the Papal States. Edited by Leo Francis Stock, Ph.D., LL.D. American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, D. C., 1945. Pp. 467.

In 1933 the first volume in the series of *Documents* published by the American Catholic Historical Association appeared. The instructions and despatches to and from the American ministers in Rome, 1848-1868, were carefully edited and presented by Dr. Stock in that volume. Now, as a result of the generosity extended by the Bishops' Committee on the Pope's Peace Points this second volume of *Documents* is made available. The gratitude of the Association and of scholars in general is due to the Committee, composed of Archbishop Stritch of Chicago, Archbishop Ryan of Omaha, and Bishop Muench of Fargo. Credit is properly extended to Bishop Ready of Columbus for the marked initiative he displayed in securing publication of the documents.

We now have available in the two volumes a practically complete record of the diplomatic relations of the government of the United States with the Holy See. Admittedly some correspondence exchanged between the papal secretariat and our ministers in Rome, and the despatches of the Vatican to the papal consuls general in the United States will not be found in either of the two volumes of *Documents*, but there is good reason to believe that all communications of importance have been edited, and very carefully edited, by Dr. Stock, to whom all interested in this section of American history are accordingly indebted.

The communications extend from the letters sent by Timothy Pickering in 1797 to Giovanni Battista Sartori, our first consul in Rome, until the 1870's, when papal temporal power came to an end. In the letters reproduced one finds the reports made by the eleven consuls who represented the United States in Rome, the three who represented us in Ancona, and the four who resided in various cities in the United States and represented the Holy See.

One gets very clear cut impressions from many of the despatches, even though the language used is almost invariably formal in tone. Interesting appraisals of Pius VIII, for example, are given in the communications sent by Felix Cicognani, the Italian who served as our consul in Rome from 1823 to 1837, and equally revealing analyses of Gregory XVI were sent by the same consul. It is noteworthy that various pontiffs emphasized their satisfaction with the religious liberty enjoyed by Catholics in the United States. Particularly emphatic were the words of Gregory XVI, in an audience granted to ten Americans, as recorded in the communication from Cicognani to John Forsyth, February 14, 1835: "His Holiness said that it was gratify-

ing to him to see citizens of the U. S., as he had the greatest esteem for them, as well as for their government. He added that the Catholic religion was more free and more efficaciously protected in the U. S. than in any other part of the world .... that he attributed it to the Constitution of the U. S..... such, in his opinion, being the best policy, and also the most beneficial to the Catholic religion, that governments could adopt in respect to religion in general .... and he requested that the gentlemen who were there would communicate his sentiments to their government (p. 45)."

Special considerations were often shown to the American consuls by the Holy See. In times of crisis, as in the American Civil War, papal support was consistently given to the cause of the government in the North. Efforts to promote commerce unfortunately had no impressive results. The consuls were American citizens, after 1837, and accordingly their reports were made from a somewhat different point of view than were those of their Italian predecessors. The fall of Rome was presented in detail in the account forwarded by D. H. Armstrong to Hamilton Fish, on September 23, 1870, (pp. 354-359). It is evident that Mr. Armstrong was not especially sympathetic to the papal side in the struggle for the control of Rome.

The high standards of the American Catholic Historical Association have been well maintained in the preparation and printing of this volume. It is a distinct credit to all who have been associated in its production.

PAUL KINIERY

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The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi

Introduction

Between the summer of 1674 and the summer of 1678, several maps based on Jolliet's lost original were made in Quebec. Of these maps five have come down to us: one by an anonymous draughtsman, another which is called the Manitoumie map, a third by Randin, and two by Franquelin. None of these maps is dated, but from external evidence we know that Franquelin drew his second map in the summer of 1678.

By means of these five maps we have tried to reconstruct the map which Jolliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec in July 1674, and which Frontenac sent to France in November of that year. Such a reconstruction is one of those problems which, because of gaps in the documentation, can only have a probable solution, especially with regard to specific details. As in the case of manuscripts, the results of textual criticism applied to maps are purely negative. Although the map thus reconstructed is the best that can be had, its value is incomparably inferior to the Jolliet original which Frontenac sent to Colbert.

Besides the reconstruction of Jolliet's lost map, which is the main purpose of this article, the following secondary objectives are also attained. First, a better knowledge of the earliest cartography and a clearer view of the evolution of the nomenclature of the Mississippi Valley; secondly, the examination of this cartographical evidence taken in conjunction with the manuscript sources previously studied provide as full a knowledge as possible, under the circumstances, of the voyage of 1673; finally, this knowledge is an adequate

basis for a narrative which would not differ substantially from a contemporary account of the discovery of the Mississippi.

In the first part of this article, each map is described; its authorship, its accuracy, and its derivation are discussed. In the second part a comparison is made between the nomenclature of the various maps in view of ascertaining the place-names and other inscriptions that were on Jolliet's map. In the table at the end each legend or inscription has been given a number for reference purposes, and also to let the reader follow the discussion more readily. It should be borne in mind, however, that the force of the argument can be fully grasped only with the maps before one's eyes. Financial considerations prevented reproducing them on a sufficiently large scale to be of use.

Only those inscriptions or legends relating to the voyage of 1673 are considered, they appear in the list as follows. Beginning with Sault Ste Marie they have been entered in the order of their southwestward appearance down to 8a8iatanon, below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. These form the Green Bay-Wisconsin group. The Mississippi is in a category by itself. The second group is the Iowa group, which comprises the legends along an unnamed river, very probably the Iowa. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth groups are the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Gulf, and the Ohio group, respectively. The seventh and last group is the Illinois-Lake Michigan group. Below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the nomenclature west of the Mississippi down to the Gulf is first considered; then from the Gulf northward to the Illinois River, up the latter and the west shore of Lake Michigan to Sturgeon Bay.

The legends on Marquette's map have been included, first, because his map is based on the journal kept during the expedition; secondly, because they show how well Jolliet remembered the nomenclature of the country discovered; thirdly, because the insertion of some place-names in one of the maps can be explained only on the supposition that the author of this map had access to Marquette's autograph.

The second column of the table at the end of this article contains only those legends or inscriptions which were on Jolliet's original.

PART I

Maps Based on Jolliet's Lost Map

1) The Anonymous Map

Since 1880, when Gabriel Gravier first reproduced it in reduced form,[1] the accepted view has been that this map was made by "Jolliet himself immediately after his return to Montreal."[2] Gravier had no doubt that it was an autograph Jolliet map, as can be seen by the subtitle of the paper which he read before the Congress of Americanists held at Brussels in 1679: "The first [map] made by Louis Joliet in 1674." He saw it in an atlas of old maps of America, some engraved and others in manuscript. Today, this "hitherto unknown map" is in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

Gravier gives no reason for saying that "it is the oldest map of the Mississippi which we have"; as a matter of fact, Marquette's map antedates it; and there is no reason for attributing it to Jolliet. First, the style of this map is quite different from the style of the genuine Jolliet maps which have come down to us.[3] Secondly, contrary to what has been said,[4] the handwriting of the legends on the map, which is the same as that of the dedicatory letter of Frontenac, in no way resembles the handwriting of Jolliet. Thirdly, there is no known example of Jolliet signing or writing his name with one *l*; on this map, however, the letter is signed "Joliet," and a knoll in Illinois is legended "Mont Joliet."

Whoever drew this map was an incompetent draughtsman and a poor geographer. I thought for a while that its author was Martin Boutet, but what is known of this seventeenth century mathematics professor makes his authorship of the map very doubtful. Furthermore, his handwriting is quite unlike that of the dedicatory letter. Still, there remains the following fact which should not be ignored.

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[1] Nouuelle Decouuerte de Plusieurs Nations Dans la Nouuelle France En L'annee 1673 et 1674. Cf. S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas* (Springfield, Ill., 1942), 2, notes for plate IV.

[2] *Étude sur Une Carte inconnue. La première dressée par Louis Joliet en 1674* (Paris, 1880), 14.—The map accompanying this study was reproduced by R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896–1901), hereinafter quoted as JR, 59, facing p. 86.

[3] Compare the anonymous map with Jolliet's two maps of Hudson Bay described in "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944):341, note 82.

[4] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928), 171, note 93, and 173, note 98.

Many capital letters end with fanciful flourishes resembling rubrics, and not a few of these flourishes are almost exactly the same as the rubric which Martin Boutet appended to his signature on numerous notarial documents preserved in the Quebec Judicial Archives. Another theory that suggested itself was that Martin Boutet had made a copy of Jolliet's map, which copy was reproduced by the author of the map under consideration. But the near identity between the flourishes and Boutet's rubric need only mean that the author traced Boutet's map, and so the initial difficulty remains. Barring a fortunate accident, it seems that the draughtsman of this map will remain unknown.

This anonymous draughtsman, however, was a friend of the explorer; he is the only one who legended a mound southwest of Chicago "Mont Joliet." Moreover, in reproducing the dedicatory letter to Frontenac, he did not make any deliberate change in Jolliet's original text;[5] hence the presumption is that he did not deliberately tamper with the nomenclature. This alone constitutes the value of the map, for as a representation of North America it is quite useless, and it would be difficult to draw the Great Lakes more inaccurately, even if one were to try.

In view of this last feature, the map cannot serve as partial evidence that Jolliet parted with Marquette at the mouth of the Chicago River, that he proceeded to explore the south shore of Lake Michigan, went up the St. Joseph River and returned to Chicago, where he spent the winter of 1673–1674.[6] There is not one shred of contemporary evidence to support these assertions.[7]

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[5] Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945):225–231.

[6] S. Faye, "Jolliet goes West," *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 27 (1934):5–30.

[7] Charlevoix wrote: "On arriving at Chicago on Lake Michigan, they separated." *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle-France, avec le Journal historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionnale* (3 vols., Paris, 1744), 1:446. Charlevoix is no authority for the voyage of 1673, and it requires much imagination to see his statement "upheld" by the ASH version of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674.— We are also told that the separation of Marquette and Jolliet at Chicago "is upheld . . . only ambiguously by Jolliet's own copy, the Saint-Sulpice MS." First, the Saint-Sulpice manuscript is not Jolliet's own copy; secondly, the passage is exactly the same in all the extant copies of Dablon's letter, including the ASH version, in which the statement is said to be "upheld" but not ambiguously ("The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 [1944]:320); thirdly, Dablon quite clearly indicates that the whole of the return journey was not over the same route as the outgoing journey, "ils ne reprirent pas *entierement* le mesme chemin"; namely, they did not go back to Green Bay *via* the Wisconsin and the Fox rivers, but went to Green Bay "par des routes differentes"; that is, by way of the Illinois, the Des Plaines and Lake Michigan.

The four statements of La Potherie adduced to buttress this theory are all erroneous: "The Illinois who had accompanied him [Jolliet] brought him back by another route, shorter by 200 leagues, and made him enter the St. Joseph River, where M. de la Salle had begun a settlement."[8] It is certain that no Illinois Indians accompanied Jolliet in his voyage down the Mississippi; and there is no evidence that they went with him from their villages on the Illinois River to Chicago. The "other route" mentioned in the above quotation may be the route they actually took, up the Illinois and the Des Plaines to Chicago, then along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Sturgeon Bay, and down Green Bay to the St. Francis Xavier mission. Now, this route, far from being 200 leagues (550 miles) shorter, is actually 150 miles longer than by way of the Mississippi, the Wisconsin and the Fox rivers to Green Bay.

The mention of the St. Joseph River seems to indicate that by "another route" La Potherie meant that Jolliet followed the south shore of Lake Michigan, whence he would have gone by way of the east shore to Sault Ste Marie, which is absurd. Even if he had gone to the St. Joseph River and even if the Illinois had "made him enter" it, he could not have seen the settlement which M. de la Salle had begun there, for this so-called settlement was begun near Benton Harbor in April–May 1681, that is, nearly eight years after Jolliet's supposed entrance into the river.[9]

It seems as though La Potherie confused Marquette's return from his second voyage to the Illinois country in 1675 with Jolliet's return from the Mississippi in 1673. This is not the only confusion noted in his work. Except when he quotes Perrot for events which took place in New France before his arrival in 1698, La Potherie's authority is practically nil.

The "triply fortified"[10] inference from Jolliet's maps for this

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[8] C. C. Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique, contenant Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans l'Amerique Septentrionale depuis 1534 jusqu'à present* (4 vols., Amsterdam 1723), 2:130–131.

[9] See La Salle's letter of the autumn of 1681, in P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 vols., Paris, 1876–1888), 2:148, 158; and Bernou's paraphrase, *ibid.*, 1:542.

[10] "Jolliet goes West," *loc. cit.*, 16.—Those slightly acquainted with the history of New France in the seventeenth century or with the early years of Jolliet may well wonder what evidence there is for the following statements in the same article: Laval, "the Jesuit suffragan bishop of Quebec," financed Jolliet's education "first in Canada as a Jesuit novice, then in France as a maker of maps"; again, "the former Jesuit novice [Jolliet] had eaten up his small patrimony"; and "the month of July was may be three weeks old when he [Jolliet] approached Montreal . . ."

journey to the St. Joseph River is no inference at all, for none of these maps was made by him. Two maps copied on his own suggest that from Chicago the explorer went straight up the west shore of Lake Michigan, and portaged at Sturgeon Bay. We do not know for certain whether Jolliet accompanied Marquette to the St. Francis Xavier mission. If he did, we may be sure that he did not tarry long there, for he had every reason to return to Sault Ste Marie where he had his "private business" from which he had been away six months. Now that he had discovered the great river of the West and had ascertained where it emptied, he had no reason whatever to roam aimlessly through the country south of Lake Michigan in the hope of finding a few pelts.[11]

2) The Randin Map

Since this map is not signed, we must explain on what evidence it has been attributed to Randin. In 1870–1871 when Harrisse was preparing his *Notes,* a "Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale dressée par Raudin, Ingénieur du Comte de Frontenac" as well as two other early maps of America could not be found, although they were "still in the *grandes archives* in 1856 when copies were made by order of the Canadian government."[12] Later in his book, Harrisse lists this map as follows: "Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale dressée par Raudin, l'ingénieur et l'obligé du C^te^ de Frontenac," and adds: "On the tracing of this map which we have seen, the Missis-

[11] "Marquette conveys the impression that Joliet returned with him to Green Bay in September 1673; but when, in a few weeks, he went back to the Illinois country between Chicago and Lake Peoria, he found several Frenchmen trading with the Indians, and among others mentions La Taupine, or Pierre Moreau, who in 1671 was with Joliet at Sault Ste Marie. Near one of the upper tributaries of the Illinois on Joliet's map appears Mont Joliet. May Joliet not have traded in this vicinity during the winter of 1673–1674, and may not Taupine and others have been his associates?" E. D. Neill in J. Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America* (8 vols., Boston and New York, 1884–1889), 4:179, note 2.—Marquette did not go back to the Illinois country "a few weeks" after September 1673, but left Green Bay on October 25, 1674, and heard of La Taupine at Chicago on December 30, 1674. La Taupine was indeed one of Jolliet's six associates in 1672, but their partnership contract had been cancelled in the West.—"Louis Jolliet. Early Years 1645–1674," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945) :21–25.—The fact that La Taupine was in the Illinois country during the winter of 1674–1675 is no proof that he was also there during the winter of 1673–1674; and even if he had been there then, it does not mean that Jolliet was with him. As we point out in the text, Jolliet had no reason for remaining in the Illinois country, and had every reason for returning to Sault Ste Marie.

[12] H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545–1700* (Paris, 1872), xxv.

sippi bears the name of 'Riuiere de Buade,' and the nearby country is called 'Frontenacie'."[13] He then repeats what he had said in the introduction; namely, that this map could not be found.

The tracing spoken of by Harrisse was one of two made by Margry between 1845 and 1851, both of which are now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.[14] One of them, in pencil, shows the course of the Mississippi from the Ohio to the Wisconsin. Margry wrote the following note on this tracing: "Extrait d'une Carte de Randin.—Il nomme Le Mississipi Buade.—Le Missouri Bazire." This latter identification is erroneous; on Randin's map as well as on the anonymous map, the "Riuiere Bazire" is the name given to the Arkansas River. The second tracing, in ink, shows the Mississippi from below the Bazire to the Wisconsin, the whole of the Missouri River, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, the southern tip of Green Bay and the west shore of Lake Michigan—that is, all the waterways sighted or traveled over by Jolliet and his companions.

Considering that Harrisse makes no mention of the "Riuiere Bazire" and of the peculiar name of the Illinois River which are on the ink but not on the pencil tracing, it is probable that Margry showed him the latter.

In the early sixties of last century, Harrisse met in New York the great American book collector Samuel L. M. Barlow. This gentleman was very much interested in the French explorers, but at that time Harrisse himself was more interested in the early history of New Spain. Ten years later, however, Barlow had communicated his own interest to Harrisse, who was commissioned to form a collection of manuscript and printed maps of North America.[15] While engaged in this work, Harrisse came upon the map which is now in the John Carter Brown Library together with the other maps of the Barlow collection.

How and where Harrisse found this map, or from whom he bought it, is unascertainable. But when he saw it, he remembered the Margry tracing, and the latter's attribution to Randin. As the autograph note now pasted on the back of the map testifies, Harrisse concluded that it had been "drawn up evidently by Randin,

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[13] *Ibid.*, 209f.

[14] C. S. Smith, *Manuscript Maps in the Edward E. Ayer Collection* (planographed, Chicago, 1927), 22, nos. 49 and 50.—These and other maps traced by Margry were to be in an atlas which was to accompany his compilation. Cf. J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys* (Chicago, 1938), 33, note 46.

[15] R. G. Adams, *Three Americanists* (Philadelphia, 1939), 7, 15.

Frontenac's engineer between the years 1672–1682. This is the only map where the name Bazire is used to designate the Arkansas River." When Harrisse wrote this note the anonymous map on which the Arkansas River is also called "Riuiere Basire" had not yet come to light. "The names *La Frontenacie, Buade, l'outrelaise* etc., etc. lead me to believe that this is the original Randin map described in my Notes sur la Nouvelle France, p. xxv and No. 241, which has disappeared from the archives of the French Navy within the last 30 years." Hence it might seem that Harrisse acquired this map for Barlow about 1876.

Although in 1871, Harrisse did not find the map in the archives, he nevertheless wrote that it had been made by Randin, an engineer who was under obligation to Frontenac, probably because he had seen it so listed in the archives catalogue. Again, Margry positively identifies Randin as the author of a map of which he made two partial tracings, and the legends on the more complete tracing—except for variants in spelling—are identical with the legends on the map in the John Carter Brown Library, a map which, as we have seen, is not signed. This map, we may also add, bears no indication —stamp or manuscript note—of ever having been in the French archives, any more than does the anonymous map. Hence the question arises: was Harrisse correct in believing that this map is Randin's original?

To settle this question, Dr. L. C. Wroth, the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, kindly measured for me three sets of distances on the map, and I measured the same distances on Margry's tracings in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library. The result of the comparison of the two sets of measurements is conclusive: The original Randin map which Margry traced was 2.4 times larger than the map in the John Carter Brown Library. The latter map is certainly a contemporary copy of Randin's original, but whether it was made by Randin himself cannot be ascertained, for we have no specimen of Randin's handwriting except his signature.

The importance of these facts will be manifest when we come to compare the nomenclature on this map with that on the other early maps based on Jolliet's orginal. Although we do not know whether the variants in the tracing are due to Margry's carelessness, it is virtually certain that the map which we have, whether or not it was made by Randin himself, differs from the one which Margry traced. Neither Jolliet, nor Franquelin, nor Delisle, nor any of the mapmakers of this period ever made an exact duplicate of one of their earlier maps.

Because of the identity of the legends on Margry's tracing of Randin's map with those of the map in the John Carter Brown Library, we shall refer to the latter as the Randin map to avoid confusion, although it may be simply a copy by someone else of Randin's original.

The next problem is Randin's identity. All those who have had occasion to speak of this map, myself included, have identified its author as Hugues Randin; this, however, is far from certain. The name "Randin" occurs several times in the official correspondence from 1670 to 1680, but owing to the habitual omission of Christian names in these letters, it is often difficult to identify one of several individuals with the same family name.

Hugues Randin came to Canada in 1665 as an ensign in the Sorel company of the Carignan regiment.[16] The year of his birth is mentioned as 1628. This is an error, for he was only twenty-nine years old at his death in 1677. The year 1628 is that of the birth of Pierre de Sorel, the captain of the company in which Hugues Randin was an ensign; and this Pierre de Sorel was the uncle of Antoine and Marc Antoine Randin.[17] That these two brothers were related to Hugues is an assumption not yet proved.

The first mention of a Randin in the official correspondence is in a letter of Talon. In May 1671, the intendant sent a thirty-five ton vessel to Pentagouet [Penobscot] to bring clothing and shoes to Port Royal [Annapolis Royal, N. S.] and gave orders to examine the whole Acadian coast down to Pentagouet during the journey, adding that "the officer in command of this vessel is quite capable and has orders to make a complete report of all that he observed." Talon also said that if this officer came back before the last ship leaves Quebec for France, he himself would forward the report this year.[18] From another letter of Talon of the following week we learn who the officer was: "The ship about which I was worried

[16] R. Roy and G. Malchelosse, *Le Régiment de Carignan* (Montreal, 1925), 73, 101.

[17] "Par deuant Gilles Rageot . . . fut present en sa personne Antoine Randin Escuyer Capitaine reformé au Regiment de Picardie faisant tant pour luy q. pour Marc Antoine Randin Escuyer Capitaine dans le Regiment de Piedmont son frere neueus de deffunct pierre De Saurel Escuyer seigneur du lieu, Lequel l'a fait et constitué son procureur General Et special auquel Il donne plain pouuoir puissance et authorité de pour Eux Et en leur nom prendre ou Renoncer a la succession dud[t] deffunct Sieur De Saurel sy le cas y eschet apres le deceds de damoiselle Catherine Le Gardeur sa veufue . . ." Archives Judiciaires, Quebec; Greffe, Rageot, no. 2772, June 7, 1684.—The entry in A. Roy, ed., *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, 4:118 (Quebec, 1943), is erroneous.

[18] Talon to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (RAPQ) *pour 1930–1931* (Quebec, 1931), 157.

has returned, and Sieur Randin, the officer in command, has brought back answers to the list of questions which I had given him."[19]

In July 1673, there was a Randin with Frontenac at Cataracouy, who was "busy tracing out the fort at the place designated by the Count, and according to the plan which had been approved by him."[20] After his return from Lake Ontario, when Frontenac wrote to Colbert that he was sending Jacques de Chambly to Penobscot to take the place of Grandfontaine who was returning to France, he referred to Randin again. As soon as navigation on the St. Lawrence permits, he says, Chambly will leave on a small ship "with Sieur Randin in command. He is a very capable nobleman who was a lieutenant [when I arrived] here. He is well versed in military engineering, and I employed him in building the fort [Frontenac] as well as in drawing all the maps which I am sending to you."[21]

There are several difficulties against identifying the Randin mentioned in these letters of Talon and Frontenac as Hugues Randin.

First, it seems unusual, to say the least, that Talon should put a twenty-four year old army man in command of a ship, especially for a voyage on the St. Lawrence.[22] From Frontenac's letter, moreover, it is clear that the Randin whom he sent to Acadia in 1673 in command of a ship, was a mapmaker, and that he was the same man whom he had employed in building the fort at Cataracouy. Secondly, Frontenac calls this Randin a nobleman (*gentilhomme*), and there is no suggestion of nobility in Hugues Randin's burial act. Thirdly, Frontenac says that this Sieur Randin was a lieutenant when he arrived in New France at the beginning of September 1672. Now, two months later, Talon granted to "Sieur Raudin Enseigne de la Companie de Saurel," a concession on the St. Lawrence "as a reward for the good, useful, and praiseworthy services which he rendered to His Majesty in various places in France as well as in Canada ever since he came here by order of His Majesty."[23] We

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[19] Talon to Colbert, November 11, 1671, *ibid.*, 163.

[20] Journal of Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673, E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), 9:104 (Albany, 1855).

[21] Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 45.

[22] "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years, 1674-1686," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945):92f.

[23] Ordonnances des Intendants, minute, 21–22. Archives de la Province de Québec.—In this minute his name is spelled "Raudin," but he signed "Randin."

know that this "ensign" was Hugues because in the following year, Hugues Randin sold this concession to Alexandre de Berthier.[24]

A Randin is again mentioned in the official correspondence on November 6, 1679. On this day Frontenac wrote that three years earlier he had sent Randin with presents to the Sioux to induce these Indians to make peace with the Ottawa.[25] While in the West, Randin engaged in trade, as can be seen from the letter of Duchesneau to Colbert: "It is he [Pierre Moreau *dit* La Taupine] whom he [Frontenac] employs to carry his orders and to trade among the Ottawa, and also to bring down the peltries left there by one Randin, that so-called ambassador sent to the Sioux. The governor was in partnership with him and with his associates. I am sending you a certified copy of the partnership contract."[26] We know that the Randin here mentioned was Hugues, from a letter of La Salle in which he refers to this embassy of the *late* Sieur Randin.[27]

La Salle wrote this letter in August 1681, but does not say when "the late Sieur Randin" died. Without giving any reason, some have said that Hugues Randin's death took place before January 1681, and all have identified as Hugues the Randin to whom Frontenac and Duchesneau granted a concession in Acadia in 1679. This is quite impossible, for the actual date of Randin's death was more than two years earlier, as may be seen from the following.

When he went to the Ottawa country in 1676, Hugues Randin borrowed trade goods and money from Geneviève de Chavigny. On January 28, 1677, she went to Hugues Randin's house in Quebec together with Becquet the notary and two witnesses. Randin declared that his indebtedness amounted to 1,500 livres, and thereupon mortgaged all his possessions as a guarantee of repayment.[28] Two weeks later,

> On the twelfth of the month of February of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, Sieur Hugues Randin, about twenty-nine years old, the son of Sieur Etienne Randin, his father, and of Demoiselle Hyppolize Saurot, his mother, from the parish of Ecuilly, archbishopric of Lyons, died in the communion of Holy Mother the Church, after having made his confession and received Viaticum and Extreme-Unction. His body

[24] Archives Judiciaires, Quebec; Greffe Becquet, Cahier no. 19, November 3, 1673. Cf. S. A. Moreau, "Le Capitaine Alexandre de Berthier," *Bulletin des Recherches historiques*, 7 (1901):155.

[25] Frontenac to Colbert, November 9, 1679, RAPQ, 1927, 105.

[26] Duchesneau to Colbert, November 13, 1680, NYCD, 9:142.

[27] La Salle to——, August 22, 1861, Margry, 2:252.

[28] Archives Judiciaires, Quebec; Greffe Becquet, minute, January 28, 1677.

was buried on the thirteenth day of the same month in the cemetery of this parish. (*Signed*) H. DeBernieres.[29]

Father Le Jeune ends his article on Randin as follows: "In 1684, Antoine Randin de Buily, captain in the Picardie Regiment, brother and heir of Hugues, came to Canada to settle his brother's estate. On June 5, he deeded over to the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec the Acadian seigniory 'as a token of his pious and devoted affection to the nuns of this monastery,' providing that half the value be used for the promotion of pious and charitable works.[30]

No authority is given for saying that Antoine Randin is the brother of Hugues; nor is it explained why Antoine waited seven years before attending to the estate of his brother. We have already seen that Antoine Randin was in Quebec at the beginning of June 1684, to settle the affairs of his uncle, Pierre de Sorel, who had died at Montreal in November 1682. We also saw that the Acadian concession could not have been granted to Hugues Randin in 1679, and since Antoine Randin did in fact dispose of an Acadian land grant in favor of the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu, we conclude that he was the beneficiary of the concession of 1679. When we know for certain that this Randin is the same man whom Frontenac sent to Acadia in 1674, we will be able to identify him as the author of the map. What we know now is that the man whom Frontenac sent to Acadia was certainly not Hugues; for Frontenac's man was a lieutenant in September 1672,[31] whereas in an official document of November of the same year, Hugues Randin is said to be an ensign.

Randin's map[33] represents the North American Continent from

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[29] Régistre des sépultures de la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Québec, pour l'année mil six cent soixante-douze et suivantes, folio, 237.—Randin was buried in the St. Joseph cemetery. P.-G. Roy, *Les cimetières de Québec* (Lévis, 1941), 79.

[30] L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire général . . . du Canada* (2 vols., Ottawa, 1931), *s. v.* Randin (Hugues).

[31] In 1902, B. Sulte published an article entitled "Le Régiment de Carignan," *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 2d series, vol. 8 (1902), section 1, 25–95. On page 72, he lists a Randin as an ensign in the Sorel company, and identifies him as Frontenac's engineer. Twenty years later, this article was reprinted in Sulte's *Mélanges historiques*, G. Malchelosse, ed., (vol. 8, Montreal, 1922). On page 133, under the general heading *Lieutenants* is found the following entry: "Randin, ingénieur, cartographe, Compagnie d'Alexandre Berthier." This would be the solution: there were two Randins in the Carignan regiment; one, Hugues, an ensign in the Sorel company; the other, a lieutenant in the Berthier company. Three years later, however, when G. Malchelosse, the editor of Sulte's *Mélanges*, cooperated with R. Roy in writing *Le Régiment de Carignan*, no Randin is listed as lieutenant in the Berthier company.

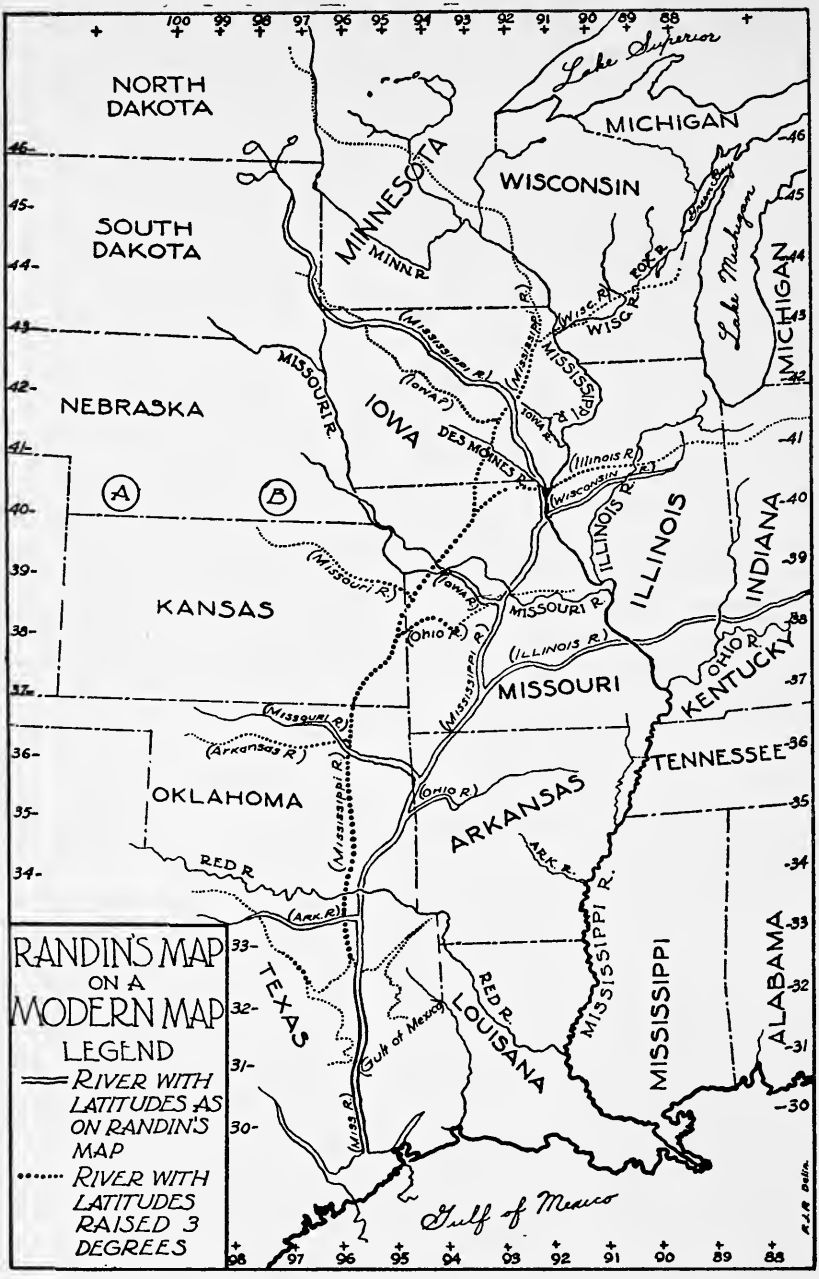
[32] Reduced reproduction in S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, pl. VI.

N. latitude 23° to N. latitude 51°, whereas the anonymous map extends from N. latitude 27° to N. latitude 59°. On the latter the longitudes are not shown, but on the Randin map they are marked off and numbered from 266° to 325°. The projection is the equal-spaced cylindrical. In this projection the meridians and the parallels are straight lines forming two parallel systems mutually perpendicular, and the ratio between the spacing of the meridians and that of the parallels is the cosine of latitude 38°, the middle latitude of the map. For some unknown reason, the grid is not that of the equal-spaced cylindrical, but that of the plate-carrée projection; in other words, after Randin had drawn his map according to his model the projection of which was the equal-spaced cylindrical, he superimposed upon the finished map a set of equidistant and mutually perpendicular meridians and parallels.

With regard to the anonymous map we cannot determine the basic map which its author used, for his delineation of the North American Continent is too sketchy and the nomenclature is too sparse. Randin's nomenclature, on the other hand, makes it clear that he used as a model a Dutch version of a Spanish map. As is to be expected on a map drawn in Canada, Randin's place-names are very numerous on the banks of the St. Lawrence below Quebec. The only other section of New France where the place-names are more numerous is the east coast of Acadia, and this may be taken as an indication that the author of the map is the Randin who was sent by Talon to survey the Acadian coast.

In this basic map Randin inserted the five Great Lakes and the Mississippi with its tributaries as on the anonymous map. If the Great Lakes were similarly delineated on Randin's original, this would be the first time that they appeared on a map with any degree of accuracy. Lake Superior is taken from the Jesuit map of 1671; the delineation of the northern part of Lake Michigan and of Lake Huron is taken from the same map; while the south and eastern shores of Lake Michigan are conjectural. The delineation of Lake St. Clair and of the southern part of Lake Huron is derived from the 1656 Sanson map of New France. Probably because of a passage in Galinée's account, Lake Erie is given a much larger area than its actual size. The representation of Lake Ontario is a variant of one of the numerous maps showing this lake.

To dispense with making elaborate comparisons between the actual course of the Mississippi and its course as shown on the Randin map, the river has been transposed twice on a modern map.


NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Gulf of Mexico
MINN R.
MISSOURI R.
MISSISSIPPI R.
IOWA R.
DES MOINES R.
ILLINOIS R.
WISCONSIN R.
WISC R.
FOX R.
OHIO R.
ARK R.
RED R.
(Missouri R.)
(Mississippi R.)
(Iowa R.)
(Ohio R.)
(Illinois R.)
(Arkansas R.)
(Ark. R.)
(Miss. R.)
A
B
RANDIN'S MAP ON A MODERN MAP
LEGEND
RIVER WITH LATITUDES AS ON RANDIN'S MAP
RIVER WITH LATITUDES RAISED 3 DEGREES
R.J.R. Delin.

The double line represents the first transposition. The Wisconsin-Mississippi confluence had been placed at the same latitude as on the Randin map, and at W. longitude 91°30′. The reason for selecting this longitude is as follows. Because we do not know where the prime meridian on Randin's basic map was located, we have no means of knowing where North America would appear on the globe. If we suppose that this prime meridian was the western part of Ferro Island, the Wisconsin-Mississippi confluence should be at A, in Hitchcock County, Nebraska. This is quite unlikely, for the Dutch geographer who made Randin's basic map was not bound by the decree of Louis XIII which obliged all Frenchmen to use Ferro as their prime meridian.

If as a basis of our computations we were to take the longitudinal difference between Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, nine degrees of longitude on Randin's map instead of the actual three, the Wisconsin would join the Mississippi six degrees west of longitude 91°30′, at B, in Nuckoll County, Nebraska. If, however, one takes as the prime meridian that which grazes the east coast of the Floridan peninsula (the 80th West of Greenwich), the longitudinal difference between this meridian and Prairie du Chien is nearly the same on Randin's map as on a modern map. Because this method of calculation approximates the true longitudinal relation between these two points, we have placed the junction of the Mississippi and the Wisconsin at 91°31′ W. longitude, fifteen minutes west of the true longitude of Prairie du Chien.

The difference between the first—the double line—and the second—the dotted line—superimposition is that the Mississippi-Wisconsin confluence has been raised three degrees, thus making it nearly coincide with its actual position.

3) The Manitoumie Map

The third contemporary map is that published by Thévenot in 1681.[33] The original draft of this map, however, was made several years earlier than the date of its publication.

Some writers have said that Marquette was the author of the Thévenot map; others, that it was the work of a Western Jesuit; and nearly a century ago, Shea surmised that it was a Jolliet map. Though his surmise was correct, Shea could not prove his contention, because he lacked the other maps analyzed in the present article

[33] M. Thévenot, ed., *Recueil de voyages de Mr Thevenot* (Paris, 1681), frontispiece.

as well as the manuscript map used by Liébaux to engrave that published by Thévenot. This manuscript map is available today in two states which, for the sake of convenience, we shall call Manitoumie I[34] and Manitoumie II.[35]

The variants between the Thévenot and the two Manitoumie maps do not mean that Liébaux used a different map as his model, for it is well-known that seventeenth century engravers did not always reproduce exactly the drafts that were given them. This freedom partly accounts for the omissions, changes in spelling, differences of latitudes and inaccurate positions noticeable in those maps of which we have the manuscript and the engraved product. In the present case, Liébaux omitted "Mexique," "Floride," "On est venu iusques icy a la hauteur de 33 degrez," and "Statue ou les Sauuages vont faire leurs adorations." He also omitted the inscription "Terres inhabitées," which appears on both Manitoumies east of the Mississippi between the Illinois and the Ohio rivers; and inserted instead the wind-rose which on his model is found west of the Mississippi between the Gulf and the southernmost large tributary. Other minor changes are noted in the second part of this article.

The wording of the title of the Manitoumie differs widely from that of Thévenot's map; it reads as follows:[36]

Carte | | de la Nouvelle decouverte // | | que les [RR.] Peres Iesuites

[34] Reproduced in facsimile in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI*e *au XVII*e *siècle* (Paris, 1892), pl. 30. In the letter-press volume accompanying this atlas, p. 106, and in his *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1885), 8, no. 7, Marcel gives as reference the Dépôt des Cartes, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), vol. C., 17701. This volume was the seventh of a collection; the other six have not been found.—A photographic reproduction of the original is in L. P. Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634–1699* (New York, c1917), between pp. 228–229. The original is listed by W. G. Leland in *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris* (Washington, D. C., 1932), 226, with the call-number Rés. Ge. C. 5014.

[35] Photograph of the original (BN, Vd 30, Estampes) in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions. This is the map that could not be found when Harrisse was preparing his *Notes*, 194, no. 202.—Three tracings of this map were made in the middle of last century. One by L. P. Morin for the Dominion Parliamentary Library, Ottawa; another by Margry, which is now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago; the third, which was made for Parkman, is now in the Harvard Library, and is referred to as 'Parkman No. 5.' This last, an imperfect tracing, was reproduced by L. P. Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map Possibly Identified," in *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1906 (Madison, 1907), between pp. 184–185.

[36] The cuttings in the title of Manitoumie I are indicated thus //, those of Manitoumie II thus | |. The letters or words omitted in the title of the first are in parentheses ( ); those omitted in the second are in brackets [ ].

ont fait en l'année // 1672, || et continuée par le [R.] P[ere] Jacques Marquette de la || mesme Compagnie, accompagné // de quelq[ues] Francois || en lannée 1673, qu'on pourra nom-//mer (en francois) || la Manitoumie, || a cause de la Statue qui s'est trouvée // dans une || belle vallée, et que les Sauvages vont re-coñoistre // || pour leur Diuinité, qu'ils appellent Manitou, qui || si-//gnifie Esprit, ou Génie.

The Thévenot map is entitled: Carte de la decouverte || fait l'an 1673. dans l'Amerique || Septentrionale || . These words are not boxed, as is the title of Manitoumie I; and the title of Manitoumie II is inserted in an elaborate cartouche representing a Jesuit instructing Indians.

The more elaborate cartouche of Manitoumie II and the differences in the wording of the title suggests that Manitoumie I is an earlier draft. This is corroborated by the following particularities. When the draughtsman had redrawn his map, he inserted a frame which is lacking on Manitoumie I. On the north side of the map this frame cut across the legend "Lac des Puans," so that only the first word appears on Manitoumie II. Because he drew the frame too close to the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the legend "Golphe du Mexique" and the first two letters of the word "Mexique" no longer showed on the map. To remedy these mutilations, he wrote in cursive "Golphe de Mexique" between the shore and the frame, and inscribed the two missing letters above "XIQUE."

Liébaux did some further cutting. He clipped a few centimeters off the west side of the map, so that the frame is close to the westernmost names of Indian tribes; and he also cut off a few centimeters off the east side, leaving just enough of Lake Michigan to inscribe the legend off the west shore. It is apparent that Liébaux had both the Manitoumie maps, for on Thévenot's map the northern part extends to the tip of the Green Bay peninsula as on Manitoumie I, while the southern part shows the Gulf of Mexico as on Manitoumie II.

On all three maps the latitudes are marked off and numbered on the east side; but as in the case of the anonymous map, the longtitudes are not marked. Since there is no scale, use must be made of the degree of latitude to calculate distances and positions.

Although these three maps are ultimately based on the same original draft, we will use Manitoumie I for comparison with the anonymous map and with those of Randin and Franquelin, because it is closest to the prototype.

When Shea published his facsimile of Marquette's autograph, he wrote that the map in Thévenot's book

> is so different from that which still exists in the handwriting of Father Marquette, that it is not probable that it was taken from it. With greater likelihood we may believe it to be Jolliet's map drawn from recollection, which Frontenac, as his despatch tells us, transmitted to France in 1674, and not a blundering copy.[37]

In his *La Salle* Parkman wrote as follows: "The map published by Thévenot . . . is not Marquette's. The original of this, of which I have a fac-simile bears the title *Carte de la Nouvelle Découverte* . . . ."[38] What Parkham had was a tracing of Manitoumie II, which he describes in the appendix as having been "made by the Jesuits," and as being "the same [which was] published by Thévenot, not without considerable variations . . . . The whole map is so crude and careless, and based on information so inexact that it is of little interest."[39] He next describes the so-called "Missions map,"[40] which he supposed was also made by the Jesuits, and then goes on to say: "Of far greater interest is the small map of Louis Joliet, made and presented to Count Frontenac after the discoverer's return from the Mississippi."

As we shall see, this "small map" was made by Bernou and is an inaccurate and incomplete copy of Franquelin's map of the Great Lakes. We have here another example of Parkman's astigmatism where the Jesuits are concerned. Manitoumie II was not made by the Jesuits, but for them; they supplied the draughtsman with a variant of the map which Jolliet had drawn from memory in 1674. As for the "Missions map," nobody knows by whom, for whom, when or where it was made. Parkman's disparaging comments on Manitoumie II are explained by his belief that it was a Jesuit map, and are on a par with his comments on the Jesuit map of Lake Superior. The only value of his strictures or commenda-

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[37] J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852), lxxv.

[38] F. Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (11th ed., Boston, 1907), 65, note 2.

[39] *Ibid.*, 451f. Cf. N. M. Crouse, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632–1675* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1924), 113f.

[40] It is called the "Missions map" because the various Jesuit missions in the West are marked by crosses. The original is in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (BSH), B 4044–47; facsimile reproduction in A.-L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux États-Unis et au Canada, New York, Boston, Montréal, Québec, Louisbourg (1651–1731)* (Paris, 1893), pl. 17. A tracing of this map made for Parkman is inaccurate and incomplete; it is reproduced in L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), facing p. 150.

tions of the maps which he discusses in the appendix to his *La Salle* is the evidence they afford of his prejudices and preconceptions.

The only worth while study of the Manitoumie map is that by L. P. Kellogg.[41] At the end of her article she draws four conclusions from the evidence presented. We have shown that her first conclusion is untenable;[42] but her second conclusion is undoubtedly correct; namely, " 'Parkman No. 5 [Manitoumie II]' is a copy of the prototype of the one published by Thévenot in 1681." The third conclusion is that the original of 'Parkman No. 5' "is an authentic work of the explorers"; and the fourth that "while the authorship of the original of which 'Parkman No. 5' is a copy cannot positively be asserted, indications are sufficient to warrant the supposition that this was a genuine map of Marquette, prepared by him to embody the results of his voyage of exploration."[43]

Twenty years later, Miss Kellogg revised these last two conclusions, saying that

> Marquette never drew but one map, which is in Montreal . . . The map known as 'Parkman No. 5,' of which there are several variations, was, I believe, prepared under the auspices of the Jesuits . . . Peter A. Porter, of Buffalo, believes the Manitoumie maps were adapted from an original left in the West by Jolliet. I cannot concur in this opinion, but consider it probable that they were prepared by one of the western Jesuits from data given by Marquette.[44]

Porter's opinion, which is that of Shea, rightly identifies the author of the original; this original, however, had not been left in the West by Jolliet, but is the map which he drew from memory in Quebec between August and November 1674. In the article published in 1907, Miss Kellogg had said that the opinion that Marquette was the author of the map published by Thévenot was discarded when the Montreal holograph came to light. "Shea supposed that Thévenot's chart might have been made by Jolliet; but the latter's original was later found with the dedication to Count de Frontenac, proving the authenticity."[45] The supposed Jolliet original here referred to is the copy made by the anonymous draughtsman.

The fundamental mistake throughout Miss Kellogg's article is the assumption that Marquette was the author of the *Récit des voyages*, which is called the missionary's journal. Impressed by the

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41 Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map, *loc. cit.*, 183–193.
42 "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945) :30ff.
43 Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map," *loc. cit.*, 192f.
44 Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, 200, note 29.
45 Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map," *loc. cit.*, 183.

striking correspondence between the geographical features of the map and the geography of the *Récit*, she argued that the two documents had a common author. This striking correspondence, however, comes from the fact that the author of the *Récit* described in his narrative the geographical features marked on the map. Had Miss Kellogg made a detailed comparison of the nomenclatures of the anonymous map, the Randin map, and the Franquelin map with the nomenclature of the Manitoumie, she could not have failed to see how similar were all the place-names inscribed in these maps, and she would undoubtedly have reached the conclusion that they were all ultimately based on a single prototype. Had she also noticed how much more schematic the course of the Mississippi is on all these maps than on Marquette's map, which we know was drawn from data in the journal of the expedition, she would have further concluded that this prototype is the map drawn from memory by Jolliet.

The next question is to determine the origin of the sketch used by the draughtsman of the Manitoumie map. The title and the cartouche of Manitoumie II led Parkman to attribute it to the Jesuits. As a matter of fact a sketch made by a Jesuit was given to the Paris draughtsman of the Manitoumie. This question of origin involves two steps; first, to determine the place where the sketch was made; and secondly, to identify the author of the sketch. The first of these points will be treated at once; the second will be discussed in a later section of this article.

At the end of the seventeenth century, an album was made in Quebec which contains drawings of Indians, of plants and of animals, and also includes two maps.[46] One of these shows the course of the St. Lawrence from Sault Ste Marie to the Ocean; the other is a map of the Mississippi River. Although the measurements of the latter are the same as those of the Thévenot map, the following facts prove that the draughtsman had a copy of the sketch used for the Manitoumie.

(1) The title of this second map in the album is a variant of the Manitoumie title: "Carte de la nouuelle Decouverte que les Missionnaires ont fait en l'annee 1673 au dela du Lac des Ilinois. on appelle ces nouuelles terres la Manitoünie." On the map west of the Mississippi the draughtsman wrote: "Terre de la Mani-

[46] *Les Raretés des Indes.* "Codex Canadiensis." *Album manuscrit . . . contenant 180 dessins concernant les indigènes, leurs coutumes, tatouages, la faune et la flore de la Nouvelle France, plus deux cartes . . .* Précédé d'un Avant-propos par le Baron Marc de Villiers (Paris, 1930).— The approximate date is deduced from an inscription on p. 77.

tounie." In a band outside the frame of the map, there is a drawing of a fierce-looking reptile; lest it should be mistaken for some fabulous animal, the draughtsman legended it: "Serpent asonnette qui se trouue dans le pays de la Manitounie."

(2) Two legends of the Manitoumie maps—*Mexique* and *Floride*—which are not on the Thévenot map, are marked on the Mississippi map in this album at the same place as on the Manitoumies.

(3) The terminus of the expedition is not indicated on the Thévenot map. On the two Manitoumies there is a cross on the west bank of the Mississippi and the following inscription on the east bank of the river: "On est venu iusques icy a la hauteur de 33 degrez." The "Codex Canadiensis" map has: "Les françois ont esté icy lan 1673 a la hauteur de 34 degres."

(4) On the Thévenot map there is a statue under which is the single word: "Manit8." Under the picture of a man on the Manitoumie maps, is found the legend: "Manit8 Statue ou les Sauuages vont faire leurs adorations." On the map in the "Codex Canadiensis," underneath the drawing of the bust of a man the inscription reads as follows: "Manitou ou les Sauuages vont faire Leurs adorations."

From these and other similarities which are pointed out in the second part of this article we argue as follows: The above legends and inscriptions are found on only one map, the Manitoumie, and at the end of the seventeenth century the two manuscripts which have come down to us were certainly in Paris. Now, although the draughtsman of a map of the Mississippi made in Quebec at the end of the seventeenth century used Thévenot as his model, his inscriptions and legends correspond unmistakably with those on the Manitoumie map. The only reasonable conclusion is that he had at his disposal a map containing the Manitoumie inscriptions and legends. Since the Manitoumie maps were in Paris at this time, he must have had in Quebec a copy of the manuscript draft.

4) The Franquelin Map of 1678

This map is included because it helps to ascertain the appearance and the nomenclature of Jolliet's lost map.[47]

Parkman ends his description of this map with these words:

[47] Carte Gnlle de la France Septen. Trionnalle Contenant la découuerte du pays des Ilinois Faite Par le Sieur Jolliet. A photograph of the original in BSH, B 4040-11, is in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions.—For the date of this map, cf. J. Delanglez, "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1943):56f.

"[It] is an early effort of the engineer Franquelin [which] does more credit to his skill as a designer than to his geographical knowledge, which appears in some respects behind his time."[48] Franquelin was never appointed engineer, although he repeatedly asked for this position;[49] and it is not true that Franquelin was behind his time with regard to the geographical knowledge of the Mississippi Valley in 1678.[50]

Gravier held that although the map is signed by Franquelin, the sketch on which it is based is Jolliet's. His first reason for this view is childish and need not detain us. His second reason is put forward as conclusive: "Mr. Parkman's description, which we checked on the map of the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine [now BSH], corresponds exactly to the quite characteristic delineation of an hitherto unknown map [the anonymous] of Jolliet which is before us. The result of the close comparison which we made of these two monuments is that the sketch is Jolliet's and the finished product Franquelin's."[51]

The "characteristic delineation" referred to is that of the North American Continent, which is indeed similar on both maps; this would only prove that both the anonymous copyist and Franquelin used the same outline of North America. What needs to be proved is that the map of the voyage of 1673 was furnished by Jolliet to Franquelin. Now, the latter specifies that his general map of North America illustrates in particular "the discovery made by Sieur Jolliet of the Illinois country"; and in March 1680, Duchesneau gives as one of the reasons for granting in fief Anticosti Island to Jolliet, "the discovery made by the said Jolliet of the Illinois country, of which he gave us a sketch which served to draw the map which we sent two years ago to my Lord Colbert, Minister and Secretary of State."[52]

If we make a comparative study of the nomenclature on Franquelin's map for the making of which Jolliet himself supplied the sketch, we see that this nomenclature generally agrees with the nomenclature of the other three maps. We say "generally," because

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[48] *La Salle*, 454. Gravier translated Parkman's description in his *Étude sur une Carte inconnue*, 11–13. Cf. also J. Delanglez, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana* (Chicago, 1941), 109f, 139f.

[49] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *loc. cit.*, 39f.

[50] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *loc. cit.*, 57, for Parkman's comments on the inaccuracy of this map.

[51] *Étude sur une Carte inconnue*, 13.

[52] E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Ile d'Anticosti* (2nd ed., Montreal, 1913), 230.

for reasons set forth in the second part of this article, some legends were omitted, others added, and still others substituted.

From what has been said thus far regarding these maps of the Mississippi River, we are now in a position to draw some general conclusions.

First, the nomenclature of four of the earliest maps illustrating the voyage of 1673 is closely related, and in the case of the anonymous and Randin maps, the names of Indian tribes and even their grouping and position are identical. This close relation and identity indicate that these four maps must have been based on a common prototype.

Secondly, the nomenclature on the four maps does not essentially differ from that on Marquette's map which we know was based on the journal kept during the expedition of 1673.

Thirdly, the similarity between the nomenclature on Marquette's map and on the other four, shows that their prototype was the work of one who took part in the voyage.

Fourthly, we know that among those who took part in the expedition no one except Jolliet was capable of constructing a map, and that after his return to Quebec in 1674, he actually drew from memory a map of the country explored.

Hence, from the similarity of the basic nomenclature on the four maps, and from the similarity of this basic nomenclature with that on Marquette's autograph, we conclude that the prototype used by the anonymous copyist, by Randin, by some Jesuit in Quebec, and by Franquelin was Jolliet's map.

5) The Franquelin Map of 1675

This map is known as Jolliet's larger map.[53] It represents the St. Lawrence Basin from Montreal to the western end of Lake Superior, and the course of the Mississippi from its supposed headwaters at latitude 47° to the mouth of the Ohio, located slightly below latitude 38°.

As is well known, Margry vainly attempted to prove that La Salle went to the Mississippi prior to 1673; but he wavered as to the

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[53] Carte de la descouuerte du S[r] Jolliet ou l'on voit la communication du Fleuue S[t] Laurens auec les Lacs Frontenac, Erié, Lac des Hurons, et Ilinois, le Lac Frontenac est separé par un sault de demye Lieue du Lac Erié, duquel on entre dans celuy des Hurons, et par une mesme Nauigation a celuy des Ilinois au bout duquel on va joindre la Riuiere diuine par un portage de Mille pas qui tombe dans la Riuiere Colbert et se descharge dans le sein Mexique. BSH, B 4044–37; photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions.

route followed and the year in which this "discovery" took place. He first said that La Salle reached the Mississippi by the Ohio in 1670; later, that it was by way of the Illinois in 1669. His "proofs" have been found unacceptable by all serious students of the history of discovery and exploration of North America. But La Salle's descent of the Ohio is still looked upon as a fact, mainly because of an inscription on Franquelin's map of 1675.

Parkman, for instance, wrote that La Salle's rival "Louis Joliet, whose testimony on this point cannot be suspected, made two maps of the region of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. The Ohio is laid down on both of them, with an inscription to the effect that it had been explored by La Salle. That he discovered the Ohio may then be regarded as established."[54] Parkman failed to mention a slight detail: the course of the Ohio and the inscription are interpolations by a later, clumsy hand, certainly not by Jolliet.[55] On Barlow's tracing,[56] and on that made by Margry which is today in the Ayer Collection, the interpolation of the course of the Ohio is clearly noticeable.

By 1676, this so-called Jolliet larger map had reached the hands of Claude Bernou who made a copy of it on a smaller scale.[57] It stands to reason that on this reduced copy the interpolation can no longer be detected, which is perhaps one of the reasons why Parkman considered it to be of such great interest. Another reason may be the different wording of the inscription along the Ohio. The interpolator wrote: "Route du Sieur de la Salle pour Aller dans le Mexique"; Bernou changed this to read: "Riuiere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du Lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique." The first inscription may simply mean that La Salle knew of this route as a possible route to Mexico. The second inscription asserts that La Salle actually went down the Ohio on his way to Mexico.

It is remarkable how highly Bernou's copy has been praised, although its draughtsmanship is much inferior to the model. Besides

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[54] *La Salle*, 24f. See also Gravier, *Étude sur une Carte inconnue*, 40.

[55] C. H. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (2 vols., New York, 1911), 2:213f; J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, 32f.

[56] See the sketch in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 4:212.

[57] Carte de la découuerte du Sr Jolliet . . . , facsimile in Marcel, Reproductions de cartes et de globes, p. 27, from BSH, B 4044–49. The variant in the title is discussed in "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources, MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945):229; the date when Bernou was in possession of this map is deduced from one of his questionnaires; "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *ibid.*, 28 (1946):11f.—About 1700, Bernou gave his copy to Claude Delisle; "The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703," *ibid.*, 25 (1943):285.

changing the interpolated inscription, Bernou omitted five legends or inscriptions, one of which refers to the outgoing journey of Jolliet; he added other legends, such as a short portage between the Ohio and a river which, from the position of its mouth at the southwest end of Lake Erie, can only be the Maumee. Finally, he invented a wide waterway between Munising, Michigan, and Little Bay De Noc, thus joining Lake Superior directly to Green Bay.

The truth is that Bernou's reduction is valueless for studying the cartographical evolution of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley.[58] The single item of information which it supplies is that Bernou also had a copy of Jolliet's lost map.

It is still more difficult to understand how this map could be attributed to Jolliet more than forty years after Marcel's publication of its facsimile. Unless one had seen specimens of Bernou's handwriting, of which there are hundreds of pages in the Bibliothèque Nationale, it might have been difficult to identify Bernou as its author, but it should have been easy to compare the handwriting of the letter inscribed in a band below the map itself with specimens of Jolliet's genuine handwriting. Such a comparison would have made it evident that the explorer had not drawn this map. Moreover, one wonders why those who have seen photographs of the anonymous map, of the larger and of the smaller maps persist in saying that they were all made by Jolliet. Jolliet might conceivably have drawn one of these three maps, but he cannot have drawn all three.

I formerly held as probable that the so-called Jolliet larger map was the work of Randin;[59] but several reasons have concurred to make me believe that Franquelin is more probably its author.

The first reason is the similarity of the handwriting of the letter inscribed in a band on the left-hand side of the map with Franquelin's handwriting, of which there are twenty-five pages—six memorials and an autograph letter—in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[60]

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[58] Parkman (*La Salle*, 453) wrote: "A part of this map [Bernou's reduction] is based on the Jesuit map of Lake Superior, the legends being here for the most part identical, though the shape of the lake is better given by Jolliet."—We have here another instance of Parkman's typical attitude. All that Bernou did was to copy the legends from the larger map, whose author had in turn copied them from the Jesuit map; and anyone can see that the shape of Lake Superior is better given on the larger map, first, because its author was a more skillful draughtsman than Bernou, and secondly, because he followed more closely the Jesuit map of 1671.

[59] *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 109.

[60] BN, Clairambault, 879:278–294.

Another reason for attributing this map to Franquelin is the similarity in style with other maps which were certainly made by him, in particular with a map of the St. Lawrence based on "memoirs and observations of Sieur Jolliett."[61]

The third reason is the following passage in one of Franquelin's petitions to the minister: "Toward the end of 1674, they [Frontenac and Duchnesneau] received orders from the Court to send plans of various parts of the colony and several maps of the newly discovered countries, and persuaded him [Franquelin] to give up his trading and to devote his time to mapmaking . . ."[62] I have pointed out that, except for the mention of Duchesneau being in Canada in 1674, the rest of the passage is entirely accurate, and that this slight error was easily explained by the fact that Franquelin wrote this petition nearly twenty years later.[63]

We have called attention to important changes which Franquelin introduced or was told to introduce in the wording of Jolliet's dedicatory letter as preserved by the anonymous copyist;[64] as we shall see, corresponding changes were made in the original nomenclature as preserved by the anonymous copyist and by Randin. For these reasons, Franquelin's map must be dated later than Jolliet's original, which was more faithfully reproduced by the anonymous copyist and by Randin. We saw that Franquelin began his cartographical work "toward the end of 1674," and we know that Bernou in Paris had already made a copy of Franquelin's map in the first months of 1676.[65] For these reasons we have given 1675 as the date of Franquelin's map.

In view of what we have said thus far, it follows that this is not the map which was sent to Colbert in 1674, for Frontenac explicitly wrote to the Minister: "I am sending by my secretary the map which *he* [Jolliet] made as well as the noteworthy details which he was able to recall."[66]

There is no doubt that Franquelin used Jolliet's original as his model for the 1675 map. This can readily be seen by comparing the region west of Lake Michigan with the corresponding territory on the anonymous and on the Randin maps. Moreover, the title

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[61] ASH, 126–1–3. Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *loc. cit.*, 62; "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," *ibid.*, 27 (1945):95.

[62] Memoire touchant les voyages que Franquelin hydrographe du roy en Canada a fait a Quebec et a Paris . . . , BN, Clairambault, 879:294.

[63] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *loc. cit.*, 31.

[64] "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 229.

[65] "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 10f.

[66] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77.

specifies that the map illustrates "la decouuerte du S^r^ Jolliet," and its main purpose is to show how easy it would be to go by boat from Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico.

From the title of the map we also conclude that the lakes were shown on Jolliet's original; this is confirmed by the fact that they are shown on the anonymous and on the Randin maps. How the contours of the lakes appeared on Jolliet's original is a matter of conjecture, for, with the exception of Lake Superior, their delineation is different on each of the three maps. There is no evidence that Jolliet went farther west than Sault Ste Marie. Since we do not know which route he took in his outward journey to the West, we cannot say whether he ever was on Lake Ontario; he never saw Lake Erie, for the Jolliet whom Galinée met in 1669 is his brother Adrien; and he never saw the southern part of Lake Huron, nor the southern and eastern shores of Lake Michigan.[67]

[67] The fact that the south shore of Lake Michigan is delineated on the anonymous map is no proof that Jolliet explored it (*supra*, 70), any more than the delineation of the south shore of Lake Huron and of Lake Erie is a proof that he saw them. The further fact that there appears on the anonymous map a river coming from the southeast which empties into Lake Michigan does not mean that Jolliet "entered" the St. Joseph River. Randin's map, which is also based on Jolliet's, shows no river at this place, but there is such a river on Franquelin's map of 1675, with a circular lake 30 miles wide in the middle of its course. This last feature makes it evident that the insertion of this river in the map is no proof of actual exploration, for there was no such lake half way up the St. Joseph River in historic times.

PART II

Preliminary Remarks

From the examination of the maps in the preceding section we conclude that Jolliet's lost map had the following general appearance. The outline of the continent resembled that of the anonymous map; the Mississippi was drawn clear to the Gulf and the delineation of its course was not much different from that on the Randin map; we can no more than conjecture what was the shape of the Great Lakes.

In this section we shall attempt to determine the nomenclature that was inscribed on the map; that is, those place-names and inscriptions along the route followed by the explorers, and the names of Indian tribes they heard of during their journey.

To draw his map Jolliet had to remember the general course of the Mississippi, which was not difficult, for on his return he told Dablon that it flowed in a southward direction; he also had to remember the location of its tributaries. He did not have to remember the French legends, for these were first thought of in Quebec after his return; but he had to remember the locale of the minerals which he inscribed on his map. It was easy to inscribe the names of the northern Indian tribes, since these tribes and the general location of their villages were known in Canada before the voyage. It is surprising how well he remembered more than a score of Indian tribes below the Wisconsin River, as can be seen by comparing his nomenclature with that of Marquette.

In order to explain why we say that some names were on Jolliet's map while others were not, and why those which were, are spelled in one way rather than another, a few general observations must be made with regard to the copyists of his map.

The three transcriptions of Jolliet's dedicatory letter show that each copyist spelled the words according to his own fancy, abbreviating and capitalizing at random, with his own rules of punctuation.

The copyists were not always able to decipher the handwriting on their model, and when they met with Indian names which they had not previously heard, they transcribed what they thought was on the original.

In drawing their maps they omitted some place-names and in-

serted others; they were little concerned with inscribing the names in exactly the same places as on the original, and they were satisfied if the latitudes on their maps approximated those marked on their model. The adjoining table illustrates this last particularity.

Jolliet mentioned three latitudes to Dablon: that of the mouth of the Wisconsin (42°30′); that of the mouth of the Missouri River (at about latitude 38°); and that of the terminus of the expedition (33°), which he also repeated in his letter to Laval. We may presume that he entered them correctly on his map.

Of the five copies of this map none has Jolliet's latitudes for the mouth of the Wisconsin River or for the mouth of the Missouri; and the terminus of the expedition is indicated on the Manitoumie only, where it is placed nearly fifty miles north of the latitude given by Jolliet.

LATITUDES

LANDMARKS	MODERN MAP	MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS	RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN 1675	FRANQUELIN 1678
Three Small Northern Lakes		Not Shown		46°-48°	46°-47°	Not Shown	47°-48°	46°-47°
North Shore of Lake Superior	48°30′	Not Shown		47°30′	48°	Not Shown	49°30	48°30′
Sault Ste Marie	46°30′	46°		45°	44°40′	Not Shown	46°	45°
Mouth of the Wisconsin Riv.	43°	42°30′	42°30′	41°	40°20′	43°	42°	42°
Chicago	41°45′	40°30′		39°30′	39°	40°50′	40°50′	40°
Mouth of the (Iowa) Riv.	41°13′	Slightly Above 40°		38°30′	38°	40°55′	Not Shown	40°
Mouth of the Illinois Riv.	38°58′	Slightly Above 38°		37°	37°20′	38°30′	Slightly Below 39°	38°30′
Mouth of the Missouri Riv.	38°55′	Slightly Below 38°	About 38°	36°30′	35° 40′	37°30′	38°30′	37°30′
Mouth of the Ohio Riv.	37°	Slightly Below 36°		35°	35°20′	35°40′	37°30′	35°30′
Terminus		Not Marked	33°	Not Marked	Not Marked	33°40′	Not Shown	Not Marked
Mouth of the White Riv.	33°56′	33°40′		31°30′	33°20′	33°	Not Shown	32°30′

The Nomenclature of Jolliet's Lost Map

(1) Sault Ste Marie.

The name of this place was certainly on Jolliet's map, because it was the starting point of his voyage, and also his headquarters in the West. If he wrote the name on the Canadian side where the anonymous copyist and Randin have it, there was undoubtedly a sign to indicate that the mission was on the American side, as on Marquette's map and on Franquelin's map of 1678.

(2) St. Ignace? Missilimakinak?

It is difficult to say whether Jolliet had either or both of these names on his map. Marquette and Franquelin on his map of 1675, call St. Ignace the mission on the mainland; by Missilimakinak, the anonymous copyist means Mackinac Island, while on Franquelin's map of 1678, Missilimakinac designates the settlement on the mainland.

1) The Green Bay-Wisconsin Group

(3) Folle auoine (Menominee).

NOTE.—The identification of the tribes is added in parentheses. The spelling is that of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, F. W. Hodges, ed., (4th impression, 2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1912).

It is unlikely that this name was on Jolliet's map. Marquette took it from the Jesuit map of 1671. The dependence of this section of Marquette's map on that of Lake Superior is discussed in "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 27(1945):36f.

(4) Baye des Puans (Green Bay).

Manitoumie I and II have "Lac des Puans," as Green Bay was generally known before 1660. "Le lac des Oüinipegouek, qui n'est proprement qu'vne grande baye de celuy des Hurons; d'autres l'appellent le lac des puans, non qu'il soit salé comme l'eau de la Mer, que les Sauuages appellent Oüinipeg c'est à dire eau puante; mais pource qu'il est enuironné de terres ensouffrées."—JR, 45:218.

(5) Puans (Winnebago).

On the anonymous map and on the Manitoumie these Indians are located on the Fox River, not far from present-day Lake Winnebago. This was their position on Jolliet's map rather than on the eastern shore of Green Bay where Randin placed them. *Infra*, no. 6.

(6) P8te8atami (Potawatomi).

On Marquette's map, these Indians are located where Randin has the Puans. Considering that Marquette spent the winter of 1673–1674 at the St. Francis Xavier mission where he made his map, he knew better than Randin the name of the tribe on the eastern shore of Green Bay in 1673.

(7) 8tagami (Foxes).

These Indians were not on the explorers' route, and because of the various locations of their village on the different maps, one cannot say where Jolliet placed them.

On the Jesuit map of 1671, a Fox village is marked on the east bank of the middle reaches of the Wolf River, where Allouez found them in 1673 (JR, 54:206); they occupy the same location on Marquette's map and on that of Franquelin of 1675. In 1678, however, the latter located the village on the northern shore of Lake Winnebago. The anonymous copyist has the Foxes west of the headwaters of the Wolf River; they occupy the same general location on Randin's map but the river is not marked.

(8) [Three lakes and the Wolf River].

Marquette makes no distinction between Lake Winnebago, Lake Butte des Morts, Lake Winneconne and Lake Poygan; on his map as on the Jesuit map of 1671 only one lake is shown. The anonymous copyist and Randin have three lakes; on Manitoumie I the four lakes are sharply differentiated.

(9) [Fox] River.

This river is marked on all the maps, but no name is given on any of them.

(10) Mask8tens (Mascoutens).

This name was added by the engraver of the Jesuit map of Lake Superior after the frame was drawn. The alternative "Nation

du Feu" is found on only one copy of Jolliet's map, on that of Franquelin of 1675. The location of this village is the same on all the maps.—"Mascoutensac" on the two Manitoumie is a variant; Thévenot's "Man8tensac" is a misreading.—The author of the map in the "Codex Canadiensis" has "Maskoutensac," which is another indication that he had access to the draft of the Manitoumie.

(11) Portage (Portage, Wis.).

On Marquette's and on the two Franquelin maps, the portage is clearly indicated, but not legended.

(12) Chemin de l'Allee.

This inscription appears only on the Manitoumie and on its two derived maps. It consists of a schematic double (single in Thévenot) dotted line from Green Bay to the Mississippi. It does not follow the course of the Fox River which the explorers certainly ascended. The author of the Manitoumie inserted the inscription to distinguish the outward journey from the return route. *Infra*, no. 77.—On Franquelin's map of 1675, there is also a dotted line along the northern bank of the Wisconsin River as well as the following inscription south of the Wisconsin and of the Fox: "Chemin ou Riuiere par lequel le S^{r} Jolliet est entré dans la Riuiere Colbert qui se descharge dans Mexique." It is possible that, as on his other maps, Jolliet had a dotted line to indicate the route which he followed.—"The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay," *loc. cit.*, 241-244; "Last Voyages and Death of Louis Jolliet," in RAPQ, 1944, 170ff.

(13) Riuiere de Miskonsing (Wisconsin River).

This variant is the earliest appearance of the name Wisconsin. —The variants on the Manitoumies and Thévenot are misreadings. "Miskovs" for "Miskous" on Franquelin's map of 1678 is a variant of an Acadian name—Miscou—which was much better known in Canada than the western river; on his map of 1675, Franquelin has "Riuiere de Misconsing."

In 1681, La Salle used both forms "Ouisconsing" and "Misconsing."—*Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 88.

(14) Mines de fer.

The location of these iron mines varies on each map. See *supra*, p. 95.

(15) La Frontenacie.

It is an exaggeration to say that Jolliet "christened *Frontenacie* the whole country which he had explored."—E. Myrand, *Frontenac et ses amis* (Quebec, 1902), 3, note 1.—The map shows that the name applied to southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. It is not surprising that the Jesuit author of the Manitoumie map replaced this name by "Terres inhabitées," which is practically meaningless. In 1675, Franquelin changed the name into "La Colbertie ou Amerique Occidentale," Bernou duly inserted this inscription in his reduction of Franquelin's map, but in a memorandum of 1676, he substituted "Louisiane" for "Amerique Occidentale."— Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 11.

In passing we may note that Hennepin never meant anything more than "Frontenacie" or "Colbertie" when he speaks of "Louisiane."—A plausible reason for the elimination of "Frontenacie" from Franquelin's map of 1678 is given in "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," *loc. cit.*, 70f, 74.

(16) Kitchigamins (Kitchigami).

In view of the fact that these Indians are not on Marquette's map, we conclude that the explorers did not meet them. Jolliet knew nothing about the Kitchigami, except that they were inland west of the Mississippi.

The name first occurs in the Relation of 1699–1670, in which Allouez wrote: "Four leagues from here [Mascoutens village] are the Kikabou [Kickapoo] and the Kitchigamich, who speak the same language as the Machkouteng."—JR, 54:232.—In Thwaites' index, the Ketchigamins and Kitchigamich are listed as though they were two different tribes; the Kitchigamich spoken of by Allouez were more probably a band of Ketchigamins that had come eastward from their habitat west of the Mississippi. In the spring of 1670, Marquette wrote to Dablon: "The Illinois live thirty days' journey by land from La Pointe du Saint-Esprit, toward the south-southwest. [On the way to the Illinois villages] one passes through the Nation of the Ketchigamins, who live in the interior and number more than twenty large cabins.—JR, 54:184.—On Randin's map the Kitchigamins are located in the interior south-southwest of La Pointe.

The French text in Thwaites "Ils sont au seul Sur-Oüest de la pointe du Saint Esprit" should read: "Ils sont au Sud Sur-Oüest de la pointe du Saint Esprit."

(17) 8a8iatanons (Wea).

This name was also known prior to 1673. In August of the preceding year, Allouez wrote that there were three cabins of *Ouaouiatanonkak* near the Mascoutens village; and later in his journal in summing up the state of the mission, he says that among the Indians who came to the Miami village were the *Ouaouiatanouk*: "Some of these Indians stay a short time, others stay longer. These tribes dwell on the banks of the Mississippi, and all speak the same language."—JR, 58:40–42.—Since the 8a8iatanons are not marked on Marquette's map, we conclude, as in the case of the Kitchigamins, that the explorers did not meet them.

2) The Mississippi River

(18) Riuiere Buade (Mississippi River).

We could infer that Jolliet had originally legended the Mississippi "Riuiere Buade" because this name is found on the anonymous and on the Randin maps. We are absolutely certain that he did so from what he says in his dedicatory letter to Frontenac: "Cette grande Riuiere .... qui porte vre nom scau Riu. Buade [Frontenac's patronymic]." He then gives the reason why he had this christened the Mississippi: "po^{r} auoir este decouuerte ces années dernieres 1673 et 1674 par les l^{ers} ordres que vo^{s} me donnastes entrant dans ure gouuernem^{t} de la nouuelle france."

We have called attention to the fact that because "Buade" is changed into "Colbert" in Franquelin's transcription of this letter, the above sentence no longer makes sense.—"The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 229.—The following peculiarities indicate that Franquelin was told to make the change.

In copying Jolliet's map, he had twice written on the west bank of the Mississippi a name other than "Riuiere Colbert." All that remains of this legend is the letter "R" of "Riuiere," in the two places where it was originally inscribed. Although the rest has been so thoroughly erased that one cannot be sure of what Franquelin had first written, the erasure occupies the space of the word "Buade." This change was necessary in order to make the map agree with the text of the dedicatory letter; so Franquelin wrote "Riuiere Colbert" on the east bank of the Mississippi opposite the place where he had "R. Buade," and again between the banks of the river below the mouth of the Illinois. It was only logical that after this change "La Frontenacie" should become "La

Colbertie"; both changes, of course, were made to win Colbert's favor. A fort and a lake were already named after Frontenac on the map, and it would have been undiplomatic to leave the two legends added by Jolliet; so Frontenac generously split the honors with Colbert by naming after the minister the great river of the West and a section of the territory discovered.

The Jesuit author of the Manitoumie would not, of course, call the Mississippi after the governor, any more than he called the region west of Lake Michigan "Frontenacie"; instead he gave the river its Indian name and translated it into French.

The plausible reason for the disappearance of "Frontenacie" from Franquelin's map of 1678 (*supra*, no. 15), also applies to the disappearance of "Buade" and its replacement by "Messisipi." The successive appelations of Lake Ontario make this reason still more plausible; this lake is called "Lac Frontenac ou Ontario" by the anonymous copyist, and "Lac Ontario a present Lac Frontenac" by Randin. In 1675, Franquelin wrote "Lac Frontenac," but named it "Lac Ontario" in 1678.

3) The Iowa Group

NOTE.—The fact that the anonymous copyist and Randin list in exactly the same order the Indian tribes of the Iowa, the Missouri and the Arkansas groups, proves that they copied the same model.

(19) River on the east bank of the Mississippi.

This river is a contribution by the draughtsman of the Manitoumie map; it was not on Jolliet's original. The same is true of the western tributary between the Missouri and the Arkansas, and the three eastern tributaries between the Ohio and the Gulf. Nobody in Canada or in France could even have suspected the existence of the southernmost eastern tributary. None of these rivers is marked on Marquette's map.

(20) [Iowa] River.

L. G. Weld's identification of this river with the Iowa is mainly based on the comparisons of the latitudes on Marquette's map.—"Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* 1 (1903):16.—In this respect we observed ("Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 41) that "to determine

which of the two rivers [the Iowa or the Des Moines] it represents we must postulate that the error in computing the latitudes was constant, whereas there is a variable difference between the latitudes of several identifiable points on [Marquette's] map and their true positions."—A better argument in favor of this identification is Marquette's drawing of the lower course of the river: the loop formed before it disembogues into the Mississippi is distinctly noticeable on the original.

(21) Pe8area (Peoria) 300 cabanes 180 canots de 50 pieds de long.

The inscription was on Jolliet's lost map. Except for the number of canoes, he had given the above figures to Dablon.—"The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 318.—The 300 cabins and the size of the canoes are again mentioned in his letter to Laval.—"The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 224.—The Randin variant expresses another detail communicated by Jolliet to Dablon and which he repeated in the dedicatory letter and his letter to Laval; namely, they were wooden canoes in contradistinction to the bark canoes used by the Indians of Canada.

The variant of the name of these Indians on the Manitoumie is another case of the draughtsman being unable to decipher the handwriting of the manuscript.

(22) Illinois.

To indicate that the Peoria were an Illinois tribe, the anonymous copyist drew five huts, each representing an Indian village, but wrote six names along the south bank of the river. Jolliet had told Dablon that the village of 300 cabins was an Illinois village.

The Illinois had long been known to dwell on the banks of the Mississippi. On the Jesuit map of 1671, there is an inscription to the effect that from La Pointe there are 150 leagues to their villages situated "toward the south"; this was an inaccurate rendering of what Marquette had written in the spring of 1670. See *supra*, no. 16.

(23) Moing8ena (Moingwena).

This legend on the Manitoumie shows that its author had access to Marquette's map.—It is true that in his journal of 1672

(JR, 58:40), Allouez speaks of the Mengakonkia as dwelling on the banks of the Mississippi. Ethnologists identify these Indians with the Moingwena, but we do not know whether the author of the Manitoumie was able to make this identification.

As will be seen, the presence of several other legends on the Manitoumie is inexplicable unless we postulate that its author had Marquette's map.

(24) Otontanta (Oto).

(25) Pana (Ponca).

(26) Maha (Omaha).

(27) Pa8tet (Iowa).

On the Oto, cf. M. Mott, "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archaeological Manifestations in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 36 (1938):258–261; on the Omaha, *ibid.*, 261–263; on the Iowa or Ioway, *ibid.*, 234ff, and 305f.

With regard to the omission of the last three names on the Manitoumie, see *supra*, p. 94–95.

(28) River.

See *supra*, no. 19.

(29) Pierres Sanguines.

On Jolliet's map, this legend was near the mouth of the Illinois River, and was mistakenly placed along the nameless river (*supra*, no. 28) by the draughtsman of the Manitoumie map.

All inscriptions referring to minerals represent places actually seen by the explorers; it is certain that Jolliet did not go prospecting along any of the tributaries of the Mississippi. The objection that, on all maps, names of Indian tribes are inscribed far inland has no value. For the explorers could learn these names from Indians whom they met, but could hardly have identified the minerals mentioned by Indians whose language they did not know or with which they were imperfectly acquainted. For instance, from the description of a metal by an Indian, La Salle (Margry, 2:179) thought there was mercury in the Fox River Valley.

4) The Missouri Group

NOTE—See *supra*, 3) the Iowa Group, the remark about the local sequence of Indian names along this river.—The figures next to the names in the Marquette column indicate the sequence reading from east to west.

(30) [Missouri] River.

After his return to Quebec, Jolliet had a vivid recollection of the Missouri River. He told Dablon of the difficulty of ascending the Mississippi below latitude 38° where a large river coming from the west-northwest had its mouth.—"The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 318.—He also told Frontenac ("The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 221) and repeated in his dedicatory letter (*ibid.*, 229), that the Gulf of California could be reached by ascending "one of the large rivers which come from the West." If he had remembered the name of the river which made such an impression upon him, he would undoubtedly have inscribed it on his map.

"Pekittan8i," the original name of the Missouri River (Gabriel Marest to Iberville, July 10, 1700, ASH, 115–10:no. 15), is on Marquette's map; the fact that it is not on the Manitoumie is probably due to the Paris draughtsman, for the author of the Manitoumie uses the name in a narrative of the voyage of 1673.

(31) Mess8ri (Missouri).

(32) Kansa (Kansa).

The variants "K8za" on Franquelin's map of 1678 and "Kamssi" on the Manitoumie are clearly misreadings; Liébaux wrote "Kamissi."—The map in the "Codex Canadiensis" has "Kamssi," the Manitoumie reading.

(33) 8chagé (Osage).

On the manuscript of the Manitoumie "Kansa" and "Ouchage" were written close together, or "Ouchage" was immediately below "Kansa." The Manitoumie draughtsman thought that the *ou* of the second word was the alternative conjunction and wrote *sive* (or); Liébaux translated the Latin conjunction into French *autre-*[*ment*].

(34) Pani (Pawnee).

The author of the Manitoumie preferred the "Paniassa" of Marquette's map to the "Pani" of Jolliet's. As on Marquette's map, "Paniassa" is also the name of one of the tribes of the Arkansas group. *Infra*, no. 48.—"Paniassa" is one of the renditions by early French travelers of *Paniwasaba*, the Omaha name of the Wichita.

(35) Minongio (Unidentified).

This tribe or village has the same location on the maps of the anonymous copyist and of Randin; it is the westernmost tribe of the Missouri group. On the Manitoumie, the variant "Minonk" is located on the northern bank of the Arkansas, and on the Franquelin map of 1678, "Minouk" is on the south bank of the same river.

(36) River.

See *supra*, no. 19.

(37) Grand village.

What "large village" Franquelin meant is not known, but this legend was certainly not on Jolliet's original map.

(38) Nations qui ont des Cheuaux et des Chameaux.

Answering a critic of one of his memorials, Bernou said that the relations of the voyage of 1673 "speak of horses although in a vague manner." When we discussed this memorial we pointed out that in reporting Jolliet's words Dablon vaguely referred to "animals which the western Indians ride as we ride horses." Bernou, however, had two relations of the voyage of 1673, that by Dablon and another account which seems to be no longer extant. It is possible that there was in the latter a less vague allusion to horses.

The critic had also written that although "during his voyage, Jolliet saw a great number of domesticated and wild animals, he did not see even one horse." Bernou replied by saying: "on one of the two maps a place is marked to indicate the presence of horses."—"The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 21f.—From this assertion made in the first months of 1677,

it would seem that at the time Bernou had a copy of the Manitoumie map, for it is the only one on which a place is marked to indicate the presence of horses. On the other hand, the inscription "Pierres sanguines" near the mouth of the Illinois River on Bernou's reduction of Franquelin's map of 1675 is an indication that he had a copy of Jolliet's original, for the latter is the only map that has such an inscription at this place.

The reason why it is not certain that Bernou had a copy of the Manitoumie map is that in the above-mentioned memorial, Bernou speaks of having seen four maps of the Mississippi which were then in Paris, and says that he had copies of two, implying that the inscription indicating the presence of horses was on one of his two copies. Now, we know that he made a copy of Franquelin's map of 1675, and he must have had a copy of Jolliet's original for the reason mentioned in the preceding paragraph; on neither of these two maps, however, is there any indication of horses.

The other kind of animals which these inland tribes are said to have are camels. While the Indians whom the explorers met on their route may have said that there were horses in the West, they can hardly have mentioned camels, for these were altogether unknown in North America. This then is clearly a case of Jolliet's misunderstanding the Indians.

A further problem is whether these camels are an invention of the author of the Manitoumie map or whether Jolliet actually said that there were camels in the West. The following discussion sets forth the reasons for believing that camels were probably mentioned in the lost relation.

In two of his letters La Salle criticizes Jolliet's description of the Illinois country. In the first letter dated August 22, 1681 (Margry, 2:244), after describing the Illinois River Valley, La Salle goes on to say: "Indian corn and tobacco grow to an extraordinary height, but Jolliet falsely asserted that corn is sown twice a year." In no extant relation is there mention of two harvests of Indian corn in the Illinois country, but in the dedicatory letter to Frontenac and in his letter to Laval, Jolliet refers to three harvests of wheat in the Arkansas country.

Later in the same letter, La Salle speaks as follows of the fauna in Illinois: "There are very many beavers and otters, but no ostriches, nor pomegranates, nor lemons, as Jolliet falsely reported." —*Ibid.*, 245.

We have only a fragment of La Salle's second letter which was written after March 1683. After comparing the *Piakimina*

(persimmon) to the medlar, he observes: "This is perhaps what Jolliet called pomegranates, although they are nowhere to be found, any more than oranges, lemons, and ostriches. All this is purely imaginary."—*Ibid.*, 178.

Jolliet had spoken of pomegranates to Dablon, and these fruits as well as lemons are also mentioned in the dedicatory letter, but in neither of these two documents is there any reference to oranges or ostriches. The latter are mentioned only in Jolliet's private letter to Laval, which La Salle did not see, for he would certainly have called attention to another fruit which Jolliet identified with pineapples, which we know do not grow in Illinois.

The logical explanation of La Salle's statements seems to be that already suggested; namely, there was a relation of the voyage of 1673 which is no longer extant in which oranges and ostriches were mentioned. Hence, if Jolliet identified birds which he saw as ostriches, he can easily have thought that the animals in the West described to him by the Indians were camels. Furthermore, we know that the sketch of the map of 1678 was furnished to Franquelin by Jolliet himself, and this map is decorated with numerous figures of animals, among which are ostriches and camels west of the Mississippi.

5) The Arkansas Group

NOTE.—For the east-west local sequence on the anonymous and on the Randin maps, see *supra* 3) the Iowa Group.—The identity in local sequence on these two maps and their dissimilarity with Marquette's map (*supra*, the Missouri Group), show that the model copied by the first two was different from Marquette's map.—On Franquelin's map of 1678, the names are inscribed alternately on both banks of the river.—With regard to the omissions on the Manitoumie, see *supra*, pp. 83, 95.

(39) Metchigamea (Michgamea).

The variants on the anonymous and on the Randin maps are instances of the copyist's inability to decipher the handwriting of the model. *Supra*, p. 94.

On this Indian village, cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 45–47.

(40) Riuiere Bazire (Arkansas River).

Charles Bazire was an influential Quebec merchant who was

royal tax collector in Canada in 1674.—Claire Bissot, whom Jolliet married in 1675, was the cousin of Bazire's wife.

(41) Atotiosi (Uzutiuhi).

This name is not on Randin's map. The engineer wrote the legends along the Arkansas so close to the Mississippi that there was no room left to inscribe the name of this tribe.

(42) Matora (Mento?).

(43) Akoroua (Koroa).

(44) Emamoueta (Unidentified).

(45) Papikaha (Quapaw?).

(46) Tanik8a (Tunica).

(47) Aiahichi (Eyeish).

(48) Paniassa (Wichita).

See *supra*, no. 34.

6) The Gulf Group

(49) Tahensa (Taensa) Sauuages.

The explorers did not go as far as the villages of these Indians, but were told that they lived on the west bank of the Mississippi, where La Salle found them nine years later.—"Tahenla" is a misreading by the author or by the draughtsman of the Manitoumie.

(50) Le Mexique.

On the model used by Randin, Mexico or New Spain was probably inscribed farther to the southwest.

(51) Le Sein (de?) Mexique.

On Franquelin's map of 1675, an inscription along the Mississippi reads as follows: "Riuiere qui se descharge dans le Sein Mexique."—On Manitoumie II and on Thévenot's map, the legend is "Golphe de Mexique."—On the map in the "Codex Canadiensis" the reading is as on Manitoumie I, "Golphe du Mexique."

(52) River.

See *supra*, no. 19.

(53) La Floride.

(54) Europeans.

Jolliet thus showed on his map what he had told Dablon; namely, that Europeans were to the left, *i. e.*, inland east of the Mississippi.—"The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 319.—The explorers misunderstood their informants, or were misinformed by the Indians with regard to the distance—two days' journey—to the settlements of these Europeans. The nearest Spanish settlement to the east was more than 450 airline miles from the southernmost point reached by the expedition.

(55) Apistonga (unidentified) Sauuages.

On Franquelin's map of 1678, these Indians are located farther north, and are combined with the "Matohali." *Infra*, no. 65.—Randin did not inscribe this name, because the space on the map which he used as a basis is filled with conjectural rivers.

(56) Mons8peria (Mosopelea).

This name is not on Randin's map for the same reason as that given in the preceding number.

Besides the evidence on the anonymous map and on both Manitoumie maps, there is a statement in a contemporary document proving that "Monsoperia" was on Jolliet's map. "He [Jolliet] did not advert to the fact that the Mosolpelea, whom he marks on his map, were completely wiped out before his voyage." This is an interpretation of a passage in one of La Salle's letters dated August 22, 1681 (Margry, 2:237), in which the latter simply says that the Mosopelea had been defeated by the Iroquois several years earlier. Although this document is worthless (*infra*, no. 74), it is clear that its author had seen Jolliet's map with the name of these Indians on it. Here, by the way, we have an example of how absurd it is to divide historical evidence into "good" and "bad" documents, and to suppose that a "good" document must be accepted *in toto*, while a "bad" one should be wholly reject.

On the anonymous map the "Mons8peria" are located on the east bank of the Mississippi below the Arkansas River and opposite

the Taensa villages. In 1682, La Salle met a Mosopelea chief who had settled in the Taensa villages with five cabins of his people.—Narrative of Nicolas de La Salle, Margry, 1:569; and narrative of Tonti, *ibid.*, 610.

(57) Akansea (Quapaw) Sauuages.

Cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 42–45.

(58) River.

See *supra*, no. 19.

(59) On est venu iusques icy a la hauteur de 33 degrez.

The draughtsman of the Manitoumie thus expressed what Jolliet had told Dablon and had written to Laval; namely, that he went as far south as latitude 33°. A cross indicating the terminus of the expedition is inscribed on the west bank of the Mississippi on the Manitoumie maps; the variant of the inscription on the map in the "Codex Canadiensis" is noted *supra*, p. 87.

On the terminus of the expedition, cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 44, and *infra*, no. 74.

7) The Ohio Group

(60) Mons8peria ils ont des fusils.

The variant "Mons8pelea" on Marquette's map is inscribed close to the east bank of the Mississippi at latitude 35°, while on the Manitoumie the "Mons8peria" are located at the same latitude but 100 miles inland east of the "Aganahalt" (*infra*, no. 61). A symbol indicates that the latter is an Indian village, but there is no such symbol for the "Mons8peria." Liébaux made it appear as though the "Aganahali" and the "Mons8peria" lived in the same inland village.

It is difficult to explain why this name is repeated on the Manitoumie map (*supra*, no. 56). If, instead of "Mons8peria" the name were written as on Marquette's map, the source would *ipso facto* be ascertained; it is not impossible, however, that the author of the Manitoumie had written "Mons8pelea" as on Marquette's map, and that the Paris draughtsman changed it.

Another possibility is that the source from which the author of the Manitoumie obtained this name also supplied the information

that these Indians had guns. This source may have been Jolliet himself, or the information may have been contained in the lost relation. The latter hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the compiler of a document analyzed in a previous article ("The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources, *loc. cit.*, 3–8) wrote: "Those [Indians] who are near the sea have a few guns."

An alternative possibility is that the author of the Manitoumie map learned the name of these Indians and the fact that they had guns from some other member of the expedition. When the Manitoumie map was made, three other men who descended the Mississippi in 1673 had returned to Quebec. We know that one of these, Jacques Largilier, who accompanied Marquette on his last voyage to the Illinois country and later buried him, was questioned about the latter's death by the Jesuits of Quebec and of Montreal in 1675 (C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*e *siècle* [3 vols., Paris, 1895–1896], 3:607), and again in 1676 on his return from the West (JR, 60:128). It is true that they mostly asked for details about Marquette's death, but it is quite likely that the Jesuit in Quebec who was sufficiently interested in the voyage of 1673 to make a copy of Jolliet's map also asked Largilier for particulars about the expedition.

I am well aware that none of these hypotheses is satisfactory, but they have the merit of being based on the meager evidence available. I am also well aware that these hypotheses will be altogether unsatisfactory for those who "prefer to think" the opposite of what is obviously contained in the available evidence.

(61) Aganatchi (Unidentified).

"Aganahali" on Manitoumie II and on Thévenot.

(62) Terres ciseléez.

The meaning of "ciseléez" is given on Franquelin's map of 1678.—In 1682, Nicolas de La Salle noted that between the Ohio and Memphis, "cette terre est rouge, ce qui paroissoit par les ravines de ces coteaux."—Margry, 1:551.

(63) Sable doré.

(64) Mine de fer.

This inscription is misplaced on the Manitoumie map; Jolliet could not have known that there was an iron mine 70 miles inland.

On the anonymous map this iron mine is located and legended near the Mississippi, just as the other iron mine is close by the Wisconsin. *Supra*, no. 14.

(65) Matohali (Unidentified).

On his map of 1678, Franquelin combined this tribe with the "Apistanga" (*supra*, no. 55), adding the note that both tribes totalled 18 villages. On the anonymous map there are eighteen Indian huts, each representing a village.

(66) Cha8anons (Shawnee).

Galinée mentions these Indians under their Algonquian name in his relation of 1669–1670.—L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634–1699* (New York, ©1917), 170.—In the spring of 1670, Marquette wrote from La Pointe that "une Nation qu'ils [Illinois] appellent Chaoüanou" had visited the Illinois in the summer of 1669; he locates their habitat as being east-southeast of the Illinois villages which were then on the banks of the Mississippi.—JR, 54:188.

In 1678, Franquelin wrote on his map "Chaoüanons 15 villages"; on the anonymous map there are fifteen huts, each representing an Indian village.

(67) 8abanghierra (Wabash).

These Indians are probably the "Ouabachi" of whom La Salle says, in his letter of August 22, 1681, that they had been destroyed a few years earlier.—Margry, 2:237.

(68) Taharea (Tamarois).

(69) Kaskinonba (Kakinonba).

(70) Chabouasioua (Chepoussa).

This name and those of the Sioux tribes (*Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 133–140) were learned between 1674 and 1678.

(71) Riuiere 8ab8skig8 (Ohio River).

This is the earliest form of "Wabash." As is well known, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the French conceived the

hydrography of the Ohio basin differently from ourselves. They looked upon the Ohio as a tributary of the main stream which for them was the Wabash. This concept originated in 1673 when the above name was given to the mouth and the lower course of the Ohio.

(72) Terres inhabitées.

This inscription on the two Manitoumies is not on Thévenot's map. *Supra*, p. 82.

(73) Manit8 Statue ou les Sauuages vont faire leurs adorations.

Manitoumie II has "font" instead of "vont," which does not make sense. Liébaux has only the first word "Manit8."

From the title of Manitoumie I and II as well as from the cartouche of the latter, there is little doubt that the original manuscript of this map is the work of a Jesuit (*supra*, p. 000). The agreement between the place-names on the anonymous and on the Randin maps and the nomenclature on the Manitoumie, shows clearly that this Jesuit used as a basis the same Jolliet map as was used by the other two designers, supplementing the Jolliet nomenclature with a few names taken from Marquette's map.

In the light of collateral evidence, it is possible to ascertain the source of the above inscription, which was certainly not on Jolliet's map, and also the identity of the author of the original manuscript used by the Manitoumie draughtsman.

The reason why the country discovered should be called "Manitoumie" we read in the title of the map, is "because, in a beautiful valley there is a statue which the Indians acknowledged as their god, and which they call Manitou, meaning spirit or genius." This is expressed more briefly on the map itself: "Manit8, Statue which the Indians worship." On the map, however, the position of this statue is not in a "beautiful valley," but some fifty miles east of the Mississippi, half way between the "8ab8quig8" and the Illinois River. We know that no Frenchman went as far inland as this point until thirty years later; hence we must try to locate this statue somewhere along the route actually followed by Jolliet.

A passage written by Dablon in the Relation of 1670–1671 is relevant here. In August 1670, when Fathers Allouez and Dablon on their way to the Mascoutens villages, reached the rapids of the

Fox River, they "found some kind of idol, which the Indians honor in that place. When they pass by it, they never fail to make some sacrificial offering which consists of tobacco, arrows, painted objects and the like. They do this on their way down [the Fox River] to thank it for having aided them to escape the dangers of the waterfalls of this river, and on their way up to pray for assistance on that perilous voyage. This idol is a rock shaped by nature in the form of a man's bust; from a distance one seems to distinguish the head, shoulders, breast, and more specially the face, which passers-by are wont to paint with the brightest colors. To do away with this occasion of idolatrous worship, we ordered our men to remove it and throw it to the bottom of the river, so that it would never be seen again."—JR, 55:192.

Dablon then launches into a lyrical description of the Fox River Valley which "somewhat resembles the Garden of Eden."

From this we see that the data concerning the statue in the title of the Manitoumie map are contained in the section written by Dablon of the Relation of 1670–1671. Further facts suggest that he is the author of the original manuscript of the Manitoumie. We know that he was intensely interested in the geography of North America ("The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay," *loc. cit.*, 234f; *El Rio del Espíritu Santo* [New York, 1945], 98–102); and that he is very probably the author of the famous map of Lake Superior ("Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 31–34). We also know that he interviewed Jolliet on his return to Quebec and that he wrote down what he learned from the explorer. Sometime after this interview, Jolliet drew a map of the Mississippi, which we know Dablon saw, and it would be most unlikely if Jolliet had not given him a copy or let him make one, considering that others who were far less interested than he was in the geography of North America had occasion to make copies of Jolliet's map. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the author of the Manitoumie had Marquette's map at his disposal. All these indications coupled with the fact that the draft of the map was made in Quebec, point to Dablon as the most likely author of the original manuscript of the Manitoumie.

But why, it may be asked, should the idol on the banks of the Fox River be shown on the map fifty miles inland between the Ohio and the Illinois rivers? Perhaps because the author wished to support his suggestion that the whole country be named "Manitoumie" by placing the statue and the legend in the center of the map.

8) The Illinois-Lake Michigan Group

(74) Piasa.

It is certain that Jolliet drew on his map the picture of a piasa between the mouths of the Missouri and the Illinois rivers, but it is impossible to say how successful he was in representing this fabulous animal of Indian mythology, which is supposed to be the "thunderbird." We know, however, that the artistic effort of the draughtsman of the anonymous map is a sad failure. His piasa looks like doodling. Randin who had less confidence in the excellence of his draughtsmanship simply wrote "Figures de monstres"; while Franquelin who was a master draughtsman drew one of the two "monsters" on his map of 1678. The Paris draughtsman of the Manitoumie misread Dablon's inscription as "Figures des Monts," and drew some of these "mountains."

Those who have commented on the pictographs mentioned in the "Récit des voyages" have taken for granted that the description was Marquette's. Parkman, for instance, wrote: "Marquette made a drawing of the two monsters, but it is lost. I have, however, a fac-simile of a map made a few years later [the Franquelin map of 1678], by order of the Intendant Duchesneau, which is decorated with the portrait of one of them, answering to Marquette's description, and probably copied from his drawing."—*La Salle*, 59, note 1; cf. also p. 454.

It is quite true that the description of the monster in the "Récit des voyages" is copied from a drawing. The author of the narrative, however, is not Marquette, but Dablon; and Jolliet, not Marquette, is the author of the original drawing. Whether the missionary was as impressed by the monsters as Jolliet is not known, for his journal is lost, and there is no indication of monsters on his map.

Besides the maps of the anonymous copyist, of Randin and of Franquelin, there is further evidence that there was some kind of drawing on Jolliet's original. This confirmatory evidence is in a summary of one of La Salle's letters, which was doctored by the latter's partisans with a view of minimizing Jolliet's achievements. The summary reads in part as follows: "There are no Europeans at the mouth of the great Colbert River. The monster sketched by Sieur Jolliet is a grotesque [?] painted by some Indian of that river [the Mississippi]; no one has seen the original. It is found a day and a half's journey from Crèvecoeur, and if Sieur Jolliet had descended a little farther down, he would have seen another more fright-

ful still."—BN, Mss. fr., n.a., 7485, pt. II, 135v. On this document, cf. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643–1683," MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940):292; "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *ibid.*, 28 (1946): 4, note 6. The text of this document in the Bibliothèque Nationale differs slightly from the text published by T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations 1680–1693* (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 23, French Series, vol. 1, Springfield, Illinois), 4f. The date, November 1680, on the ASH copy, is certainly erroneous, for the compiler paraphrases an incident mentioned in La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681.

It is quite clear that the individual who wrote this document did not know what he was talking about. He could not possibly have positive evidence, for instance, that there were no Europeans at the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1681, no Frenchman had gone beyond a point 1,300 miles above the mouth of the Mississippi, except Jolliet who went to within 700 miles of the "mouth of the great Colbert River." Although La Salle criticized Jolliet's relation and map, he nowhere mentions the "monsters." Moreover, by 1681 he had not gone below the mouth of the Illinois River. The "crotesque" sketched by Jolliet was not a day and a half's journey from Fort Crèvecoeur, but was near present-day Alton, Illinois; in 1673, Jolliet not only went "a little farther down" than a day and a half's journey below Crèvecoeur, but descended the Mississippi more than 600 miles below the mouth of the Illinois River, which was the farthest point reached by La Salle in December 1680.

The next traveler to mention the piasa is Joutel, who had evidently read Thévenot's account of the voyage of 1673. We have noted elsewhere the vicissitudes undergone by Joutel's journal (*The Journal of Jean Cavelier* [Chicago, 1938], 17–20, 156), and we have pointed out that the original text of some parts is no longer available. One of these lost parts contains Joutel's reference to the piasa, and of this passage we have only the De Michel and the Delisle abridgments.

In the De Michel version (Margry, 3:471), the pictographs are said to be "on a rock of eight or ten feet high, which is far from the extraordinary height spoken of in this relation," that is, in Thévenot's version. The Delisle abridgment reads thus: "This so-called monster consists of two poorly drawn chalk or vermilion pictures on the side of a rock, and they are not as high as he [Marquette in Thévenot] says, for the young Cavelier [the nephew of

Jean Cavelier] could touch them with his hands."—ASH, 115–9: no. 11.

Jolliet may have exaggerated the artistic merits of the pictographs, for it is his description, not that of Marquette, which is printed in Thévenot, but he did not exaggerate their height above the river. The Thévenot narrative says that the bluffs on the river bank are very high, and that the pictographs "are so high as to make it difficult for a painter to reach that place conveniently." In the De Michel version they are said to have been eight or ten feet above the river, and according to Delisle's abridgment the young Cavelier could touch them with his hands. This would mean that they were about eight feet from the ground, but we do not know what part of the pictograph he touched, and it would still be difficult to paint them "conveniently."

The monsters are next mentioned in Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith*. In this work, the account of La Salle's last expedition is a variant of an anonymous narrative (*The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 9ff), attributed to the brother of La Salle.—"The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier," MID-AMERICA, 25 (1943):220f.

Le Clercq quotes Father Anastasius Douay, the supposed author of this narrative, as follows: "I had brought with me the printed book [Thévenot] of this pretended discovery, and I remarked all along my route that there was not a word of truth in it. . . . It is said that they saw painted monsters that the boldest men would have difficulty to look at, and that there was something supernatural about them. These frightful monsters are a horse painted on a rock with Matachia, and some other wild beasts made by the Indians. It is said that they cannot be reached, and yet I touched them all without difficulty."—C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, translated and edited by J. G. Shea (2 vols., New York, 1881), 2:273.

The sweeping statement that there is not a word of truth in Thévenot's version of the voyage of 1673, is rather out of place coming from an author whose book teems with fabrications. Here as in many other places, the author garbles a text and then finds fault with his garbled version. Thévenot does not say that the "boldest men would have difficulty to look at" the monsters, but that "the boldest Indians dare not look long upon them." It was the Indians who saw "something supernatural" about these pictographs for, Joutel tells us, "nos sauuages lui offrirent du tabac, l'appeloient frere ou camarade &c et ils disoient qu'ils mourroient

s'ils ne faisoient cela."—Delisle's résumé of Joutel's journal in ASH, 115–9: no. 11; see the De Michel's version in Margry, 3:471. —Again, Thévenot does not say that they could not be reached, but that they could not be reached conveniently.

The pseudo-Douay in Le Clercq also speaks of the terminus of the expedition (*supra*, no. 59). "About midway between the river Oüabache and that of the Massourites is found Cape St. Anthony. It was to this place only, and not further, that the Sieur Jolliet descended in 1673; they were there taken, with their whole party, by the Mansopela. These Indians having told them that they would be killed if they went further, they turned back, not having descended lower than thirty or forty leagues below the mouth of the river of the Illinois."—*First Establishment of the Faith,* 2:272f.

We must remember that this is said by one who had "remarked that there was not a word of truth" in Thévenot's narrative of the expedition of 1673. We are certain that the southernmost point reached by Jolliet was near latitude 34°, whereas Cape St. Anthony is situated at about latitude 37°55′; below Marys River in Randolph County, Illinois. The Mosopelea could not have taken "the whole party" at Cape Saint Anthony, for the explorers met these Indians on their return journey at latitude 35°, near Memphis, Tennessee, more than 300 miles below Cape St. Anthony.—Cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 51.

By far the most remarkable account of the monsters is found in Hennepin. As is well-known, his voyage to the Gulf of Mexico in 1680 is nothing else than a paraphrase of the pseudo-Membré narrative in the *First Establishment of the Faith.*

Our "voyager" was above the mouth of the Illinois River returning from his mythical journey to the Gulf, when he realized that he had said nothing about the "monsters" mentioned in the pseudo-Douay, about which there is not a word in the pseudo-Membré. To omit all mention of so famous a landmark along the route which he had supposedly followed would have been a fatal oversight, so he proceeded to make amends at once: "I had quite forgotten to relate while I was traveling on the Mississippi [*i. e.*, below the Illinois River] what the Illinois had often told us, which at the time we took for idle tales. They had said that not far from the place which is called Cap de St. Antoine on the map [accompanying the *Nouvelle Decouverte*, a copy of the map in Le Clercq], quite near the nation of the Missouri, could be seen pictures of tritons and other sea-monsters, which the boldest men dare not look

upon, because their aspect partakes of magic and of the supernatural. These so-called frightful monsters are nothing but a horse none too well painted with red Matachia and a few wild animals scratched on the rock by the Indians."

As can be seen, Hennepin's source of information is not the Illinois Indians, but the pseudo-Douay in Le Clercq. This fact becomes still more evident when the two texts in the original French are placed side by side. Hennepin then goes on to say: "But if we had not been anxious to avoid some surprise attack by the Barbarians, it would have been easy for us to touch them, for the said Cap St. Antoine is not as steep nor as high as the mountain range near the Falls of St. Anthony."—*Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht, 1697), 291f.

Hennepin next tells us that he personally asked Jolliet whether it was true that he had descended the Mississippi to the Arkansas. "This man, who had much consideration for the Jesuits of Normandy (because his own father was from Normandy [Jean Jolliet came from Sézanne-en-Brie, today in the Marne department, east of Paris]), confessed to me that he had often heard these monsters spoken of by the Ottawa, but that he never went as far down the Mississippi [as the place where the monsters were], that he had remained among the Hurons and the Ottawa [of Michilimackinac and Sault Ste Marie], where he traded in beaver and other peltries."—*Nouvelle Decouverte*, 293f. On this piece of brazen effrontery cf. "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680," MID-AMERICA, 21 (1939):66f.

Hennepin had evidently forgotten what he had copied out of Bernou in 1682, making it appear as though what the abbé had written was his own: "Sieur Jolliet went by way of Green Bay to the Mississippi, which he descended to the mouth of the Illinois River and came back to Canada by way of the lakes."—*Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683), 13. See Bernou's parallel passage in Margry, 1:439.

The monster on Franquelin's map of 1678—described in the "Récit des voyages"—differs from the usual pictures of the piasa in its lack of wings and in a few other minor details. But considering that Jolliet's description is from memory, it is a remarkable approximation.

On the piasa or "thunderbird," cf. P. A. Armstrong, *The Piaza or the Devil Among the Indians* (Morris, Illinois, 1887); C. K. Bayliss, "The Significance of the Piasa," in *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1908 (Springfield, Illi-

nois, 1909), 114–123. Additional references in the *Handbook of American Indians, s. v.,* Piasa.

(75) Riuiere de la Diuine ou L.Outrelaize (Illinois-Des Plaines).

We shall briefly recall what has been said with regard to the origin of this double name of the Illinois-Des Plaines. Myrand wrote that Jolliet "called the Illinois River *Rivière de la Divine* in honor of the beautiful Anne de la Grange-Trianon [Mme. de Frontenac]."—E. Myrand, *Frontenac et ses amis*, 3, note 1.

"La Divine" is not Mme. de Frontenac. This erroneous identification is based on a misinterpretation of the following passage of the memoirs of Saint-Simon: "The Countess de Fiesque . . . had brought with her from Normandy Mlle. d'Outrelaize. She was a very intelligent girl, whose many friends called *La Divine*, and she herself afterwards gave this same name to Mme. de Frontenac with whom she lived at the [Palace of the] Arsenal. They remained together until death. . . . People never referred to them by any other name than 'Les Divines'."—*Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (Boislile edition), 5:89. See also 6:166–170; 15:268–271.—Hence the original "La Divine" was Mlle. D'outrelaize.

Margry was of the opinion that if all was not for the best in the ménage Frontenac, it was mostly the fault of the husband, and wrote to Myrand that the idea of naming the Illinois "Rivière de la Divine" could hardly have come from Frontenac. To buttress his opinion, Margry declared that Randin had named the Illinois "Rivière de la Divine," and that Frontenac had added "ou d'Outrelaise" to play a trick on his wife.—Myrand, *op. cit.*, 13, note 1.

This would mean that the anonymous copyist, on whose map the alternate name is also found, copied not Jolliet's original but Randin's map. But there are several reasons why this cannot be true. First, because from the delineation of the continent and the shape of the lakes it is evident that there is no dependence between the anonymous map and the map of Randin; secondly, because there are legends on the anonymous map which were certainly on Jolliet's original and are not on Randin's map; thirdly, because the dedicatory letter inscribed on the anonymous map was not on Randin's map.

The map which underwent changes very likely suggested by Frontenac (*supra*, no. 18) is Franquelin's map of 1675; Frontenac may also have told Franquelin to leave out "ou L.Outrelaize"; for on this 1675 map—which is posterior to the anonymous and the

Randin maps—the Illinois-Des Plaines is simply called "Riuiere de la diuine," although there was plenty of room for adding "ou L.Outrelaize.

I have nowhere found a satisfactory explanation of the reason why Jolliet used "ou L.Outrelaize" on his map. The Illinois-Des Plaines is mentioned three times in Dablon's account of the interview with Jolliet, and each time it is called "Riuiere De St. Louis." Moreover, where he reports the exact words of the explorer, Dablon writes: "La Riuiere que nous auons nommée de St. Louis."—"The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 322, 323.

In a letter to the present writer, Mr. M. H. Deardorff, of Warren, Pennsylvania, says: "The river's name in the form of *La Divine* ou *L.Outrelaize* was no doubt intended to compliment that one of "Les Divines" who was brought from her home at Outreau . . . by the Countess of Fiesque . . . It surely argues no unseemly intimacy with Paris high-life on the part of the namer that he should have called a stream La Divine, in the 1670's . . . If the same person who named the large stream Buade called the smaller La Divine: the two are consistent."

I admit that this hypothesis involves no inconsistency, but it still lacks sufficient plausibility to be acceptable. Jolliet like most Canadians knew that Frontenac's patronymic was Buade, and as we have seen, he certainly named the Mississippi after the governor (*supra*, no. 18). He may even have known that Mlle. d'Outrelaize was called "La Divine." Yet it is also significant that Bernou, who had much greater "intimacy with Paris high-life" than anyone in Canada except Frontenac, does not identify "La Divine" with the "lady from Outreau" in connection with the Illinois River.

Although Bernou refers to the Illinois-Des Plaines four times, he never gives it the alternative name "ou L.Outrelaize." He first mentioned "Riuiere de la Diuine" in a questionnaire of 1676, and in 1677, he spoke of the "St. Louis River [the original name given by Jolliet to the Illinois-Des Plaines] which has since been called *La diuine.*"—"The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 11, 19.—In 1678, he alluded to the portage between Lake Michigan "et la riuiere diuine" (BN, Clairambault, 1016:49v.), and in 1683, he wrote in the so-called "Relation officielle" that La Salle sent Tonti by way of Lake Michigan to "*la riuiere Diuine* called Chécagou by the Indians."—"La Salle's Expedition of 1682," MID-AMERICA, 22 (1940):28.

La Salle himself, who had studied Jolliet's original, wrote in

August 1681 that when coming from the mouth of the Illinois River, he reached the confluence of the river "which Jolliet calls la Divine" (Margry, 2:137); and although the name "La Divine" is mentioned four times in this letter, La Salle does not once add the alternative "ou L.Outrelaize." When Bernou summarized this letter in the "Relation des descouuertes" (Margry 1:512, 515, 523, 531), he made no mention of the alternative name. The same is true of the anonymous compiler of the document (*supra*, no. 74) based on La Salle's letter, who had also seen Jolliet's map.

Because the word is written "Loutrelaise" on the Randin map, Mr. Deardorff thought that it was perhaps a reference to "otter" (*loutre* in French). This is unacceptable. First, the difference between the spelling of the word, "L.Outrelaize" on the anonymous map, and "Loutrelaise" on the Randin map is of no consequence. The spelling of proper names in the seventeenth century was too arbitrary to supply a basis for argumentation. (Cf. J.-E. Roy, "Le Baron de Lahontan," in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 1, vol. 12 (1895), section 1, p. 120.) Secondly, we do not know how the word was spelled on Randin's first map, nor how Jolliet spelled it on his map. Thirdly, if the first two syllables stand for "loutre" what is the meaning of the last syllables, "laise" or "laize"? Finally, there is not a single mention of "loutre" in the three extant documents which record Jolliet's account of this voyage: Dablon's account, Jolliet's letter to Laval, and his dedicatory letter to Frontenac.

(76) Pierres Sanguines.

These words occur in Jolliet's dedicatory letter; on his map this inscription was placed near the mouth of the Illinois River. *Supra*, no. 38.—The same inscription is found twice on the Manitoumie map, but is misplaced both times. *Supra*, no. 29, and *infra*, no. 81.

A few words of comment are in place here on La Salle's criticism of Jolliet's account of minerals. In 1681, La Salle wrote that there was a vein of copper somewhere along the Vermilion River, for he himself had found a piece of copper and an Indian had found another piece, both of which he had sent to Frontenac (Margry, 2:245). In March 1683, he said that he had found his piece of copper on the "rivière des Pestegonki [the Fox River which empties into the Illinois above Ottawa, Illinois]" and that he had also "found some kind of metal which I sent to M. de Frontenac

two years ago but about which I have heard nothing since. If it should happen to be in a mine, this metal, I think, would be bronze [the alternate name for copper in the seventeenth century]."—Margry, 2:175.

In the same letter of March 1683, after accusing Jolliet of "seeing things" for saying that there were oranges, lemons and ostriches in the Illinois country (*supra*, no. 38), La Salle goes on to say:

"Pure fancy, too, are his iron slabs, his copper mine, and his bloodstones. There is assuredly nothing of the sort along the whole route over which he traveled, except perhaps in Wisconsin where I have not been.

"I am well aware that in several places there are pieces of pure copper. I know of one piece in the open country weighing 400 pounds; but it is like those stones in certain parts of France which stand all by themselves. One finds everywhere a red stone which may be used to stain things red, but it is not the bloodstone."—Margry, 2:178.

Jolliet does not speak of "slabs" of iron, but of what he thought were iron mines. The Vermilion (or the Fox) River where La Salle found copper was on Jolliet's route, and although Jolliet did not ascend either of these rivers, he may have been given a piece of copper by the Indians, as happened to La Salle himself. Jolliet did mistake red hematite for the bloodstone, but at least he did not say, as La Salle did, that the red stone could be used to stain things red, which is not particularly enlightening.

(77) Chemin du Retour.

On Manitoumie I and on the two derived maps, the return journey is indicated by a double line (single in Thévenot) striking across country from the bank of the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Iowa River to the Kaskaskia village on the Illinois River. That the explorers did not ascend the Mississippi up to the Iowa and then travel overland to the Kaskaskia village is clear from the representation of the Illinois river on the maps, and especially on that of Marquette, for it could not have been drawn so accurately unless they had followed its course. Moreover, if they had taken the overland route, the explorers would have had to abandon their canoes or else carry them over a distance of 140 miles.

The inaccurate indication of the return journey on the Manitoumie and on the two derived maps has been variously explained.

Jared Sparks who had only Thévenot's map said that the dotted line "must have been a conjectural addition."—"Father Marquette," in *The Library of American Biography* (2d ed., 10 vols., New York, 1848), 10:298.—Shea, who likewise saw only the Thévenot map, wrote that it "has an addition of the editor in the words chemin de l'allée and chemin du retour. The latter is incorrect, but it came from his endeavor to make Father Marquette meet the Peorias on his return."—*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, lxxv, note.—Parkman who besides the Thévenot map had a tracing of Manitoumie II, simply says that the marking of "the return route is incorrect."—*La Salle*, 452.

Miss Kellogg took exception to the idea that the dotted lines represent the outward and the return journey. She wrote: "There is nothing in the chart itself to indicate that such was the intention. Rather they meant to locate two great Indian trails, which from time immemorial have followed these very routes. The outward trail follows the much-used Fox-Wisconsin water course, necessarily crossing it several times; but by no stretch of the imagination could be intended to indicate the course of travellers by water [see *supra*, no. 12]. The return route follows an ancient trail from the Peoria villages near the Des Moines [rather the Iowa, *supra*, no. 20] to those of the Kaskaskia on the Illinois. This trail was later abandoned for that known as the 'Old Sauk,' running somewhat farther north. 'Chemin' was the usual French term for an Indian trail."—"Marquette's Authentic Map," *loc. cit.*, 185f.

When Miss Kellog wrote these words she still thought that Marquette was the author of Manitoumie II. If this were true, he could have known of these trails and so have located them on the map; the actual author of the Manitoumie might also have had this knowledge, but the Paris draughtsman certainly did not have it. The explanation seems to be simply this: either the author of the Manitoumie, or more probably the Paris draughtsman, mistakenly placed the dotted lines across northern Illinois to indicate the return route.

Miss Kellogg's last assertion is not quite correct. Although the word "chemin" was used to mean an Indian trail, it was not exclusively used in that sense. For instance, in Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi, the word occurs three times, and not once does it mean an Indian trail. See also the inscription on Franquelin's map of 1675, *supra*, no. 12; and Jolliet's sketch in "Last Voyages and Death of Louis Jolliet," RAPQ, 1944, 204.

(78) Kachkachkia (Kaskaskia).

The name had been made known by Allouez in 1672.—JR, 58:42.

(79) Illinois.

This legend is an explanation by the author of the Manitoumie who thus indicated that the Kaskaskia were Illinois Indians.—By 1678, when Franquelin drew his map, the generic name was used to designate the various tribes of the Illinois confederacy.

(80) Mine de cuiure rouge.

This inscription is an addition by Franquelin; it was not on Jolliet's original.

(81) Pierres sanguines.

Supra, no. 76.

(82) Charbon de terre.

(83) Mont Jolliet?

This inscription is questioned because it is found only on the anonymous map spelled with one *l*. If it was on Jolliet's map, the name was spelled correctly. *Supra*, p. 69.—The mound is described in the "De Gannes Memoir," Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 303f.

This landmark has been razed to supply ballast for building the road beds of several railroad lines.—R. Knight and L. Zeuch, "Mount Joliet: Its Place in Illinois History and Its Location," *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 23 (1930):85.

(84) Portage (Chicago).

On this portage cf. R. Knight and L. H. Zeuch, *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1928).

The fidelity of the representation of the Chicago River on the Thévenot map is indeed astonishing (pp. 56, 99), but its accuracy is not due to faithful representation of any original. The various creeks and rivers in the vicinity of Chicago are so differently represented on all the early maps discussed in this article that

Thévenot's agreement with the Government Survey map of 1821 is a pure coincidence. Liébaux, the engraver of the Thévenot map, departed from his model, the Manitoumie, in many respects and in particular with regard to the Chicago portage. Knight and Zeuch identify as Mud Lake a blot on the Thévenot map. On the two Manitoumies instead of a blot at this place, there is the symbol used consistently by the draughtsman to indicate an Indian village.

In September 1680, La Salle wrote that he had "found" a river which, as a direct means of communication between Fort Frontenac and the Illinois country, was "much more convenient than the route (*chemin*) followed by Jolliet, who concealed its difficulties for reasons which I have been unable to fathom." After describing this river which he had "found," he goes on to say: "The route by way of the lakes has much greater difficulties; some of these Jolliet did not know, and others he concealed." Jolliet had also spoken of the Chicago portage as being one quarter of a league in length, whereas it is actually two leagues long.—Margry, 2:79–82.

Jolliet undoubtedly exaggerated the ease with which one could navigate from Lake Michigan to the Gulf *via* the Des Plaines and the lower course of the Illinois River, but he did not carry exaggeration to the point of inventing a non-existent river for himself to discover (*Some La Salle Journeys*, 21f; *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana,* 115f). As a matter of fact, in March 1683, when La Salle further elaborated on the inconvenience of the Chicago portage route (Margry, 2:166–168), he passed over in silence the river which he had "found" in 1680.

Jolliet described the Chicago portage as it appeared to him. He did not say that it was a quarter of a league long, but half a league ("The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 322); this is also the length of the portage given in the title of Franquelin's map of 1675—one thousand paces. Other early travelers who passed through Chicago, and who were not obsessed with the thought of discrediting Jolliet, confirm his description.

M. de St. Cosme, for instance, wrote in his journal: "We began the portage which is about three leagues in length when the waters are low, and only one-fourth of a league in the spring."—Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 347.

"At this river [Chicago] a portage is made, of a quarter of a league in low water and of an arpent in high water. One finds a streamlet for half a league which comes from two small lakes that extend a league and a half, at the end of which, on the rising

ground at this point, is made a short portage of one's baggage. When the water is favorable one re-embarks at once, but when it is low it is necessary to go a league. This is called the Portage of the Oaks."—The "De Gannes Memoir," in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 302f.—On the "Portage of the Oaks" see Knight and Zeuch, *op. cit.*, 46, 119, 129.

(85) Haure.

Although the anonymous copyist is the only one who has this legend, it is fairly certain that Jolliet inscribed it on his map. He told Dablon: "l'endroit par lequel nous sommes entrés dans ce lac [Michigan, at Chicago], est un *haure* fort commode pour y receuoir les vaisseaux, et les mettre a l'abry du vent."—"The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 323.

(86) Cuiure.

The variant on the Manitoumie map is an addition by the author. See *supra,* no. 80.

(87) Montagne.

This is a clear case of misreading on the part of the draughtsman of the Manitoumie. The author of this map had "Moulange" or "Moulanges," which Jolliet mentions in the dedicatory letter. The compiler of the "Relation de la nouvelle france," wrote that next to the bloodstones were found "celles [pierres] des Melanges [!]."—BN, Mss. fr., n. a., 7485, pt. II, 177.

The word "moulange" instead of "meulière" (millstone), is still used in Canada today.

The insertion of "moulange" in the Manitoumie map is an indication that its author had the dedicatory letter.

(88) Marbre.

Marble is also mentioned in the dedicatory letter.—Where the author of the Manitoumie had "Moulange" and "Marbre," the Paris draughtsman put "Montagne" and "Marbre"; Liébaux joined the two words to form his legend "Montagne de Marbre," mountain of marble.

(89) Ardoise.

(90) Salpetre.

The minerals and stones indicated on the maps are all enumerated in one paragraph of the dedicatory letter: "The iron mines (nos. 14 and 64), and the bloodstones (nos. 76 and 81) which are never found except with red copper (no. 80) are not rare. Slate (no. 89) is not scarce, nor are saltpeter (no. 90), coal (no. 82), marble (no. 88), and millstones (no. 87). As to copper (no. 86), the largest piece which I have seen was as big as a fist and quite pure. It was found near some bloodstones which are much better than those of France and are found in great quantity."

(91) Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin (Lake Michigan).

"Missishiganin" is a variant of "Machihiganing" first mentioned by Allouez in his journel published in the Relation of 1669–1670.—JR, 54; 220.—The Manitoumie draughtsman changed the last letter of "Michigams" three times before he finally decided that it must be an "s."—Liébaux has "Michigami."

Galinée calls Lake Huron "Michigane" in his journal (BN, Mss. fr., n. a., 7485, pt. II, 23), and "Michigané" on his map as reproduced by E.-M. Faillon in *Historie de la colonie française en Canada* (3 vols., Villemarie, 1865–1866), 3, between pp. 304–305.

Baraga gives the correct form of "Michigan" as *Mishigamaw*, meaning the great water, the great lake; but cf. C. Verwyst, "Geographical Names . . . Having a Chippewa Origin," in *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (vol. 12, Madison, 1892), 393.

(92) Portage (at Sturgeon Bay).

The dotted line showing the return journey on the Manitoumies and on Thévenot's map (*supra*, no. 77) ends at Sturgeon Bay, indicating that the explorers did not go all the way up to the tip of the Green Bay peninsula, but portaged at this spot (Marquette's journal, October 31, 1674, JR, 59:166). The author of the Manitoumie may have learned this detail from Jolliet or from some other member of the expedition. *Supra*, no. 60.

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MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS
1. Ste Marie	Sault Ste Marie	Le Sault Ste Marie
2. St. Ignace	S. Ignace? Missilimakinak?	Missilimakinak
	GREEN BAY-WISCONSIN GROUP	
3. Folle auoine		
4.	Baye des Puans	Baye des Puans
5.	Puans	Puans
6. P8te8atami		
7. 8tagami	8tagami	8tagami
8. (One lake)	(Three lakes and [Wolf] River)	(Three lakes and [Wolf] River)
9. (River)	(River)	(River)
10. Mask8tens	Mask8tens	Mask8tens
11. (Portage)	Portage	Portage
12.		
13. (Wisconsin River)	Riuiere de Miskonsing	Riuiere de Miskonsing
14.	Mines de fer	Mines de fer
15.	La Frontenacie	La Frontenacie
16.	Kitchigamins	Kitchigamin
17.	8a8iatanon	8a8iatanon
	THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER	
18. R. de la Conception	Riuiere Buade	Riuiere De Buade

RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN (1678)
Sault de S^te^ Marie		Sault
		Missilimakinac
	GREEN BAY-WISCONSIN GROUP	
Baye des Puans	Lac des Puans	B. des Puans
Puans	Puans	
Outagami		8tagami
(Three lakes)	(Four lakes)	(One lake)
(River)	(River)	(River)
Maskoutens	Mascoutensac	Maskoutens
Portage	Portage	(Portage)
	Chemin de l'Allee	
Riuiere Misconsing	R. de Messi8sing	Riviere Miskovs
Mines de fer	Mines de fer	Mine de fer
La Frontenacie	Terres inhabitées	
Kitchigamins	Kithigami	
8a8catanons		8a8iatouaou
	THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER	
Riuiere Buade	R. Mitchisipj ou Grande Riviere	Riviere de Messisipi

MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS
	IOWA GROUP	
19.		
20. (River)	(River)	(River)
21. Pe8area	Pe8area 300 cabanes 180 canots de 50 pieds de long	Pe8area 300 cabanes 180 canots de 50 pieds de long
22.	Illinois	Illinois
23. Moing8ena		
24. Otontanta	Otontanta	Atontanta
25. Pana	Pana	Pana
26. Maha	Maha	Maha
27. Pah8tet	Pa8tet	Pa8tet
28.		
29.		
	MISSOURI GROUP	
30. R. Pekit-tan8i	(River)	(River)
31. 8cmess8rit (2)	Mess8ri	Mess8ri
32. Kansa (3)	Kansa	Kansa
33. 8chage (1)	8chagé	8chagé
34. Paniassa (4)	Pani	Pani
35.	Minongio	Minongio
36.		
37.		
38.		

RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN (1678)
	Iowa Group	
	(River)	
(River)	(River)	(River)
Pe8area 300 cabanes 180 canots de bois	Pe8anca 300 cabanes	Pe8a8rea 300 cabanes
Ilinois	Illin8ek	
	Moing8ena	Moeng8ena
Otouanta	Otontanta	Ot8tanta
Pana		
Maha		Maha
Pa8tet		Pa8tek
	(River)	
	Pierres Sanguines	
	Missouri Group	
(River)	(River)	(River)
Mestouiri	8missouri	Miss8ri
Canssa	Kamssi sive Chaha	K8za
Ouchage		
Pani	Paniassa	
Kinongio	Minonk	Minouk
	(River)	
		Grand village
	Nations qui ont des Cheuaux et des Chameaux	

MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS
	ARKANSAS GROUP	
39. Metchi-gamea	Metchigamea	Anetihigamea
40. (River)	Riuiere Bazire	Riuiere Basire
41. Atotchasi (6)	Atotiosi	Atotiosi
42. Matora (5)	Matora	Matora
43. Akoroa (4)	Akoroua	Akoroua
44. Emam8eta (2)	Emamoueta	Emamoueta
45. Papikaha (3)	Papikaha	Papikaha
46. Tanik8a (1)	Tanik8a	Tanik8a
47. Aiachi	Aiahichi	Aiahichi
48. Paniassa	Paniassa	Paniassa
	GULF GROUP	
49.	Tahensa sauuages	Tahensa sauuages
50.	Le Mexique	Le Mexique
51. Bassin de la Floride	Le Sein (de?) Mexique	Le Sein De Mexique
52.		
53. Floride	La Floride	La Floride
54.	Europeans	Europeans
55. Apistonga	Apistonga sauuages	Apistonga sauuages
56.	Mons8peria	Mons8peria
57. Akansea	Akansea sauuages	Akansea sauuages
58.		
59.		

RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN (1678)
	ARKANSAS GROUP	
Anctihigamea	Metchigamea	Metchigamea
Riuiere Bazire	(River)	(River)
	Otochassi	Otochiahi
Mathora	Matona	Matorha
Akoroua		Akoroa
Emamoueta	Emam8eta	Emamoüata (2)
Apapikaha		Papicaha (1)
Tanik8a	Tami8a	Tanikoua
Aiaiachi	Ahiahichi (2)	Acahichi
Paniassa	Paniassa (1)	
	GULF GROUP	
Takensia sauuages	Tahenla	Tahensa
	Mexique	
Le Sein Mexique	Golphe du Mexique	Golphe de Mexique
	(River)	
La Floride	Floride	Floride
	Europeans	Europeens
		Apistanga
	Mons8perea	
Akansea sauvages	Dakensea	Gouza (!)
	(River)	
	On est venu iusques icy a la hauteur de 33 degrez	

MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS
	OHIO GROUP	
60. Mons8pelea		
61.	Aganatchi	Aganatchi
62.	Terres ciseléez	Terres ciseléez
63.		
64.	Mine de fer	Mine de fer
65. Matahali (1)	Matohali	Matohali
66. Cha8anon (3)	Cha8anons	Cha8anons
67.	8abanghierra	8abanghierra
68. Maroa (4)		
69. Kakinonba (2)	Kaskinonba	Kaskinonka
70.		
71. R. 8ab8-skig8	Riuiere 8ab8skig8	Riu. 8ab8skig8
72.		
73.		

RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN (1678)
	OHIO GROUP	
	Mons8peria ils ont des fusils	
Aganaki	Aganalt	
Terres cigelées		Terre rouge ou siselée
		Sable doré
	Mines de fer	Mine de fer
	Matahale (1)	Matahali & Apistanga 18 villages
Chaouanons	Chaouanon (2)	Chaoüanons 15 villages
8abangiarea	8abanghiarea (5)	
	Taharea (4)	
Kashinonbas	Kaskin8ba (3)	
		Chabouasioua
Riuiere 8ab8kigou	R. 8ab8quig8	R. 8abovstik8
	Terres inhabitées	
	Manitou Statue ou les Sauuages vont faire leurs adorations	

MARQUETTE	JOLLIET	ANONYMOUS
	ILLINOIS-LAKE MICHIGAN GROUP	
74.	(Drawing of the Piasa)	"Drawing"
75. (River)	Riuiere de la Diuine ou L. Outrelaise	Riuiere de la Diuine ou L.Outrelaise
76.	Pierres sanguines	Pierres sanguines
77.		
78. Kachkaska	Kachkachkia	Kachkachkia
79.		
80.		
81.	Pierres sanguines	Pierres sanguines
82.	Charbon de terre	Charbon de terre
83.	Mont Jolliet (?).	Mont Joliet
84. (Portage)	Portage	Portage
85.	Haure	Haure
86.	cuiure	cuiure
87.		
88.		
89.	ardoise	ardoise
90.	salpetre	salpetre
91. Lac des Ilinois	Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin	Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin
92.		

RANDIN	MANITOUMIE	FRANQUELIN (1678)
	ILLINOIS-LAKE MICHIGAN GROUP	
Figures de monstres	Figures des Monts	(Drawing of the Piasa)
Riuiere de la Diuine ou Loutrelaise	(River)	(River)
	Chemin du Retour	
Kachkachkia	Cachcouachi8a	
	Illinois	Ilinois
		Mine de cuiure rouge
Pierres sanguines	Pierres Sanguines	
	Charbon de terre	
(Portage)	Portage	(Portage)
cuiure (2)	Mine de cuivre	cuiure
	Montagne	
	Marbre	
ardoise (1)	ardoise (2)	
salpetre (3)	salpetre (1)	
Lac des Ilinois ou Missiganin	Lac de Michigams ou Illinois	Lac des Ilinois
	Portage	

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The Narrative of Oscar One Bull

Introduction

While studying and recording the customs, beliefs, and traditions of the Sioux Indians during 1939 and 1940, I visited the Indian village of Little Eagle in the Standing Rock Reservation of the Dakotas. Here during visits to his home I gathered the narrative of Oscar One Bull, a Teton Sioux, the adopted son of Sitting Bull. Old and wrinkled he remains one of the few surviving members of his band. He was a young brave in the memorable years of Sioux history, the 1870's, the decade when nearly every Sioux man took an active part in the defence of the lands that gave sustenance to his people.

The Dakota Indians, more commonly known as the Sioux, were once many tribes speaking the Siouan tongue and ranging over a vast area of which the two Dakotas was about the center. Now there are seven tribes. The Teton tribe, like the others, is divided into bands, one of which is the Hunkpapa. One Bull is a Hunkpapa Teton. Despite the treaty between the Sioux and the United States Government in 1825 defining the eastern boundary of the Indians' land, the white men moved into the western portion of Minnesota and into an inevitable conflict with the Sioux. Following the Minnesota massacre of 1862 the Sioux were expelled from the state. Under Chief Red Cloud they were on the warpath from 1866 to 1868. On April 29, 1868, by treaty with the various bands of Teton Sioux, the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation were defined. Reserved was all the territory of South Dakota west of the Missouri River and the region of the Black Hills into Wyoming "for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named. . . ." Furthermore, the country west and

north of the Great Sioux Reservation as far as the Big Horn Mountains was to remain unceded Indian territory, the Indians' exclusive hunting grounds, through which no White could pass without the consent of the Indians.

The exclusive use of the great pasture lands teeming with wild life was to belong to the Tetons for only a short time. Already during Civil War days white settlers had moved up the Missouri River and were eyeing the rich lands and antagonizing the Indians by a wanton destruction of their game. Already the gold seekers from the far west had moved into Wyoming and Idaho. Caught between miner and farmer the Sioux had recourse to weapons. The pathetic story of the results of their wars over broken treaties has been many times told.

Although scientific explorations had begun in the Black Hills as early as 1846, no active quest for precious metals was made until Custer's report of 1874 stimulated prospecting. By this time the aroused Sioux were organized by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. General George Armstrong Custer who had been sent into the Dakotas to check the uprising and to explore the possibilities of strategic forts and mineral resources, met with the chiefs at the Red Cloud Agency in 1874 and renewed the pledges to the Indians of the freedom of their lands from white intrusion. But in the following year the rich minerals were found, and a boom began which in the next quarter of a century yielded about $100,000,000 in gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and tungsten. When in 1875 the Sioux refused to cede the lands the policy of extermination appealed to the military leaders.

Sitting Bull (1837–1890), famed among his people for leadership, had long been a man feared by the Whites and a figure to deal with, by reason of his fifteen years opposition and wars. Other Teton leaders were gathered around him, especially Crazy Horse (1842–1877), the able Oglala Teton war chief, Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Gall, Black Moon, American Horse, and Thunderhawk. Allied with them were other tribes of Sioux and the Cheyenne, totaling 5,000 braves. Against them went Generals Crook, Terry, and Gibbon in early 1876. By Spring the warring had moved well into Montana. There on June 26 beside the Little Big Horn River, Custer's force met disaster at the hands of Sitting Bull.

To establish peace anew an Indian commission appointed by Congress arrived during the Summer of 1876 in the Dakotas. Shamed and silent at the story of the chiefs the commission made a settlement that called for the cession of hunting lands outside

the reservation, removals of the Indians to reserved territory, land for each, and annuities. On September 26 all Teton bands save those led by Sitting Bull and Gall ceded their claims to the Black Hills. These chiefs fled with their people to Canada, where, as One Bull remarked, "they rested for a while and fed their children." A year later Crazy Horse was arrested on suspicion of having fomented trouble, and breaking away he was shot to death at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, September 5. Hardships and destitution forced Sitting Bull to accept an anmesty in 1879, and in 1887 the proud chief came to abide in the reservation.

The reform of the Indian policy wended its legal way until the Dawes Act of 1887, yet abuses in the administration of the laws continued. By an Act of Congress, March 2, 1889, the Great Sioux Reservation was divided, and the seven bands of Tetons were placed on the five smaller reservations existing today. The Hunkpapa reside on Standing Rock Reservation, the Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation of South Dakota, the Brulé on the Rosebud and Lower Brulé reservations in the same State, while the Blackfoot, Miniconjou, Sans Arc, and Two Kettles bands are on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

In 1890 the last armed conflict occurred between Tetons and Whites. A Teton delegation had returned from a visit to the Ghost Dance prophet in Nevada. This Indian Messiah was teaching his disciples that Ghost Dance followers would again be free of white domination. His words were welcomed by many Indians in the Sioux reservations and the Teton bands soon organized chapters of the Ghost Dance. Alarmed Government officials adopted measures to check a possible uprising. Sitting Bull was considered the likely leader, since for two years he had tried to prevent sales of Indian lands and had considered the treaties unreliable. Word for his arrest went out. In the process of the arrest Sitting Bull, his son, several braves or chiefs, and several Indian police were killed, December 15, 1890. Two weeks later the last armed conflict between the Teton Sioux and the United States happened on Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota.

Oscar One Bull lived through these troublesome times.[1] His

[1] For the introductory information I have followed Paul Beckwith, *Notes on Customs of the Dakotas*, Smithsonian Report 1886, I, 245; P. E. Byrne, *Soldiers of the Plains*, New York, 1926; John C. Ewers, *Teton Dakota, Ethnology and History*, Berkeley, 1938; Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Washington, 1904, II, 998; Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, Boston, 1930, 235–239; Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, Boston, 1932; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1930, IV, 530–531; W. A. Graham, *The Story of the Little Big Horn*, New York, 1926.

father, Chief Makes Room, was a chief of the Miniconjou and brother-in-law of Sitting Bull, whom he accompanied during the wars. Since One Bull speaks only his native tongue, I used an interpreter. Much of the information relating to personal powers was given only because of the presence of Mr. Robert Byrne of Bismarck, who, as one adopted into One Bull's family, was singularly favored, for personal powers are thought to have their origin in the supernatural and are generally considered by older Indians as too sacred to be discussed with outsiders.

One Bull at the time of publication of this narrative is still living at Eagle River, a sincere friend of the Whites. Yet he remains a firm believer in all that his people believed and has not adopted Christianity, although his devoted wife was baptized by Father DeSmet and remained in the Christian fold until her death in February, 1941.

Narrative of One Bull

I was born north of Baxia Butte [Bear Butte] on the Belle Fourche River in South Dakota. It was in the spring of the year, probably the month of April, in the year when Four Horns, a famous Crow Indian and warrior was killed [in the 1850's]. He was killed by the Sioux on this side [east] of the Black Hills in a war between the Crow and the Sioux. Sioux warriors could always spot him among the other Crow because of his war bonnet; it had four horns on it. All the old members of the Sioux nation living today know the story of the killing of Four Horns.

My father was a chief, Chief Makes Room. In the battle in which Four Horns was killed, One Horn[2] was the main chief and Makes Room was next; he was like the vice-president is today. My father belonged to the Miniconjou band, my mother to the Hunkpapa. Both belonged to the Teton tribe of Sioux.

The seven tribes of the Sioux had their origin with the kindling of seven fires. A long time ago there was no fire, nor did the people have any way to get fire. Now, there was one man who was closer to the *Ate* [the Almighty] than the other people. Every time this one praised *Ate*, he had visions. Whatever he asked of *Ate* while having a vision, he received. Once while the Sioux were

[2] One Horn (Ha-wan-je-tah), head chief of the Sioux, was described in 1832 by Catlin, who painted his picture, as a noble chief, an "elegant and high minded nobleman of the wilderness." George Catlin, *North American Indians*, Philadelphia, 1913, I, 249, and Plate 86.

camping, this man asked for fire. Fire was given him and he lighted seven camp fires—no more, no less—just seven. And that is how the seven tribes began, namely, the Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton. Since the heart of this continent was then in the Black Hills, and all important things had their origin there, I believe that these people were given their fire right there in the Black Hills.

Now the Teton tribe, to which I belong, had seven bands: the Oglala, Brulé, Miniconjou, Two Kettles, Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, and Sans-Arc. My father was of the Miniconjou; my mother of the Hunkpapa. So now, by birth, I belong to the Miniconjou and the Hunkpapa. Since my parents belonged to these bands, there is no way in which I can separate from either one. Neither band, however, would accept me unless I lived with it. But this is what happened. Sitting Bull had two sisters. The older one was my mother; her name was Lady Pretty Feather. Now, Sitting Bull had a son who was born the same year I was. Well, this boy died when he was four years old. That same year Sitting Bull adopted me and I went to live with him. Now, he was a Hunkpapa. And since I lived with him, I am a Hunkpapa. But my father's people would also recognize me as one of their band if I came and lived with them. A band is obliged to recognize any one of its blood, and there is never any difficulty about it.

The Sioux Indians, like other Indians, have always been led by their chiefs. Chiefs inherited their position up to Sitting Bull's time. He was the last Sioux chief; there have been none since his time. [Several Sioux men present at this interview remarked: "One Bull is considered their chief by all the Teton Sioux today."][3] Of course there were other chiefs in recent times, but they were really only ration chiefs. The Government [local employees of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs] gave them the name of chiefs. For

[3] James Owen Dorsey recorded the following: "Among the Dakota it is customary for the rank and title of chief to descend from father to son, unless some other near relative is ambitious and influential enough to obtain the place. The same is claimed also in regard to the rank of brave or soldier, but this position is more dependent on personal bravery. Regarding chieftainship among the Dakota, Philander Prescott says: The chieftainship is of modern date, there being no chiefs before the whites came. The chiefs have little power. The chief's band is almost always a kin totem which helps to sustain him. The chiefs have no votes in council; there the majority rules and the voice of the chief is not decisive till then. On the death of a chief, the nearest kinsman in the right line is eligible. If there are no kin, the council of the band can make a chief. Civil chiefs scarcely ever make a war party." James Owen Dorsey, *Siouan Sociology*, Fifteenth Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1893–1894, 221–222.

example, a young man might happen to meet some United States official or he might be working at the Indian office here given out rations, and, if accidentally the superintendent or one of the officials would call him chief, well then, the fellows would call him chief, and he would begin to think he were a chief, and let himself be called that. In the old days such a man was no chief; such a man—one who did many brave deeds and was highly respected by the Indians—was considered a brave warrior, but never a chief.

In the old days even a man who by right of inheritance could be a chief had to have a good number of brave deeds to his credit before he could claim such rights. Yes, this is true. Chieftainship could not be passed on to a son unless the son had exercised kindness, had done many kind deeds for poor people. To try to be recognized as a chief without such a record would have been foolish; the people would not have recognized him as a chief. Sitting Bull had many kind acts to his credit. They say of him that while he was still young and when he was growing up, too, he always had a kind heart for old people; he always wanted to feed old people. So, his mother often gave a feast for old people and for those who were not able to help themselves. Yes, Sitting Bull was always doing things for everybody. He was kind to prisoners, too; he would never injure any of them.

Sitting Bull was not only a great chief, he also received special powers. When he was thirteen years old he went out scouting for horses. On his way he heard a man's voice singing from the top of the hill. He walked up to it, and found it to be an eagle. The eagle had sung: *Ate oyate kiu tawa makiya ca. Yuha iyotin ye wakiye lo.* [My father gave me this nation to care for and I am trying to fulfill my duty.] So Sitting Bull adopted this as his song. Stanley Vestal[4] was sitting here one day with a group of Indians, all in a circle. When this story was told, one of the men said, "This is the eagle on the dollar and is the one that is taking care of the nation. Sitting Bull saw it a long time ago."

Shortly after this event, when Sitting Bull was about fourteen years old, he counted coup[5] on a Crow Indian and was given the name of Sitting Bull by his father; his name before this time was

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[4] Author of *Sitting Bull*, Boston, 1930.

[5] Coups could be counted, according to James Mooney, for the three brave deeds, namely, killing an enemy, scalping an enemy, or being first to strike an enemy either alive or dead. Each coup entitled a man to rank as a warrior and to recount the exploit in public. Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Washington, 1912, I, 354.

Slow. The name Sitting Bull originated on an occasion when a man, after having done a brave deed, heard a buffalo call four names; he called Sitting Bull, Jumping Bull, One Bull, and Bull-Stands-with-a-Cow. The name One Bull was given to me one day when I returned home with some horses that I had stolen from the Crow. One Bull in Sioux is Tatanka Wanjila, *wanjila* meaning one. Names, however, usually are taken from a brave deed done by someone.

Beside the Crow Four Horns who was killed the year I was born, there was also a Sioux called Four Horns. In all probability this Sioux boy was named after Four Horns, the Crow. Probably the grandfather or the father of the Hunkpapa boy killed that Crow Four Horns and that gave him the right to use the name. This Hunkpapa Four Horns became a chief. He along with Red Horns, Voice Hawk and Running Antelope, were the four chiefs of the Hunkpapa who gave their power to Sitting Bull when Sitting Bull was made chief of all the Tetons.

I named all my grandchildren that have been given Indian names: my oldest grandson I named Four Horns; one of my granddaughters I named Bring Many Horses; another, Kills-in-the-Water. My other three grandchildren have not been named. The only child not of my own family that I named was a boy that died last spring; I named him just as soon as he was born. I felt very sad when he died. When he was being born, his people, who lived far away from where the doctors are, came for my wife and me. My wife helped with the birth. The man, Father-in-War, said, "If the baby is born and it is a boy, One Bull must name it." Any old person can give a name to a child, but usually grandparents give the name. By an old person we mean one that can no longer do all the work that is expected of a man or a woman.

And now I want to tell you how we stole horses from the Crow warriors. Our men were going out to raid one day, and I decided to go too, just to try my luck. I was eighteen years old at that time. It was daytime. About thirty of us rode up to the Crow camp, took the horses, and started back. It did not take long before the Crow caught up with us. The fight was on! The Crow were good fighters, very brave, and very skilled. I rode a buckskin colored horse. It was my first experience in horse stealing. I remember it well. I believe I did more fighting than any of the other boys. Well, we were driving the stolen horses and were being chased by the Crow. In a flash I turned my horse, galloped around the section of the band of Crows near me, and just about the time I was up to them, ready to strike coup, down they slid to the side of their running horses and

shot at me from behind them. White Bull was with us on this trip, but he was thinking more about the horses, I believe, than about fighting back. Anyway, we must have taken thirty horses on this raid because each man received a horse, and we were thirty men. [The interpreter remarked: "The old people around here say even today that when the Sioux got back to camp that day, the men said that if One Bull had not been with them the Crow would most certainly have recaptured their horses."]

One night the Crow stole horses from us. [The Crow were famed horse thieves.] They usually came at night; the Sioux went in broad day-light and did some fighting to get theirs. Well, I had three horses and I had them staked pretty close to our tepee, but the Crow Indians sneaked up and got them. Another time they took fifteen from me in one night, and that was taking every horse I had. One time, after I was married, I took my wife with me and we went out with Sitting Bull, Two Bulls, and another fellow to steal horses. We brought back twenty-three head!

No, I did not fast before my voice changed; no Sioux boys did. After I was twenty years old, however, I began to fast. A boy who was past twenty was expected to go out to fast and to pray in order that he might have a vision from which he would learn to direct his living.[6] Sometimes I fasted alone, away from everybody; I was young those days and could stand it. When I had the vision in which I received my power, I had fasted two days; I had fasted even from water. When I saw that vision I knew I was to live a right life. I was alone on a hilltop near Bear Butte. We were camping near there one winter. I came home and told the vision to Black Bone, Crazy Horse, Turns Holy, and Running Horse. These four men were waiting for me to come home to tell them my vision. They were sitting in a council tepee; other men were there, too, but they were persons of no importance. Women were not allowed to be present on such an occasion. I sketched my vision in the sand for these four men. Then one of the men took four puffs of the peace-pipe, between each puff telling me to be a brave man and predicting that from now on I would be able to withstand all hardships. After this he pointed the cup end of the pipe first, and then the mouthpiece, toward the earth and handed the pipe this way [mouthpiece preceding cup end] to the man to his left. Pointing the end pieces of the pipe toward the earth purified them. Then each of the other three men did likewise, the pipe always being

[6] For vision quests of the Teton see Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, Bulletin 61, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1918, 157–283.

passed to the man at the left. This ceremony was like that of ordaining a man to the ministry is today; it gave me the right to carry out my powers. This is the only vision that I ever had that gave me powers. I had a vision in the Sun Dance that I gave in 1937, but it did not give me any powers. A representation of the power a man has is kept by him in a bundle which is considered sacred. The Sioux call this bundle *wotae.*

[At this point the informant was asked to describe the vision that gave him his *wotae.* He said that this was hard to discuss, but that he would get his *wotae* and show it to us. The interpreter prepared a place for it by spreading a clean cloth on the ground. When he returned with the bundle she opened it and spread the *wotae* on the cloth. The *wotae* was a piece of white muslin four feet square. In its center was drawn a male elk facing east, as seen in the vision. Dragon flies were sketched in the lower corners and above the back of the elk, and a butterfly to the front. To each of the four corners an eagle feather had been tied with a small strip of buckskin. At the ends of the two upper thongs a piece of bitterroot had been tied. These were not sacred feathers, but merely represented the four winds. A fifth eagle feather rested upon the cloth as he unfolded it. This he considered a sacred feather, and while holding it he sang and demonstrated the manner in which he prayed for rain. The interpreter explained that One Bull had power to make rain, to make the winds blow, to cause a cyclone, or to cause pleasant weather. He usually exercised this power when alone, though in an emergency he might do so in public. If he wishes a little rain, he shakes the bundle gently on his arm; if he wishes much rain he strikes the ground with the *wotae* and pours water on it.]

Whenever I have prayed to My Helper Above [God] and have taken this cloth and struck the ground with it, it has rained. Last October there was a fire in the Black Hills. I prayed. Soon it rained and put out the fire. The vision gave me power over the four winds. In the vision that gave me my *wotae,* it was early morning. It was cool. Someone woke me. I was looking toward the place of the rising sun. It was a man coming up instead of the rising sun; it was like a human being but it was also like an elk. The elk gave me my power in that vision. Yes, I have used my *wotae* with good effect. Not only can I control the four winds with it, but I also carried it with me in four battles and was not hurt. My *wotae* has always helped me.

Sitting Bull had a *wotae.* After the battle at Wounded Knee

[1890] we were all taken to Fort Yates and made to camp there. When we came back, all our belongings had been stolen, our cow and chickens and all we had left behind. Sitting Bull's *wotae* was gone, too.

In all the bands of the Sioux there were three classes of people. Everybody knew who they were, and there was not much intermarrying between them. All the members of our band, the Hunkpapa, were considered higher class by the Sioux Indians. Those of the higher class had not only chief's blood in their veins, but they were reared like their fathers and grandparents. They were trained to live up to the teachings of their elders. If anyone in this group in the early day did bad deeds, he had to leave the group. He was not wanted around any more; small children were not to learn bad traits from him. Everybody in that group was to live so that he could be looked upon as an example to be followed. In this class the women did bead work and tanning and drying fruit. They had plenty of everything. The men folks went out and brought in provisions for the women. A woman in those days liked a man who was a good provider of buffalo and deer, in fact one who was a good hustler.

The next class, the middle class, were good people but poor people. Although all the people had the same chances some were always poor. In some of these families the women were ambitious enough but their men could not do their share; or else the men were ambitious enough but the women were unable to do things or were too lazy to learn to do them.

The lower class were the ones that had done wrong. No one from the higher or middle class would marry any of these. If they did, they lost their standing with the upper classes. When camping out the higher class all camped together opposite the gate, with the chief in the center. The lower class camped near the gate.

I have no sons, but I have six daughters. These all have the same mother, my present wife; and I am satisfied to have them. Some families prefer boys, but girls are accepted when they arrive. The Sioux like children. Not much was said about a couple that had no children but it was thought that one of the two must have sinned—sinned like not liking children. The Sioux have a herb that is steeped and given to a sterile woman. It is always effective. I know the herb, but do not like to tell of it; it is very rare.

In all I had ten wives. I married for the first time when I was about twenty years old. I did not pay anything for my first wife; it was not necessary. I went up to her and talked to her and

before I even asked her to marry me, she asked me to take her home. So I did: I took her to Sitting Bull's home. Sitting Bull was much pleased that I was married. But that woman did not treat me right; so I quit her. I went away, and then she went back to her people. I stayed with her just a few nights. Her mother and father were very nice people. She did not treat me right, that is why I left her! I went to my father's people and lived with them for one year.

In old days when a man was ready to marry a woman he selected one and if she satisfied him, he married her.[7] He merely brought her to his tepee where she lived with him: that was the marriage. There was no marriage ceremony. The man's mother usually gave a feast for the couple, and because of this everybody knew that this woman was her son's wife. Other men would know from this that this woman was now married. Sometimes the man arranged with the parents of the woman he wished to marry. I did that twice. One time when I wanted to marry a woman I went out hunting and caught three deer. I brought these to the parents of the girl, but they told me I would have to bring two horses also. Well, I could not afford to give that much for the girl so I did not marry her.[8]

Just once I had more than one wife [simultaneously] and that lasted one night! They were so jealous of each other that I left both of them. The other women that I married were no good: they were mean and were not able to take care of me. By one of these marriages I had two children. When I sent the woman away, she took one of the children, a girl, with her; I kept the one she left behind, a boy. After she died I went to her place and brought the girl back to my home. I got rid of this woman because she threw a piece of bread at our little girl when she asked for something to eat. Well, that was enough for me; I let her go. My present wife reared both of these children.

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[7] Courting among the Dakotas, writes Paul Beckwith, "is always done in the evening and in the lodge. If the attentions of the young man are disagreeable to the young woman, she will get up and blow out the fire. The young man takes the hint and retires. If, on the contrary, she should be willing she lets the fire alone." Paul Beckwith, *Notes on Customs of the Dakotas*, Smithsonian Report for 1886, I, 256. Cf. also Charles A. Eastman, *My Indian Boyhood*, Boston, 1933, 125.

[8] Paul Beckwith recorded in 1886 that the Sioux "purchase their wives by tying a horse at her parents' door; if, on returning the following day, they find the horse there, they will add another, keeping this up until their limit is reached; if the horses are taken away he will then enter the lodge and take his bride home; if it requires more horses than he is willing to give he takes his horses away and tries elsewhere." *Notes*, 256.

Sometimes when a couple was separating, the man hit a drum once and threw the stick into the air.[9] This meant: Whoever is able to take care of this woman, and thinks he can live with her, can have her. I never did that; some, however, did. I just quit the women. The man does not in any way support the woman after they have parted.

Years ago I adopted my adopted brother's son, a four-year-old boy named John Growler; his father was dying of tuberculosis. I invited his mother, his mother's mother, and all his relatives who might have had a claim to him, to a feast. These discussed the matter among themselves and when all were satisfied that I might adopt the boy, one of the relatives expressed the sentiment of all in a short speech. The boy then stayed with us. We treated him the same as our own children. But he died very young. Had he lived he should have inherited from me just like my own children.

I always wanted a son; but here is what happened: When I was thirty years old I shot my first eagle, the only one I ever shot. I shot it on this side of Bullhead [Standing Rock Reservation] near Haystack Butte. I was going along one day when I noticed an eagle sitting up there on the butte. Just as he started to take flight I shot him. I shot him to get his feathers; eagle feathers are valuable, the tail feathers more so than the wing feathers. The men in our locality heard that I had shot an eagle and came to my house. I gave a feather to each one of the men who had the reputation of being a brave man. These were Running Horse, Crazy Bull, Red Feather, and Turns Holy. Eagle feathers could be worn only by chiefs, sons of chiefs, councilmen and warriors. All others could wear feathers of other birds and wear them anywhere on the body, but not on the head. The chiefs wore only one feather and it was worn on the back of the head with the quill end stuck through two little braids of hair one above the other; the other end of the feather showed above the head. Councilmen, sons of chiefs, and warriors wore their feathers at angles on the side of their head. If a warrior returned from a battle in which he had done a brave deed, someone might hand him an eagle feather. He would stick this into his hair on the side of his head and in whatever manner it happened to

[9] "The Dakotah is a polygamist, having as many as five wives. The marital tie is not very binding, and divorces are not sought after in the courts; but in the straw dance they will 'throw away' those wives they no longer wish to retain; in many instances they will take 'unto themselves' several wives in order to throw them away at this dance, believing it will add to their importance to have so strong a heart." *Ibid.*

be, well that would be his way of wearing it. Only one braid was made on the side of the head to hold the feather. If the warrior had killed an enemy, he was entitled to wear a red feather. Well, I gave away those eagle feathers.

For a long time after I killed that eagle I could hear his voice calling my name. I killed only that one in all my life and I felt I was punished for it. There is a belief among the Indians that if a man kills an eagle he will lose his eldest son. It was probably because of this that our adopted boy died. Only a man who cannot have children should kill eagles.

I always wanted a boy in our family, but it seemed we could not have any because I had shot that eagle. After my four-year-old boy died, I looked wherever I went for a boy that I might adopt. Years went by but I never found any. In 1936 I went to Bismarck, North Dakota, for the celebration. It was on the Fourth of July. One of our young men got into trouble and we heard that Mr. Robert Byrne, who was then Secretary of State of North Dakota, had helped him out of his difficulty. I heard of this kind deed and when I saw Mr. Byrne I felt that he was the man I wanted to take to replace my lost boy. I felt that he had the right kind of heart; that is why I wanted to adopt him as my son. I asked the chiefs of the Reservation who were present at the celebration what their opinion was in the matter. They agreed that I adopt Mr. Byrne in Bismarck, since we could not perform the adoption ceremony among the Indians down in South Dakota where our homes were. That evening it was announced from a platform [erected for a performance in front of the Broadway Drug Store] that I would adopt Mr. Byrne. So it was before the people that Mr. Byrne became my son. We gave him the name of *Heluta* [Red Horn]. We held the ceremony of the Fox Lodge on a Sunday morning. The Indians present sang a song in the Sioux language. I sang the two that Sitting Bull used to sing: *Ate oyate kiu tawa makiya ca. Yuha iyotin ye wakiye lo.* [My father gave me this nation to care for and I am trying to fulfill my duty.] I also told how I missed my boy and that I wanted Mr. Byrne to be my son. I told the Indians of the assistance Mr. Byrne had given the boy of our tribe and that according to my judgment he had a very kind heart. After this the Indians again sang and danced for Mr. Byrne; then we put an eagle feather on his head and everybody shook hands with him. The dance was a special dance; it was the adoption dance of the Fox Lodge. Since I am the head of that lodge I adopted my son through its cere-

mony.[10] I do not know where the name Red Horn originated, but I believe it had its origin in a battle. I knew Red Horn was the best of men, with knowledge enough for a chief. I never gave the name to anyone except Mr. Byrne.

The Fox Lodge was a warrior society [*akicita*]. We had seven of these: the Fox, Silent Eaters, Badger Boy, White Horse, Grass Dancers, and White Burden.[11] These societies were found in all the bands. None found anywhere were as brave as the Hunkpapa Midnight Strong Hearts. None of the lower class people were allowed to join any of these. The middle class could become members if they did brave deeds and were good people. One was not a stepping stone to the other, but the Midnight Strong Hearts were considered the highest. The *wotae* power had nothing to do with these, nor did all members of one society have the same *wotae* power. Their meetings were secret but their dances were open to all. Each lodge, except the Silent Eaters, had its own songs, dances, and ceremonies. The Silent Eaters had none. No women belonged to any of the men's lodges; but they were usually invited to help with the singing.

[One Bull had been a participant in many of the battles of the Sioux and the United States. Each of the participants, however, has a different account of the particular battles depending upon his own activity. In view of the many verbal accounts it is impossible to check all and piece together an accurate picture. One Bull was aware that he differed from others, but he insisted that he was

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[10] Mr. Robert Byrne confirmed and amplified One Bull's description of the adoption. The young Indian for whom he performed the good deed was the grandson of One Bull; the deed consisted of getting the young fellow's truck repaired and feeding him and fourteen Standing Rock Reservation Indians who had come to participate in the North Dakota Golden Jubilee Celebration. Adoption is the highest honor which an Indian can give. Part of the ceremony was held in public and the remainder on the following Sunday at the earth lodge on the capitol grounds where the family of One Bull was housed.

[11] Similar societies are found among all the plains tribes. They were recorded by Lewis and Clark as existing among the Sioux as early as 1804. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Original Journal of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1804–1806, New York, 1904, I, 130. Wissler records six societies as existing among the Oglala on Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations, namely the Kit Fox, Crow Owners, Strong Hearts, Badgers, Bare-lance Owners, and White-marked. Only the first four of these were found among the Teton Sioux on the Standing Rock Reservation by Densmore. Densmore furthermore notes that her informants considered the Silent Eaters also known as Strong-Heart-at-Night as secret societies and entirely distinct from the Strong Hearts listed by Wissler and described by her. Clark Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota*, American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, 1912, XI, Part I, 5, and Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music*, Bulletin 61, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1918, 313.

right. The omission of the battle details will have to be pardoned by historians. When shown a photograph of Custer, One Bull after long consideration said in a serious tone: "I never saw Long Hair. So this is what Long Hair looked like." He passed the picture to his wife, saying: "This is Long Hair." She looked at it intently, quietly uttering short exclamations and sighs, and then said: "So this is the man. No matter whether he was right or not, he was bound to have his way."]

When Custer went into the Black Hills [in 1874] we were living on the river around Mormaria; we found gold while there. But the United States soldiers were all over; so we went to Canada for a rest and to feed our children. The Canadian Government treated us very well. The Major General up there was my friend and we got along very well; really our people were well treated there.

I took part in a battle fought on Rosebud Creek. Several tribes of Indians as well as some United States soldiers fought on the side of the Sioux and we beat the Whites. Five nights after that we fought Custer's battle [June 25-26, 1876]. Custer was a very heartless man! He killed the mother of a man who now lives in Rapid City [South Dakota]. They say the mother was shot while nursing him; he was just a baby. Custer was very heartless.

And now I want to tell you about a dream I had. I dreamed one time, when I was about thirty years old, that I heard somebody talking. I looked up and saw that the voice came from the sunrise. The voice said to me: "This is the power of the Sioux Nation," and it pointed to something that I could see very well was the center pole of the Sun Dance. I could see many people running toward the pole and the sunrise. The voice said to me then, "You are to do this." I believe that this dream has helped me to live a long life; that it has brought me to my old age. After that dream I took part in a number of Sun Dances.

One winter [1936] I promised to put on a Sun Dance if my daughter would get well. She had been operated on. She got well and I kept my promise and put on the Sun Dance for our people in July [1937]. That was the first Sun Dance that we held since 1881.[12] Persons who helped me with the early preparations were my wife, my three daughters, the children of my eldest daughter,

[12] Photos by Ivan Dmitri of One Bull's Sun Dance held July 1 and 2, 1937, are reproduced in the *Saturday Evening Post* of September 4, 1937, 18–19. The brief account accompanying the pictures notes that the last Sun Dance was given by the Sioux in 1881.

and two old men who knew the ways of putting on a Sun Dance. We all took a sweat bath before we began to prepare. That is a custom and is considered a sacred bath. The two old men helped me with the work: one cut the tongues of beef into thin slices, while the other, a medicine man named Kills Pretty Enemy, helped me with things in general. My wife sliced the buffalo tongue, the one that I ate because I gave the Sun Dance. A piece of the buffalo tongue was put into the sacred bag that was hung on one of the cross poles of the Sun Dance lodge; the root end of it was put into the hole into which the center pole was placed. The buffalo tongue, but not the beef tongues, was roasted in ashes. This caused the meat to become dry and prevented spoiling. My youngest daughter got the buffalo tongue by writing to a man in the Black Hills. We prepared all things used in the Sun Dance and then hid them away for thirty days.

Then on the last days of June we erected the Sun Dance lodge. Near the top of the center pole we tied branches of the wild cherry and the Juneberry, a buffalo robe, and a woman's beaded buckskin sewing bag. The bag held some buffalo fat, an awl used in making moccasins, some sinew, a bone scraper used in scraping buffalo hides, some buffalo tongue, and images of the buffalo and the crescents of the sun and the moon, all three cut out of cardboard and painted. The wild cherry and Juneberry branches were a petition that all fruits should grow well that season. No eagle was tied to the pole, but a little distance below the sacred bundle we attached this buffalo head. [He pointed at a buffalo skull.] These things represented the buffalo, man, sun, moon, and stars. No sage was hung anywhere. It was strewn over the ground that formed the floor. It is the custom that all things that are tied as offerings to the center pole are not to be touched by anyone, but are left there. The offerings I made in 1937 were left there for a long time. One of the men near here finally took them down, but he died soon after, and it was said that he had done wrong by taking them down and was punished for it.

The ceremonies began Friday night when all those who were taking part took a sweat bath. Among these were twelve men dancers—these also did the singing—my granddaughter, my grandnephew, my daughter, and a Sioux woman. [This woman while stranded in Germany, had promised to take part in a Sun Dance if she would arrive safely in the United States.] None of the Sun Dancers drank any water from Friday midnight until Sunday sunset, and only the twelve dancers were allowed to eat anything. These

were given marrow cooked especially for them in ashes; eating the ashes which stuck to the marrow cleared their throats and prevented hoarseness. The singers were not allowed to talk to anybody, nor were they allowed to go among the women. All was very solemn. Not even a dog was allowed to cross near the tepee where the men were. Of the twelve singers six sang and danced at one time.

My granddaughter held the peace pipe. She could do this because she was a virgin. She impersonated increase in Indian population. The pipe must be held toward the sun. If smoke comes from it without anyone smoking or lighting it, the prayer is answered; if no smoke comes from it, the prayer is not answered. The pipe that my granddaughter held last July smoked of its own accord. I myself put the kinnikinnick into it and I know I had not lit it. I was praying for rain at that time and we had rain. During that Sun Dance, too, the buffalo head moved of its own accord; it faced east and turned by itself finally facing west. When that happened the Indians wept.

One man moved about swinging a wand before those who were taking part. He tried to distract them. If a man's mind is strong, no one can distract him; if he is distracted and shows confusion, it is a sign that he has not made up his mind to worship. Isadore Waters carried the wand.

Formerly, those who took part in the Sun Dance tortured themselves.[13] I had my skin gashed in a hundred place for one Sun

[13] Paul Beckwith, *Notes*, 250, recorded regarding the Dakota Sun Dance in the 80's that "to each of the three poles in the center forming a triangle is fastened a stout thong, as high as a man's head is from the ground. The dancer takes his place in the center of the triangle, and making incisions through the flesh on shoulders and breast, ties the ends of thongs through the incisions and places between his lips a small quill whistle through which he breathes, at each respiration giving a shrill whistle. He is clothed only in a shawl tied around his waist falling to his knees, his body painted black, hair loose and hanging upon his shoulders, and with rings of white rabbit-skins tied in his flesh on shoulders and legs. As the sun sinks below the horizon this dance of torture is commenced by a low sidewise motion of the body, as each foot is raised and lowered, their eyes following the course of the sun as it revolves around the earth and as it rises above the horizon their eyes are kept fastened upon it. This is kept up until sunset, if the dancer has not succumbed through weakness before this; he tugs and strains in his efforts to pull the thongs through the flesh, and finally falling with his whole weight tears the thongs through, generally rendering himself insensible." Cf. also J. O. Dorsey, *A Teton's Account of the Sun Dance*, Eleventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1889–1890, 450–464. Cf. *Ibid*, 460–464 for types of torture. Cf. also Densmore, *loc. cit.*, 85–151, and Wilson D. Wallis, "The Sun Dance of the Canadian Dakota" in Clark Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1921, XVI.

Dance, when I was about twenty years old. The United States Government has forbidden torture, and so we no longer have it.[14] However, I know of no one who died because of the tortures of the Sun Dance.

The pipe that is used at the Sun Dance must never have been touched by women, except by the one who made it. The woman who makes it knows how to do so. Not all women know how to do it. This piece [section preceding the mouthpiece] must be especially designed and must be made of porcupine quills. The one I used in the Sun Dance in 1937 was made by Mrs. Charlie Looking Back. The woman who makes it must be a good, clean, honest woman. When the pipe is stored away a smoke must be made of sage and then the pipe is wrapped and stored away safely and nicely.

The Sun Dance is offered to *Ate*—to the Creator, the Almighty One, the One that makes the sky and the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars. And He is *Ate*. We do not consider the earth and the moon, the sun and the stars as gods, for they listen to and obey *Ate* the same as we people on earth do. The old Sioux believed in the same God as we do—in a Father beyond, One greater than the sun—but they also prayed to the sun because the sun is powerful enough to bring light into the world. They believed that through the sun they could see the power *Ate* had over the world. The sun is the strongest force in the world. Beyond the sun is the One that made the sun, the One that we all worship. It is one and the same God that you and we all worship: all people pray to the same God. A long time ago our forefathers told us that there is just one God. When Father DeSmet came, the people knew whom he was talking about when he spoke of God. Long before he came our people used

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[14] In answer to an inquiry regarding the content of the Act of the U. S. Government forbidding torture at the Sun Dance, John Collier, Commissioner of U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, wrote under date of February 24, 1941: "Under the Indian regulations of 1904 of the Department of the Interior, practice of the sun dance was considered an Indian offense. The exact regulations read as follows:

"The 'sun-dance,' and other similar dances and so-called religious ceremonies, shall be considered 'Indian offenses,' and any Indian found guilty of being a participant in any one or more of these 'offenses' shall for the first offense committed, be punished by withholding from him his rations for a period not exceeding ten days; and if found guilty of a subsequent offense under this rule, shall be punished by withholding his rations not less than fifteen days or more than 30 days, or by incarceration in the agency prison for a period not exceeding 30 days.

"It is probably due to this regulation, plus the loss of the buffalo and the function of the dance in Sioux life, that it has been abandoned rather than any single prohibition of the torture features. Since 1935 this regulation and any other prohibitions on Indian religion have been removed . . . The 1904 regulation is of course no longer in effect."

to tell this story: A long time ago there lived a noted man. He died. They were taking this man away to bury him: they were carrying this learned man to the Great Dipper, to the cup part of it. That is where they were carrying him to. Following him, were the people. Now, this meant that the Indians should follow this one good man. From the bible stories that we now hear, we think that maybe this man was Christ.

[During a subsequent visit, the informant tried to clarify the religious beliefs of his people.] *Ate* means Almighty Father and so does *Wakan tanka*. *Wakan* means holy and *tanka* means great or big. *Ate* means the Almighty One. One is not higher than the other; *Ate* and *Wakan tanka* are the same. Both of them are something beyond the sun which we prayed to in the old days. It is the same as Jesus is nowadays. I think of Jesus and *Ate* and *Wakan tanka* as the same power, as the Supreme Being. *Ate* and the sun are not the same. *Ate* is beyond the sun. We never worshipped the sun, but we knew that the sun, too, had power. We did not consider the sun and the sky and the rocks as gods or as being powers by themselves; we did not worship them but we knew that there was power in all of them from God. God's will was in each of them. [For example:] Before Custer's battle Sitting Bull prayed to God for power to conquer. In his prayer he saw soldiers coming with heads down and then he knew that God was giving him the power to defeat the enemy. The right order is this: We pray first to *Ate*, then to *Wakan tanka*, then to Listen-to-me [or Hear Me]: these are all *Wakan tanka*. Then come the living beings: these are the four winds, the buffalo and the eagle, the bear and other animals. The buffalo and the eagle, however, must come before the bear and other animals; and then come the human beings. None of them are especially female or male, but both female and male are classed together.[15]

We have a custom that those who dream of a horse or an elk or a buffalo must act out that dream before the crowd. I had to put on a dance last year, because I dreamed of a horse, a white horse. We call such a dance a Horse Dance. I dreamed that a white horse was coming toward me. Therefore, I rode a white horse at the dance. No one wanted to help me with the ceremonies because they thought they could not do them right. They must be acted out very exactly. If they are not acted out right, we may

[15] This information differs from that given by Dorsey in *A Teton's Account of a Sun Dance*, 432 ff., and by Clark Wissler, *loc. cit.*

expect a bad storm. No, I never heard of societies being formed by those who had these dreams.

No, the Sioux around here do not eat peyote;[16] they believe it is "medicine." At Pine Ridge [South Dakota] they eat it. [One Bull's daughter then told of a peyote "service" at Pine Ridge at which she had been present.] Our people around here do not believe in the peyote religion nor in the Ghost Dance religion.[17] I do not think that the peyote religion is very good; and I do not approve of the Ghost Dancers. The Native American Church are peyote eaters.[18]

[When shown flint arrows collected in the Osage country in Oklahoma by Mr. Robert Byrne, One Bull withdrew his hands refusing to touch them.] They are the kind used in killing people; I am afraid of them. We do not believe in touching anything that was used in killing an Indian. Our Indians did not make flint arrows. We believe they were made by spiders. I used arrows with steel points.[19]

That makes me think of buffalo hunting. When a man decided to get a buffalo he went out to the herd, looked it over, and selected

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[16] Peyote (Laphophora Williamsii. Lem. Coulter.) (*Onkseksela* in Siouan). The Spanish missionary Padre Bernardino de Sahagún (1529) describes the Aztecs as eating "certain black mushrooms, which they called nanacatl, which intoxicate and cause visions to be seen and even provoke sensuousness." James Mooney of the Bureau of Ethnology called attention to the use of the drug by Indians in the United States in 1891. W. E. Stafford, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1915, identified the nanacatl as the mescal or peyote, a spineless cactus (Lophophora williamsi or Lophophora lewinii) shaped like a carrot or turnip. The flowerlike tip of the plant, when dried, resembles a button or mushroom, and is the peyote used by the Indians. Huntington Cairns, "A Divine Intoxicant," *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1929, 638–645. The author also relates his experiment associated with peyote influence, as well as earlier recorded personal experiments in peyote eating by physicians and psychologists of note. See also Melvin R. Gilmore, *Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region*, Thirty-third Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911–1912, 104–106.

[17] The Ghost Dance religion is fully described by James Mooney in the *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1892–1893, Part II including its history and its practices among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Paiute, Sioux, Kiowa, Apache, and Caddo. Pages 1057–1078 are devoted to the Sioux. Cf. also Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux*, Boston, 1928, 217–230.

[18] Frances Densmore, recording songs of the Native American Church, writes: "The Native American Church is a development of the peyote cult and appears to be spreading in the United States." *American Anthropologist*, January–March 1941, 77–79. Cf. also Documents on Peyote, *Report of the United States Office of Indian Affairs*, May 18, 1937.

[19] Otis Tufton Mason recorded in 1893 that the Sioux procured iron, centuries ago, and substituted it for stone heads; that one of the rarest specimens in any museum is a Sioux arrow with a jasper point. *North American Bows, Arrows, and Quivers*, Smithsonian Report of 1893, 672.

the one he wanted. Buffalo had to be shot right in the side, and never were two arrows used on one buffalo. I usually brought home two buffalo, one for my family and one for the people that were helpless. No one ever killed just for the fun of killing, like so many Whites did.[20] When we had too much meat we dried and stored it.

I killed my first buffalo when I was about eighteen years old; it was the year the thirty Crow Indians were killed. The best hunting grounds lay within the area surrounded by the North Platte River, the Rocky Mountains, the Missouri River and the Canadian line. Buffalo hunting is now over. Once in a while the Government gives us a buffalo. Two summers ago while skinning one that was to be used during the Rushmore Memorial Celebration, another smelled the blood and started after us. We were obliged to take shelter in our car.

In former days the buffalo furnished the greatest part of our food. We also ate wild plums, cherries, Juneberries, and bullberries. We ate these fresh and also dried and stored them for winter. Today most of the people around here preserve them by boiling them. My daughter still dries wild plums and wild cherries each year for me and for her old mother. We walk down to her house each day and eat some; she keeps them on the table so we can help ourselves. It seems old people have to have these to keep well.

In the old days we cooked thick soup. We cooked it in the lining of the buffalo paunch. First we boiled dried berries or cherries in water with small pieces of buffalo meat; then later we added shavings that came off the buffalo hide. These thickened the soup. As late as 1920 I cooked soup in the lining of a cow paunch. It was the summer before I fell from the hayrack and hurt my back. I fastened the edges of the paunch to a tripod made of small sticks. Then I filled it with water and placed five hot stones so big [size of his fist] into the water. I had heated the stones in the fire nearby. After the water boiled, I put small pieces of meat into it, and some cherries.[21]

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[20] George Catlin describes the plains around them in every direction as being speckled with herds of grazing buffalo. He describes the officers and men of his party as "dealing death to these poor creatures to a most cruel and wanton extent for the pleasure of *destroying*, generally without stopping to cut out the meat. During yesterday and this day, several hundreds have undoubtedly been killed, and not so much as the flesh of half a dozen used." *North American Indians*, Philadelphia, 1857, II, 511.

[21] Wissler describes a similar procedure of cooking food among the Blackfoot and notes that it agrees in all essential details with the method

When buffalo were scarce and the people were on the point of starving we ate dogs, that is, puppies in the prime of life.[22] When their bodies are too heavy for their small legs, dogs seem to be running sidewise; well, that is when they are in the prime of life. It was our custom also to eat dog meat at certain ceremonies, like the clown dance. But it was not part of our regular diet; we ate dog meat only when people were starving and there were no buffalo. Since most families had faced such a time, every family kept a female dog and considered her valuable. Puppies would then be on hand should it happen that children were hungry and people were starving.

The Sioux liked fish of all kinds and ate them even though buffalo were plentiful. Fish were caught by lines made by twisting hairs of a horse's tail. [He illustrated the process by twisting some hairs between his index fingers and thumbs.] The line was made the right length, then tied to a pole made of the branch of a tree. To the other end we tied the leg or breast muscles of a bird. No hooks were used. After the fish swallowed the meat we pulled it out of the water. I caught my first fish when I was about ten.

The men of our tribe have always taken sweat baths to keep well; they do so today. They sweat in tepees near the river, and right afterward they plunge into the cold water of the river. I often take a sweat bath; it keeps me well and strong.

The Sioux did not divide life, like you say the Chippewa did.[23] Here is what we did: From birth to one year we called *hok'sicala* [baby]; from one year to ten we called *hoksila* [boy] or *winceneala* [girl]; from ten to eighteen years, *ko'skala-ciqala* [young boy] or *wiko'skalaka-ciqalal* [young girl]; from eighteen to twenty years, *ko'skalaka-tanka* [big young man] or *wiko'skalaka-ciqalal* [young woman]; from twenty to old age, *wica'sa* [man] and *wica'rcala* [old man] and *winyan* [woman] and *winu'rcala* [old woman]. Old age is when a man or a woman is no longer able to do the work that he or she had always done and was expected to do. Some enter

used by the Sioux. Clark Wissler, *Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians*, American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers, 1910, V, 27, 45.

[22] For dog meat as food see also Beckwith, *Notes*, 255, and Catlin, *North American Indians*, I, 258–260. For the Dakota menu in general see Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*, Boston, 1930, 186–187; Beckwith, *loc. cit.*, 254; and F. V. Hayden, *Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1862, 369–371.

[23] For Chippewa customs see the writer's *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background*, a forthcoming publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

this age at sixty; I did not enter it until I was eighty. When a boy's voice broke it was a sign that he was becoming a man. The bravest and most honest man in the locality then took such a boy and threw him into cold water, usually into the river. This was to train the boy in having a brave heart; it was to teach him patience and to give him a chance to show that he could control his anger. He had to learn to endure this kind of thing and other hardships as well. I was thrown into the river three times by my father. He did rough things like that to me to see if I would get angry. I was the youngest boy in our family and had a hard time growing up. My older brothers and cousins teased me a good deal.

Our people divided the year into four seasons. We called them *waniyeta* [winter], *wetu* [spring], *bloketu* [summer], and *ptaniyetu* [autumn].[24] Each season has three moons. The year begins with the winter; it begins in the moon when the leaves are all brown and fall from the trees, and when the cranes from the north fly south bringing snow with them. When this happens people say "Winter is here." Winter has arrived when all birds have gone south, and all animals and everything else seek sheltered places. Soon buffalo and other animals will have grown enough hair to keep them warm in cold weather. This happens about the second moon in winter. The peak of the winter is when frost forms in the houses, and when trees crack because of the cold. We also knew we were in this moon if, by accident, the men killed a buffalo cow and found that its unborn calf looked blue and had only a few hairs on its nose.

Spring begins when the snow has melted and there is another fall of snow and when one, in past days, could see the tracks of buffalo on it. That is how we could tell that the buffalo had left their sheltered places. When grass grows and buds burst we know spring is here for certain. When calves and all animals are fattening and are jumping and frolicking around, the third moon of spring has come.

When the new-born birds try to fly, summer is here. It is midsummer, or peak of summer, when cherries turn black. In early days when the buffalo calves, the ones born that spring, turned dark, it was the third moon of summer.

Fall sets in when birds of a kind gather together and prepare to fly away in flocks. In the next moon, the wild plums are com-

[24] Hayden's account gives the same terminology: we'-tu, spring, three moons, coming in of spring; bel-o-ke'-tu, fair weather, coming in of summer; ptan'-e-tu, coming in of autumn, three fall months; wa-ni'-i-tu, coming in of winter, three winter months. *Contributions*, 376.

pletely ripe and fall easily from their branches. The end of the fall is here when leaves begin to turn brown and red and yellow and begin to fall.

Our day begins when the morning star rises. Soon after that a bird wakes up and chirps; that is a sign it is daybreak. When the sun appears, the Sioux say *anpao*. When the sun is about there [at an angle of 45° with the zenith] it is *hinhauna* or *wicokau* [forenoon]. It is *hujaye* when the sun is directly overhead. It is *comiyaye* [afternoon] when the sun is half way toward sunset. The day is nearly gone then. *Htayetu* [evening] means the sun is going down.

I was trained as a boy to be up before sunrise, and all my life I have been up before the sun. For five years now I have not seen the morning star; I don't know what has happened to it. I can see daybreak, but not the morning star. Every morning before the daybreak I sing: *Toka heya wamayag upe. Taku waste wamayag upe. Ina maka ta uyapelo.*" This means, "My father sent me to this earth, and he sent me the buffalo on which to live. My mother, too, was sent down to earth. She comes to this world to carry out a mission: to beget children and to bring forth a nation." My grandson rises with me; we stand out in the open, our right hands towards the rising sun, and sing this song together.

The Sioux did not divide their time into weeks. If a man wished to count nights very accurately—nights and not days were counted—he marked his pipe stick with grooves. [The stick was used in plugging tobacco into the cup of the pipe.] Each groove represented a night. We knew how many nights it took for the moon to get to a quarter, so it was easy to count the nights ahead. We might want to know this if we were sending word to another tribe that we would meet them at a certain time.

Instead of counting by week like the Whites did, we counted by moons. A moon begins "when the moon is dead" [new moon]. *Witanin* means "the moon is showing" or "the moon is coming to life" [first quarter]; *wiatayatanin* means "the moon has come to life" or "all of the moon is showing" [full moon]; *wiyaspapi* means "moon is dying" or "a part is eaten off the moon" [last quarter].

The names of our moons were: Frost-in-the-house or first-of-winter [December]; Middle-of-winter [January]; When-trees-crack [February]; Hair-grows-on-the-calf or People-have-sore-eyes-from-the-snow-blindness [March]; Buffalo-have-calves [April]; When-crocuses-blossom [May]; When-Juneberries-ripen-and-turn-black [June]; Middle-of-summer [July]; Cherries-turn-black or Cherries-

turn-ripe [August]; Plums-turn-scarlet-red [September]; When-leaves-turn-yellow [October]; When-leaves-are-off-trees or When-cranes-come-back-from-the-North [November].[25]

We did not have many ways of predicting weather. We still say that if the horns of the moon point toward the earth at first quarter, we shall have cool weather; we say the moon is chilled. If the horns point up, we say, "This month we are going to have good weather." If ducks, or any fowl, fly low on their way south, we know rain will soon fall; if they fly high, clear weather will come. A rainbow also predicts clear weather; that is all we ever said about the rainbow. Our people never thought the northern lights were ghosts, like you say the Chippewa believe. We merely looked at them and wondered what they were.

We kept count of years by drawing a picture of the chief event of the year. Chief events that we pictured might be the death of a great man, an eclipse, a comet, a great battle, a forest fire, or an earthquake. Some took the trunk of a small tree and planed it down until it had a smooth surface, and drew pictures on that. I would like to show you my record but it was burnt when my house burnt down two years ago. I made it on the horns of mountain goat. I soaked the horns and then boiled them, and repeated this many times. After each boiling I flattened them out some more. When they were as flat is I could make them, I dried them under weights of rock. When they were dry, I fastened the head ends together. I drew a picture of each event I wanted to record. If I still had it I would show you the events by beginning at the outer edge and circling round the entire edge. Then you would keep moving round and round [clockwise] until you got close to the inside. These are some of the years that I recorded: The year that I was born Four Horns was killed; I was told this, so I marked that for the first event [on my calendar]. A priest, whose name was Father DeSmet, came to Powder River to make peace with the Sioux—he and three other men. It was the first time I saw him. I marked that. [May, 1868.][26] For an entire day at one time the sun was eclipsed; so I marked it. Jumping Bull, Sitting Bull's father, was killed by the Crow; so that was another event. A Crow man, two Crow women, and one of their sons were captured and held by the Sioux; they were in a cage-like thing built of brush. Sitting

[25] For a variant see Hayden, *Ibid.*

[26] Cf. Hiram Martin Chittendon and Alfred Talbot Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jen de Smet, S.J., 1801–1873*, III, 899–922, for Father de Smet's account of this visit.

Bull took them out of this and sent them home; I marked that. Another year the Sioux captured a white woman and held her captive. Sitting Bull also freed her and sent her home; so I marked that. And so on. Well, if a man wanted to speak of a certain event, say for instance the death of his father—his father being only an ordinary man—he would say: "My father died during the year of the great eclipse."

I knew our sign language and also those of the Rees [Arikaras] and the Crow, when I was twenty-five years old.[27] Nobody taught them to me like we teach the children today. If we wanted to talk to another tribe there was nothing for us to do but to learn the sign language of that tribe, unless we wanted to learn the language that those people spoke, and that would have taken a long time. It is not hard to learn the sign language. Most of the signs are identical. I learned the different signs by becoming acquainted with the different tribes.

If you had come here to visit sixty years ago, I would have let the men of the Council know that you were here. They would have approved of you and let you come in. That was our custom. The Sioux wanted to be friendly with the Whites. When trouble came between the Whites and the Sioux, it was usually because one of our tribe had murdered one of the members and was driven away. That was our custom, too. But what happened was this: that fellow would leave the tribe and take revenge by going over to the side of the Whites and cause trouble between them and us.

[We bade goodbye to Oscar One Bull. His friendly, kindly face was lined with resignation. And we bade farewell to his devoted wife, who waved goodbye with expressions of regret in subdued monosyllables.[28]]

SISTER M. INEZ HILGER

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[27] Variations in the sign languages of the North American Indians are discussed and illustrated by Garrick Mallery, *Sign Language Among the North American Indians.* First Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1879–1880, 263–552.

[28] Cf. the writer's article, 'Was it Father De Smet?" in *The Christian Family,* February 1944, 45, for a discussion of her baptism by Father De-Smet.

The "Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette."

PART I.

Until 1927, Father Marquette was unanimously believed to be the author of the narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi in 1673. In that year, however, Father Francis Borgia Steck questioned its authenticity in his doctoral dissertation and reached the conclusion that Marquette was not the author of the Récit as we have it today.

Besides this conclusion, he formulated the following hypothesis: "In its present form [the Récit] is in substance Jolliet's journal recast and amplified by Dablon with the aid of other sources which he had at his disposal."[1]

As we shall see, Father Steck's conclusion is certain, but the hypothesis for which he claims great probability is most improbable. It is a theory "which . . . involves too many assumptions to receive credence."[2]

This doctoral dissertation comprises an introduction of six chapters. The introduction is an irrelevant discussion of what he calls the "Northern Mystery." The first two chapters are merely a rehash of the opinions of Parkman, Margry, Lorin and others. Chapter three deals with the expedition of 1673 as a whole. In the fourth chapter, entitled "The Nature of the Expedition," Father Steck protests at length against the unanimous use of the word "discovery" to describe the voyage of 1673. His objections to this general usage seem quite pointless. Those who use the word are well aware that Cabeza de Vaca must have passed by the mouth of the Mississippi in 1528, that De Soto and his men sighted the river between the Arkansas and the St. Francis in 1541, and that Moscoso and the remnants of De Soto's army on their way to Mexico descended the Mississippi to its mouth in 1543. A discovery is not so much a matter of first sighting new lands, new coasts, new islands, new

[1] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928), 310.

[2] L. P. Kellogg, *The American Historical Review*, 33 (1928): 699.

rivers, but of making them known to the world.[3] In this chapter also, the attempt to prove that previous knowledge of the Mississippi was "being kept alive" under the name of Rio del Espíritu Santo is unsuccessful; for it relies on the unfounded assumption that the Rio del Espíritu Santo shown on early maps or mentioned in the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca and by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition is the Mississippi.[4]

The fifth chapter discusses the question of the "Leader of the Expedition," but adds nothing new on this point. Long before 1927, quite a few historians had explicitly stated that Jolliet was the leader; and in the oldest printed version of the narrative, that of Thévenot published in 1681, the opening sentence reads as follows: "Je [Marquette] m'embarquay avec le Sieur Joliet, qui avoit esté choisi pour conduire cette entreprise."

The real contribution which this dissertation made to historical knowledge is the sixth and last chapter, in which the authenticity of the Récit is discussed. This chapter has been the object of much ill-advised criticism. Against Father Steck's contention that Marquette never wrote the Récit, one of his critics wrote as follows: "The only evidence that can be adduced in support of this theory is the undoubted fact that no manuscript of the so-called journal [the Récit] in the priest's handwriting is known to exist. But if all authorship were denied on such ground, what masses of prose and verse, ascribed confidently to writers dead and gone this many a year, would stand orphaned before the world."[5]

Father Steck's assertion that we have no autograph Marquette manuscript of the Récit is true enough, but this is not the only evience. The same critic arbitrarily rejects arguments from external evidence as unconvincing and maintains that "the internal evidence quoted by Father Steck is even less conclusive."[6] There is some ground for this latter contention. Why he should have advanced such weak arguments from internal evidence is difficult to under-

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[3] L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), 54, note 13.

[4] In a review of *El Rio del Espiritu Santo* (New York, 1945), in *The Catholic Historical Review* (April, 1946, 101), Father Steck voices his disagreement with the author of this book. I never thought that he would agree, nor for that matter, do I care whether he agrees or not. I have long been aware that evidence which disarranges his theories will not be considered, especially if it leads to a conclusion definitely rejected beforehand. For the proper answer to critics of a certain temper, see H. Thurston, *Some Inexactitudes of Mr. G. G. Coulton* (London, 1917), 26.

[5] A. Repplier, *Père Marquette* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), 259.

[6] Repplier, *op. cit.*, 260.

stand, considering that textual analysis furnishes conclusive proof that Marquette did not write the Récit.

This proof will be examined in the following pages. In the first part of the present article, we shall study the various manuscripts of the Relation of 1677–1678 of which the Récit des voyages et des découvertes du P. Jacques Marquette forms an integral part; we shall also ascertain what sources were at the disposal of the author of the Récit; finally, we shall consider some of the arguments on which Father Steck bases his hypothesis. In the second part of this article, we shall trace, paragraph by paragraph, the sources utilized by the author of the Récit.

On October 25, 1678, Father Dablon, then superior of the Jesuit missions in New France, sent a letter to Father Claude Boucher, the French assistant to the general of the Jesuits, in Rome, in which he says in part: "V[otre] R[everence]e verra dans la Relation la continuation des Benedictions de Dieu sur les trauuaux de nos missionnaires, . . . J'ay ramassé autant que Jay pu tous Les memoires du Feu P. Marquette sur ses decouuertes Je Les ay mis en ordre auec toutes les raretéz et curiositéz de ce voyage, et L'establissement de La Mission des Ilinois, J'enuoye au P. Ragueneau ce petit ouurage qui le fera voir a V R^ce."[7]

The relation spoken of in this letter is that for 1677–1678.[8] "All the memoirs [writings] of the late Father Marquette" comprised the journal of his second voyage, the map of the Mississippi River, one or more letters written to Dablon before the spring of 1673, and a small devotional treatise. By "rarities and curiosities" of the voyage of 1673, Dablon does not mean that he had found them in Marquette's writings, but refers to what he had learned about the voyage from various members of the expedition.[9]

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[7] Dablon to Boucher, October 25, 1678, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, I, f. 62v.

[8] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896–1901), hereinafter quoted as JR, 61: 18 ff. The text printed by Thwaites is taken from the *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672–1679)* [F. de Montézon, ed.] (2 vols., Paris, 1861), 2: 196 ff. In editing this relation Thwaites substituted two passages from the manuscript in the archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal.

[9] On October 24, 1674, Dablon had written to Father Jean Pinette, the Provincial in Paris: "Le recit de ce voiage estoit plein de raretez et de curiositez tres considerables, mais celuy [Jolliet] qui ns lapportoit aya^t. fait noffrage proche Montreal tous ses papiers ont esté perdus."—Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier (Canada–3), f. 2.

This letter is edited in the most deplorable fashion in the *Relations inédites*, 2: 3–18. The above passage and others are omitted. Thwaites (JR, 59: 66–68) reproduced the text of the *Relations inédites*. The correct date is October 24. Dablon addressed this letter to Father Pinette, because, he did not know yet when he wrote that Father De Champs had

The main problem raised by Dablon's letter is the identification of "the little work" in which he embodied "all the memoirs of the discoveries of the late Father Marquette after setting them in order," and inserted "all the rarities and curiosities of this voyage," that is, of the voyage of 1673. In the same little work there is also an account, added by Dablon, of the establishment of the Illinois mission. Now, from the title and from the opening words of the Relation for 1677–1678, we know that this "little work" is the Récit des voyages et des découvertes du Père Jacques Marquette.[10]

Several copies of this Relation were made in Quebec and at least one was made in Paris. But of these copies, only one is complete, namely, Canada–5,[11] an in–8° manuscript of 68 pages numbered 1 to 67 on the recto of each page.

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succeeded Pinette as Provincial. On the fly leaf of the Relation of 1674, a copyist wrote that it had been "Enuoyée Par le R. P. Claude D'Ablon . . . Au R. P. Estienne De Champs Prouincial."

Dablon's letter to Pinette was translated into Latin by Father Ragueneau, probably in view of sending a copy to Rome. This Latin translation immediately follows the French copy. With regard to this translation C. de Rochemonteix wrote: "On conserve aux Archives générales de la Compagnie de Jésus une lettre latine du P. d'Ablon, adressée le 25 octobre 1674 au R. P. Général, Paul Oliva, dans laquelle il est parlé du voyage du P. Marquette. Le double de cette lettre, de la main du P. d'Ablon, envoyé au P. Pinette, Provincial de Paris, se trouve aux Archives de la rue Lhomond, 18, Paris, cahier 3, *Canada*, 1673–1674."—*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895–1896), 3: 10, note 3. The Latin version of the copy of Dablon's letter is not in the handwriting of the latter but in that of Ragueneau, and the difference between the handwriting of these two men is so marked that Rochemonteix' mistake on this point is difficult to understand. Compare the specimen of Ragueneau's handwriting in JR, 38, facing p. 48, with the specimens of Dablon's handwriting in JR, 47, facing p. 268, and 57, facing p. 180.

[10] "Pour Relation de Lannée 1678 | | Recit Des voyages et des Descouuertes du Pere Jacque Marquette | | de la Compagnie de Jesus en l'année 1673 et autres suiuantes | | Au R. P. Pierre de Verthamont Prouincial de la Compa | | gnie en la Prouince de france ||

Mon Reuerend Pere

Pax christi

Auant que de commencer ce recit je prie vostre Reuerence . . ."—Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier (Canada–5), 1. Compare this title with that in the *Relations inédites* 2: 195, and in JR, 61: 18.

[11] The reason why this complete copy is called Canada–5 is as follows. In the archives of the Province of France this document is one of the volumes of the Fonds Brotier, a collection named after Father Gabriel Brotier, the last librarian of the Collège Louis-le-Grand. At the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1762, Father Brotier saved what manuscripts he could from the pillagers who descended en masse on the Jesuit libraries in France. After the restoration of the Society, these manuscripts were first housed in the École Sainte-Geneviève, and were sent to Cantebury, England, in 1901, to save them from further damage. In the meantime, the various bundles of manuscripts had been bound into volumes, each of which was given a number. The whole collection comprises 199 volumes. Twenty-two of these volumes contain documents concerning North America; these are numbered 155 to 176 in the collection, but they are also numbered Canada 1 to 22. Thus Canada–5 is volume 159 of the Fonds Brotier.

The first part, which we shall call A, includes pages 1–[22] and treats of all the missions of Canada. Pages 23–[24] are blank. From pages 25–[52] is found the Récit with its preamble. We shall refer to it as B. This part of Canada–5, which bears a separate title,[12] is ordinarily listed as Marquette–5. The preamble takes one and a half pages; the Récit proper extends from the middle of page [26] to the lowest third of page [52]. At this point begins the second chapter; that is, the narrative of Marquette's second voyage to the Illinois country and an account of his death. This second chapter, pages [52]–61 will be called C. Chapter three, pages 61–67, contains a narrative of a "third voyage to the Illinois country"; the words "par le P. Allouez" are a contemporary addition in a different hand from that of the copyist of the whole manuscript. This third chapter, which will be designated as D, consists of a letter of Father Allouez with a few lines of introduction by Father Dablon. These three chapters, B, C, D, which are of very unequal length are divided respectively into ten, three and two sections.

The whole of Canada–5 is in the same handwriting which is not that of Marquette, Dablon or Ragueneau, but probably that of a Jesuit brother in Paris.

Four fragments of the Relation for 1677–1678 are bound in one volume, Fonds Brotier 158, of 148 pages in–8°. This volume which according to our previous explanation is also designated as Canada–4, is divided as follows:

The first fragment comprises the whole of A and the first seven pages of B down to the middle of page 31 of Canada–5. This is the same as sections 1 and 2 of Marquette–5 and half of section 3. Part B of this fragment will be referred to as Marquette–4a.

The second fragment of Canada–4 begins with the last six lines of the music score of the Illinois song, that is, with the end of section 6 (pages [42]–43) of Marquette–5 and covers the rest of the Relation for 1677–1678, namely, the remainder of B, the whole of C and D. Part B of this fragment will be designated as Marquette–4b. The handwriting of this second fragment is not the same as that of the first and differs from the handwriting of Marquette–5.

With regard to the date of these fragments, Father Hamy argues from the spelling that they were posterior to 1678.[13] This argument has no value whatever. Copyists were not in the least concerned to reproduce the original exactly; each one followed his own

[12] Recit | | Des voyages et des Descouuertes du Pere | | Jacques Marquette de la Compagnie de Jesus | | en 1673 et autres. | |

[13] A. Hamy, *Au Mississipi* (Paris, 1903), 223.

fancy with regard to spelling, punctuation, capitalization and abbreviations. As a matter of fact, Marquette–5 is posterior to both these fragments as can be seen by examining the titles of the various sections. In Marquette–5 these titles are shorter and contained abbreviations whereas in the fragments they are written out in full. Moreover, as we shall see, Marquette–5 was made in Paris on a copy sent from Quebec, where the complete copies of the Relation for 1677–1678 were made, of which the two fragments are all that remains.

The third fragment contains the first sixteen pages of A, down to the end of the relation of the Lorette mission. The handwriting resembles that of the second fragment.

The fourth fragment covers the beginning and the end of D, that is the narrative of Allouez' voyage to the Illinois country. The handwriting resembles that of the first fragment.

As can be seen, the contents of this volume, Canada–4, are very disparate; these fragments were bound together in the middle of the nineteenth century by someone who evidently had not read them.

Another copy of the Récit in the archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal, has the following title: Recit || Des Voyages Et des Découvertes || du P. Jacques Marquette || De la Compagnie de Jesvs, En l'année 1673 Et aux suiuantes. || Besides B, it contains C and D. Originally written in 1678, it was recopied in 1679; and was proofread by Dablon, who added at the end of the second section of the third chapter a paragraph saying that Allouez had returned to the Illinois country in 1679. This Montreal manuscript as it exists today is mutilated:—two of the original leaves were lost and their place taken by pages from the Thévenot printed version.

The accompanying table summarizes the contents of all these manuscripts.

The existence of these various copies of the Relation for 1677–1678 and the differences between them can be accounted for as follows. When the copy or copies of Dablon's original relation reached Paris at the beginning of 1679, Ragueneau had another copy made which he sent to Rome.[14] This is Canada–5, which contains Marquette–5. Fathers de Montézon, Hamy, Rochemonteix and others call it the Roman manuscript, because it was in Rome until the middle of the nineteenth century when it was brought to Paris.

[14] Cf. *supra*, note 7, Dablon's letter to Boucher: "I am sending this little work to Father Ragueneau, who will show it to your Reverence." According to the same letter, Ragueneau did not have to send A, but only B, C and D: "Your Reverence will see in the Relation that God continues to bless the labors of our missionaries . . ."

THE RÉCIT MANUSCRIPTS

BROTIER 159 (CANADA 5)	BROTIER 158 (CANADA 4)				MONTREAL
	First Fragment	Second Fragment	Third Fragment	Fourth Fragment	
A Pages 1 - [22] All missions			First sixteen pages		
B 10 Sections pages 25 - [52] Marquette's Voyage of 1673 - Récit (Marquette 5)	Sections 1, 2, and half of section 3, (Marquette-4a)	Last 6 lines of section 6, sections 7, 8, 9, 10. (Marquette-4b)			The 10 sections, minus 2 leaves
C 3 Sections pages [52]-61 Marquette's Voyage to the Illinois Country 1674 - 1675 His death, 1675					The 3 Sections
D 2 Sections pages 61 - 67 Voyage of Allouez to the Illinois Country 1676-1677				The beginning and end	The 2 Sections Dablon's additional paragraph

The four fragments in Canada–4 are evidence that there was more than one copy in Paris in 1679; and Thévenot's published version of the Récit must have been based ultimately on one of these Paris copies.[15]

Thévenot's published version of the Récit has been severely criticized since Shea's publication of the Montreal manuscript. Such criticisim is unjustified, for Thévenot's text is not essentially different from the manuscript published by Shea. Father Steck in particular carries his search for "problems" and "puzzles" to a point of looking for *midi à quatorze heures*. The twenty pages in which he discusses the "problem" of "how this manuscript came into the hands of Thévenot"; in which he is "puzzled" over alterations, omissions, substitutions and transpositions in the Thévenot text when compared with that of the Montreal manuscript are a complete waste of time, ink and paper. The question is not what Thévenot should have done, but what he did. Father Steck might conceivably have edited the manuscript differently, but that is another story. Thévenot used the liberty which publishers took, and still take today, with manuscripts submitted for publication; and the result is a published text which is much better than the text of many of the letters and narratives dealing with the exploration of the Mississippi Valley which Margry issued two centuries later. Father Steck has no more reason for wondering whether Thévenot had a manuscript different from those listed above, than one would have for questioning whether Margry had documents different from those which are now in the national archives in Paris.

Thévenot did not obtain his copy of the Récit from Cramoisy or from Michallet as Father Steck suggests, but from the Paris Jesuits with whom he was friendly and who also supplied him with letters and relations of their missionaries in China. Together with a copy of the Récit, they gave him the manuscript map which Liébaux engraved.

The number of textual variants, greater than 300, as Father Steck rightly remarks, is much less impressive than he would have us believe. The forty-five variants which he selected for purpose of detailed comparison are really insignificant in view of the following considerations.

First, the copy given to Thévenot was made on a copy of a copy. Secondly, the nonchalance of seventeenth century copyists is evident to anyone who has taken the trouble of mutually collating the various

[15] M. Thévenot, ed., *Recueil de voyages de Mr Thevenot* (Paris, 1681), 1–43.

copies of an extant original. Thirdly, Thévenot himself further edited this copy which he had received, and we have no means of knowing how faithfully the printer reproduced his editorial changes. Fourthly, one should not lose sight of the fact that the original was written by Dablon after more than twenty years in Canada, and some of the changes undoubtedly improve the style of the narrative. Finally, it is worth noting that Thévenot did not publish his Récit until the death of Ragueneau which occurred in Paris on September 3, 1680. Had Ragueneau been alive at the time of publication, it is doubtful whether Thévenot would have edited the text so freely.

The Montreal manuscript, first published by Shea in 1852,[16] was re-issued by De Montézon in 1861;[17] and in 1903 Marquette–5 was published by Father Hamy.[18] The bibliographical note prefaced to this latter publication contains some errors that should be corrected.

First, Hamy quite mistakenly calls the Récit Marquette's Journal of the voyage of 1673. Secondly, he says that there are four known copies of this "Journal": one at Harvard, one in Montreal, and two in the Archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.

The Harvard manuscript, he says, is an authenticated copy of the autograph. This is not true. There is no manuscript of the Récit at Harvard, and anything like an authenticated copy of the autograph would be quite impossible, for no autograph exists anywhere. How little acquainted Father Hamy was with this "Harvard manuscript" is clear from his next statement. After noting that there is no indication whether this Harvard copy deals with the first or with the second voyage, Hamy says that Thévenot made use of it, and calmly concludes: "It is [a copy of the 'Journal' of] the first voyage."[19]

He also says that the Montreal manuscript was made "by or for" Father Dablon. If he had ever looked at the Montreal manuscript, he would have seen at a glance that it is not in Dablon's handwriting.

Hamy's third manuscript is thus described: "Father Dablon's copy (Recueil n° 5 in the archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève, Paris [*i. e.*, Marquette–5], is in the Relation de la Nouvelle-France for the year 1678 [namely, Canada–5]. It is in the handwriting of Father Dablon and is addressed to Reverend Father de Verthamont."

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[16] J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852), 231–257. For other printings of the document by Shea, see, JR, 59: 298 f.

[17] *Relations inédites*, 2: 241–289.

[18] *Au Mississipi*, 224–255.

[19] Hamy's mistake seems to have arisen from his misunderstanding of the footnote on p. xxxiv of Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.*

This statement is another proof that Hamy never saw a specimen of Dablon's handwriting. It also indicates that he did not compare the handwriting of Marquette–5 with the latin translation of Dablon's letter of October 25, 1674, which was then in the archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève, and which Hamy says is also in Dablon's handwriting.

About the fourth copy he remarks: "The last copy in a different handwriting from the third is also in the archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève." This is Marquette–4. "Father de Rochemonteix says that the narrative of Marquette's first voyage dated August 1, 1674, is in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and is reproduced (from the manuscript no. 4 of the École Sainte-Geneviève) in the *Relations inédites* [1: 193–204]." This is another inaccuracy. Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, is not in Canada–4, but in Canada–1. Rochemonteix supposed that the manuscript was in Rome because of a statement at the end of De Montézon's foreword to Dablon's letter: "This document is found only in the Roman collection."[20]

A final mistake appears in the following statement: "Elsewhere he [Rochemonteix] says[21] that he collated Father Dablon's copy [the Montreal manuscript] as printed [by Shea] in New York in 1855 with the Rome original manuscript." What Rochemonteix actually did was to collate Shea's edition of the Montreal manuscript with Marquette–5, and to note the variants between the two copies. "Unfortunately," says Father Hamy, "we do not know where the Rome original is. It is not among what is left of the archives of the Society of Jesus in the hands of the Italian government, nor in public depositories, nor in the best known private collections."[22]

All the confusion about these manuscripts has arisen from the fact that those who attempted to describe them overlooked an important detail:—the manuscripts which Father de Montézon says are in the Rome collections[23] were there until the middle of last century and at that time they were brought to Paris.

Father Hamy ends his introductory note by saying that his transcription of Marquette–5 is a faithful one, "that is, a transcription which is called diplomatic, except that the accents have been marked on the last syllable, whether or not it is followed by a mute vowel."

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[20] *Relations inédites*, 1: 192.
[21] *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, 3: 10, note 3.
[22] Hamy, *Au Mississipi*, 223.
[23] *Relations inédites*, 1: 2, 192; 2: 98, 195, 240.

Hamy's publication cannot be called a diplomatic edition, for such an edition simply reproduces all manuscript readings, without indicating any preference, but giving exact references to each. In Hamy's first paragraph of the Récit, there are variants taken from Marquette–4 and from Shea's edition of the Montreal manuscript without any reference to the sources of these variants.

We must insist on the fact that the variants in these different copies of the Récit do not affect the substance of the contents. The copies sent to France were made in Quebec on Dablon's original, and Marquette–5 was made on one of these copies. Although Marquette–5 is the only complete copy, we shall use the Montreal text in the second part of this article, because this text was corrected by Dablon. The two missing leaves in the Montreal manuscript will be supplied from Marquette–5, and as occasion arises, we shall call attention to important variants in the different texts.

Since there is no doubt that Dablon wrote the Relation for 1677–1678, of which the Récit is an integral part (Avant que de commencer ce recit), our main problem is to ascertain what material he had at hand for composing the Récit in 1678.

First, he certainly had his own letter of August 1, 1674, for in the Récit there are passages taken word for word from this letter. It is incredible that Dablon should use the same terms after a four year interval, or that these passages should have been identically expressed by Marquette in his journal written during the voyage down the Mississippi in 1673.

Secondly, Dablon had a copy of Jolliet's map as well as a copy of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac which today is inscribed on a copy of this map. Furthermore, it is not only probable but quite certain that Dablon had further talks with Jolliet between July 1674 and the autumn of 1678, when the Récit was written. Both were living in the same small village,[24] and there is not the slightest evidence to support Father Steck's contention that Jolliet did not remain friendly with the Jesuits after his return from his voyage of discovery[25] or after 1682, when Thévenot's *Recueil* may

[24] In 1681, the population of Quebec was 1,345 persons. B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français* (8 vols., Montreal, 1882–1884), 5: 88.

[25] See "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years, 1674–1686," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 75–78.—Since this article was written, I have had occasion to consult the Registre des baptêmes, mariages et sépultures des sauvages du Lac S[t] Jean, Chicoutimi, et Tadoussac de 1669 à 1692," which is known as the "deuxième registre de Tadoussac," (see "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, 26 [1944]: 245, note 1). In this register, folio 61v, under the year 1679 is the following entry: "Ceste année Messrs de la Chesnay et Bo[i]sseau ont emploié Msr Jolliet—son frere Zacharie [,] Guill[aume] Bissot. Estienne Lesart—Louys le

have reached Canada.[26] And Dablon certainly questioned Jacques Largilier who had taken part in the expedition and who after his return to Quebec in 1675, became a Jesuit *donné* and was again in Quebec in 1676. It is probable that Dablon also interviewed Thiberge and Plattier, two other members of the expedition, who returned to Quebec in 1674, but we have no written evidence that he did so.

Thirdly, Dablon had Marquette's map, and from Dablon's autograph note on the fly leaf of Marquette's journal of his second voyage to the Illinois country, we know that he also had this journal.

Finally, if Dablon did not have at his disposal in Quebec a complete set of the Jesuit Relations, he certainly had those which had been published since his arrival in Canada in 1655, in particular those which he himself had edited and the manuscript of those written since the publication of the Relations had been suspended.

There is no essential fact concerning the voyage of 1673 in the Récit that cannot be traced to these written or oral sources. The dependence of the Récit on the written sources can be established with certainty. As for those parts of the text for which we have no written sources, they will be seen to depend on the oral testimony of Jolliet and Largilier and in the case of one or two items, on a lost account of the voyage.

Before presenting evidence for the sources of the Récit, we must at once dispose of the objection that the parts for which we have no written sources may have been taken by Dablon from Marquette's journal of his first voyage. If this were true, Dablon would not have written to Boucher that he had gathered all writings of the late Father Marquette to the best of his ability. Instead, he would have mentioned Marquette's journal. His failure to mention Marquette's journal of the second voyage does not at all indicate that he would have failed to mention the journal of the first if he had possessed it.

We know that he was intensely interested in the geography of North America, and that he collected all possible data which would make the continent better known. We also know that he directed his subordinates to compute latitudes whenever they could do so.

Mieux—pierre son frere [,] pierre Lesart—pierre Le grand—Denys—pour establir la Traitte et la Mission de S^t^ François Xavier á Nemiskau par le p. Antoine Silvy [;] Le R. p. Claude Dablon estant Superieur de toutes les Missions [.] Conducteurs Jacq^s^ Kakachabeu et Sani8 [or Sari8].

[26] "Le R. P. André [Father Louis André] auec Mr. Jolliet au Ka8 et Anticosti pendant lesté." Second register of Tadoussac, entry for the year 1684, fo. 54v.

That latitudes were computed during the voyage of 1673 is certain. We know this from the fact that in July 1673, Jolliet told Dablon the position of the mouth of the Wisconsin, the mouth of the Missouri and the terminus of the expedition.[27] We also know that they computed latitudes from Marquette's letter of August 4, 1673;[28] and we know that two other latitudes were entered in Marquette's journal of the voyage: the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio and that of the terminus of the expedition.[29] These two latitudes are at variance with those given in the Récit because Dablon took them not from Marquette's journal but from Marquette's map. Now it is unbelievable that he should have relied on the map for this information, if he had in his possession Marquette's journal in which the exact latitudes were entered.

Since Father Steck chose to deny that there ever was a Marquette journal of the first voyage down the Mississippi, we must examine on what grounds he bases his denial and evaluate his arguments. As a necessary preliminary to this discussion we must call attention to the opening paragraph of Marquette's autograph journal of his second voyage to the Illinois country.

Ayant este contraint de demeurer a s^{t}. Francois tout l'esté, a cause de quelque incommodite, en ayant este guery dez le mois de septembre, I'y attendois l'arriuee de nos gens au retour de la bas pour sçauoir ceque ie ferois pour mon hyuernement; lesquels m'en apporterent les ordres pour mon uoyage a la mission de la Conception des Ilinois, ayant satisfait aux sentiments de V. R pour les coppies de mon iournal touchant la Riuiere de missisipi, Ie partis auec Pierre Porteret et Iacque [Largilier] le 25 oct 1674 sur les midy[30]

The full import of this opening paragraph can be grasped only if we take into account the facts of which we are certain from collateral evidence, and if we pay attention to the obvious meaning of the evidence instead of being guided by what one "prefers to think" this meaning is. The relevant facts are as follows:

To reach Montreal sometime before July 6, 1674, Jolliet must have left Sault Ste Marie at the end of May or at the latest at the beginning of June. We know that he was still in Montreal on July 13, and that he had left this town a week later.[31] Hence he

[27] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 317, 318, 319.

[28] Cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 51.

[29] JR, 65: 106, 116; "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 44, 48.

[30] JR, 59: 164.

[31] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years, 1645–1674," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 19, 24.

arrived at Quebec during the last third of the month of July, for the voyage from Montreal to Quebec was a matter of three or four days at the most. The date of Jolliet's arrival at Quebec is confirmed by the date of Dablon's letter, August 1, 1674, in which the Jesuit superior set down what he had heard from the explorer. A reading of the Relation for 1673–1674 makes it clear that Dablon wrote down the interview immediately and finished the Relation several months later. In his letter of August 1, Dablon wrote: "Father Marquette has kept a copy of that [relation] which has been lost." Meanwhile and until "the journal of this voyage" is forthcoming, he contented himself with mentioning the general advantages of this discovery which he had learned from Jolliet.[32]

Any difficulties that might arise from Dablon's reference to the "copy of the relation—or journal—which has been lost," are disposed of by Marquette's own words quoted above: "Having deferred to the wishes of Your Reverence for the copies of MY JOURNAL concerning the Mississippi River." This means that Marquette had complied with Dablon's request, which he received sometime in October 1674. As we have seen, Dablon wrote to Pinette on October 25, 1674: "Le recit de ce voiage estoit plein de raretez et de curiositez tres considerables, mais celuy [Jolliet] qui ns lapportoit aya[t]. fait noffrage proche montreal tous ses papiers ont esté perdus, J'en attend un au. exemplaire lan qui vient que iay demandé au p. Marquette qui en a gardé copie."[33]

It should be noticed that Marquette does not speak of Jolliet's journal but of his own. It is pointless to ask, as Father Steck does, whether upon receiving Dablon's request, Marquette "understood his superior correctly." No matter how Dablon may have worded his request to Marquette for a copy of the lost journal, the latter clearly and unmistakably says that he has made copies of his own journal of the voyage for Dablon. It is absurd to say that Marquette is not "clear and precise in stating what sort of papers he was transmitting to his Superior." Father Steck suggests how Marquette might have ensured greater clarity: "had he said 'I am sending to Your Reverence my journal,' then there could be no doubt as to what Dablon actually received."[34] Doubtless Marquette would have anticipated this suggestion if it accurately expressed what he was doing. The fact that he does not speak explicitly of

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[32] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 320.

[33] Dablon to Pinette, October 24, 1674, Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, Fonds Brotier (Canada–3), f. 1v.

[34] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 290 f.

sending his journal would seem to indicate that he was not actually sending it at the time he wrote. In any case, his silence on this point should not discredit his explicit statement that he made or that he had copies of HIS journal made.

Elsewhere we are told that at Green Bay Marquette

> was disconcerted when . . . . he received instructions to send the journal he had written of the expedition to the Mississippi. He had no journal, illness having all year prevented him from composing one. What he had, however, were the notes he had taken during the expedition as also the copies of Jolliet's journal. Eager to open a regular mission among the Illinois and realizing that it was already the middle of October, Marquette decided to send what he had. He felt sure that, considering the circumstances, his Superior would be satisfied. He would explain later and for that reason wrote in the opening paragraph of his Journal of the second voyage: "Having satisfied the wishes of your Reverence for the copies of my journal concerning the river of Mississippi, I departed . . . . on October 25, 1674, about noon.[35]

We have quoted at length from this paragraph in order not to misrepresent Father Steck's position. He declares unequivocally that Marquette had no journal, all that he had were personal notes and copies of Jolliet's journal. Not only does this statement need to be supported by evidence, but it is also incumbent on Father Steck to explain how Marquette's words "MON journal" mean that he had "no journal," but only "notes taken during the expedition." In another passage of this dissertation Father Steck's attitude toward a similar reference is altogether different and exemplifies his arbitrariness in dealing with documentary evidence. "What Jolliet meant when he spoke of 'my journal' is clear. It was an account of the expedition, the main topic discussed by him on August 1."[36] For some odd reason when Marquette speaks of "my journal," it is no longer clear, nor precise. What Marquette means is Jolliet's journal, or notes taken during the expedition. He means everything except "my journal."

Even if we did not have the word of Marquette that he had a journal, we know that twenty-seven years later Gravier took Marquette's journal with him in his voyage down the Mississippi. And quite apart from this direct evidence, we should be justified in presuming that he kept a journal on the first voyage from the fact that we have an autograph journal—not merely "notes" or somebody else's journal—of his second, much less important, voyage to the Illi-

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[35] *Ibid.*, 206 f.
[36] *Ibid.*, 290.

nois country; a journal which was kept under much more adverse conditions. Moreover, Dablon was too much interested in the great river of the West not to have recommended keeping such a journal when he ordered Marquette, in 1672, to accompany Jolliet.

The statement that illness prevented Marquette from "composing" a journal is sheer conjecture. There is no reason to suppose that such composition was necessary, for we know that the journal of the second voyage was certainly not "composed" after, but during the journey itself. When one speaks of a journal, one means day by day entries, or entries on those days when notable events occur. This, however, does not exclude the case of the author of a journal making a neat copy of it at a later date.[37] It would not have taken "all year" to make copies of the journal of the expedition. Moreover, Marquette was not ill "all year" at Green Bay. His illness began toward the end of May 1674, and ended in September. He would then have had plenty of time during the seven months between his return from the Mississippi and the month of May to "compose" a journal, if there had been any need of such "composition."

Jolliet told Dablon that Marquette had kept a copy of the lost journal, and he told Frontenac that copies of it were at Sault Ste Marie, "chez les Pères," that is, with the Jesuits there. Dablon wrote in his letter of August 1, 1674, that he would be able to give a complete account of the voyage down the Mississippi "next year" when the copy mentioned by Jolliet would be available; and Frontenac wrote to Colbert in November 1674 that the copies at Sault Ste Marie could not be brought to Quebec until next year.

There is no evidence that the governor actually gave orders to send these copies to Quebec, or that Jolliet himself wrote for them; in any event, these copies had gone up in flames by the time word might have reached Sault Ste Marie. On the other hand, we have seen that Dablon wrote to Marquette asking for the copy of the lost journal, and Marquette answered that he had made copies of his own journal.

There is no mystery connected with the manner in which Dablon communicated with Marquette. Dablon knew of the lost journal before August 1. Convoys usually left Quebec for the West at the beginning of August, and left Montreal toward the middle of the

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[37] Jolliet, for instance, recopied in Quebec the journal of his voyage to Labrador in 1694. "Last Voyages and Death of Louis Jolliet," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* (RAPQ) *pour 1943–1944* (Quebec, 1944), 170, note 12.

month. It took five weeks to make the journey from Montreal to Michilimackinac or Sault Ste Marie. For all that Dablon knew, Marquette had returned to Michilimackinac the preceding spring or early in the summer.

Dablon's request for the copy of Jolliet's journal, then, must have arrived at Michilimackinac in the latter part of September 1674. Marquette was not there at the time, for he "had been forced to remain at St. François [Green Bay] the whole summer on account of illness." This illness began at the end of May and lasted until September.[38] Marquette then wrote to the local superior, Father Nouvel, for further orders. In the introductory paragraph of the journal of his second voyage, he says that he had been waiting at the St. Francis Xavier mission since September, "for the return of our men from up there (*la bas*) to learn what I would do during the winter. They brought me orders from up there to proceed to the mission of the Conception among the Illinois . . . I departed with Pierre Porteret and Jacques [Largilier] on October 25, 1674, toward noon."

It is clear from this that in September 1674, Marquette had written to Father Nouvel who was then at Michilimackinac or at Sault Ste Marie (*la bas*), to know what he should do during the winter, and "our men" brought orders to him (*m'en*) from *la bas,* that is, from Father Nouvel who as superior of the western missions had to assign the missionaries to their various posts. That the expression *la bas* means Michilimackinac or Sault Ste Marie and not Quebec is clear from a letter of Father Cholenec:

> The Reverend Father Superior of the Ottawa missions [Nouvel] gave him leave to go [to the Illinois country], and for this purpose, a week after Michaelmas, sent from Michilimackinac where he ordinarily resides two of our servants [Largilier and Porteret], one of whom [Largilier] had made the journey [down the Mississippi] with him. They went to the Baye des Puans [St. Francis Xavier mission], where he was, whence he left with them at the beginning of November.[39]

On the basis of these data, we argue as follows. When the convoy from Quebec arrived at either Michilimackinac or Sault Ste Marie toward the end of September, Largilier and Porteret were

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[38] Lettre circulaire [obituary] du P. Jacques Marquette, October 13, 1675. Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, II, f. 195.

[39] Cholenec to Fontenay, October 10, 1675, in Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, 3: 607.

there; for they had come to Nouvel with Marquette's letter asking permission to winter among the Illinois. One week (*huit jours*) after Michaelmass, that is, during the first week of October, these messengers departed on their return journey to Marquette, bringing with them Nouvel's permission. They must also have taken with them Dablon's request for copies of Marquette's journal which had arrived from Quebec with the convoy. The return journey by canoe to the St. Francis Xavier mission took a week's time; hence they would have reached Marquette at the mission before the middle of October. We know from Marquette's journal of his second voyage that he left with them for the Illinois country on October 25. The interval of more than a week between the arrival at St. Francis Xavier of Largilier and Porteret and Marquette's departure with them on October 25 would have allowed him ample time "to defer to the wishes of your Reverence for copies of my journal concerning the Mississippi River."

Whether any of these copies ever left Green Bay or whether one of them reached Nouvel cannot be ascertained. It is certain that no copy ever reached Dablon. We know that Nouvel sent to Dablon the journal of the second voyage, and it is hardly probable that he would have failed to send the journal of the first, knowing that Dablon had specifically asked for it. Even supposing that copies of the first journal had reached Nouvel, it is a long way from Michilimackinac to Quebec. As can be gathered from his letters to Boucher (I have gathered to the best of my ability all the writings of the late Father Marquette), Dablon made further inquiries for this journal between the summer of 1675, the earliest date when the copies spoken of by Marquette could have been brought to Quebec, and 1678, when the Récit was written. By 1678, Dablon had given up hope of ever receiving this important document, and wrote the Récit on the basis of what he had. At this date, though he did not know it, the original or one of the copies of this journal was still extant, for Gravier had it with him on his voyage down the Mississippi in 1700.

As for the copies of Jolliet's journal which he had left at Sault Ste Marie, none of them ever reached Quebec. Soon after Jolliet's departure from the Sault, a delegation of Sioux arrived at the mission to make peace with the Saulteux. The Cree and Missisauga Indians, who had had to suffer at the hands of the Sioux, also came to the mission, firmly determined to prevent peace from being con-

cluded. Although precautions were taken lest armed Indians should gain entrance to the Jesuit house where Saulteux and Sioux were palavering, some Indians succeeded in slipping in with knives. A Cree Indian started the brawl by stabbing one of the Sioux. The latter barricaded themselves in the house and held off Saulteux, Cree and Missisauga with gunfire. Some braves, however, managed to pile up straw and bark canoes against the houses and set them on fire; "and in spite of all that could be done, it soon consumed the whole edifice, and placed the new chapel not far away in great jeopardy of being also burned. Our people did so well that they saved it."[40]

According to a letter of Frontenac to Colbert in November 1674, Jolliet had left "copies of journals *chez les pères*," that is, in this Jesuit house at Sault Ste Marie. As Miss Kellogg says: "A strange fatality seems to have attended the records of Jolliet. Hardly had he departed from the Sault, when the mission house and all its contents were burned. Thus the second version of his journal perished by fire, as had the first by water."[41]

Father Steck commented on this passage as follows: "This theory could be accepted as most probably correct, if it were certain that Jolliet stopped at Sault Sainte-Marie, that he left copies there, and that the fire occurred after he departed."[42]

That all these points are certain, an investigation of the evidence would have shown. In the first place, it is certain that Jolliet stopped at Sault Ste Marie. He went to the Sault because he and his associates had their business there. Father Steck says: "It is more probable and therefore generally assumed that Jolliet returned to Quebec over the Great Lakes route, not over that of the Ottawa River." Even if this is "generally assumed," it is by no means "more probable"; for there is conclusive evidence against it. Two texts show clearly that Jolliet actually returned to Quebec by way of the Ottawa River:—Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, declares that Jolliet negotiated "more than forty rapids," and Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac speaks of "forty-two rapids" along his route from the West to Montreal. These forty rapids were certainly not along the Great Lakes route, but along the Ottawa River route.

Another of Father Steck's conjectures on this point is as follows:

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[40] JR, 58: 256–260. Compare the account in the Relation with the version of the incident in Frontenac's letter to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77 f.

[41] L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin*, 198.

[42] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 291 f.

"Nor is there any reason to suppose that, on reaching Marquette's mission of St. Ignace, he first proceeded north to the Sault. One prefers to think that, having stopped for a day or so at St. Ignace, he crossed the strait and from what is now the town of Mackinaw continued southward along the shores of Lake Huron." That is to say, "one prefers to think" that Jolliet arriving at St. Ignace after an absence of six months, and being then only some eighty miles away from his business headquarters, neglected his business, and went aimlessly wandering "southward along the shores of Lake Huron." Jolliet certainly passed through St. Ignace, but there is no evidence of his having "stopped for a day or so" there.

The second fact, namely, that Jolliet left copies of his journal at Sault Ste Marie is attested by Frontenac in his letter to Colbert. For some obscure reason, Father Steck questions this evidence: "It is very probable, however, that in this matter as in another, Frontenac misunderstood Jolliet when the latter told him in a general way of his having left copies of the lost papers with the Jesuits." There is not one shred of evidence for saying that Jolliet told Frontenac "in a general way of his having left copies of the lost papers with the Jesuits." Frontenac's letter contains Jolliet's precise statement that he left copies of his journal with the Jesuits at Sault Ste Marie.

Neither is there any reason to suppose that Frontenac misunderstood Jolliet's statement "in this matter as in another"; for in that other matter there was no misundersanding on Frontenac's part. Father Steck himself misunderstood Frontenac's letter to Colbert, else he would not have adopted Winsor's account after having referred to the letter itself.[43]

Winsor	*Steck*
He [Jolliet] urged . . . that a settlement should be formed near that cataract [Niagara], and that a vessel built on Lake Erie, which he thought in ten days could reach the gulf.[44]	From the explorer's report the governor concluded that a vessel built on Lake Erie could reach the Gulf of Mexico in ten days.

Frontenac's words are as follows: "He [Jolliet] went within ten

[43] P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* (6 vols., Paris, 1876–1888), 1: 258.

[44] J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston and New York, 1894), 247.

days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico." This shows that the governor did not misunderstand the explorer in this "other matter."

Further doubt is cast on Frontenac's mention of copies of Jolliet's journal at Sault Ste Marie in the following: "At all events, against the statement of Frontenac are those of Dablon and Jolliet. The Jesuit Superior declared that the copies had been left with Marquette. If this statement was wrong, that is, if the copies had been left at the Sault, Jolliet would undoubtedly have corrected the error when he transcribed Dablon's Relation and sent it with a supplementary letter of his own to Bishop Laval." Father Steck seems to have overlooked the fact that the statement of Frontenac and of Dablon came from Jolliet himself, and that none of these supposedly contrary statements is at variance with one another. We have already proved that when Jolliet parted company with Marquette at Green Bay, the latter had a journal of his own, and that Jolliet had left copies of a journal at Sault Ste Marie, "chez les pères." As for the assertion that "Jolliet would have undoubtedly corrected the error when he transcribed Dablon's relation," it is based on the false assumption that Jolliet transcribed this relation.[45]

Father Steck's conclusion "so the copies of Jolliet's papers were in the hands of Marquette," is likewise unsupported by evidence. After noting the irrelevant fact that Marquette did not go to Sault Ste Marie between the end of September 1673 and October 25, 1674, the paragraph which we have discussed ends with the following astounding statement: "From the documentary evidence it is certain, then, that the copies of which Dablon and Jolliet spoke were in the hands of Marquette at Green Bay." All that the documentary evidence goes to show is that Jolliet left copies of his journal at Sault Ste Marie, and that Marquette made copies of his own journal at Green Bay between October 15 and October 25, 1674. If this evidence proves anything with certainty, it proves something quite different from what Father Steck says.

That the burning of the Jesuit house at Sault Ste Marie occurred after the departure of Jolliet is clear from the fact that he made no mention of it when he reached Quebec, and from what he told Frontenac of having left copies of his journal in that house. Why Father Steck should consider this relevant is not so clear; for if Frontenac had indeed misunderstood Jolliet, the fire could not have destroyed

[45] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 309–312.

copies of a journal which existed only in Frontenac's misunderstanding.

Father Steck deserves credit for having clearly seen that Marquette was not the author of the Récit. His strange mishandling of the evidence, which is particularly surprising in a doctoral dissertation, was apparently due to his mistaken belief that in order to write the Récit, Dablon must have had a journal of Jolliet.

The actual sources from which Dablon compiled his Récit will be studied in the second part of this article.

(To be concluded)

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Notes and Comments

Although there was during the stress of war a notable diminution of printing and shortage of scholarly works, still a number of enlightening books have appeared. Many of these have the West as their background. *Shepherds Empire*, by Charles Wayland Towne and Edward Norris Wentworth, published by the University of Oklahoma Press last year, tells the story of the sheep industry from the opening of America almost to the present. The early Spanish missionaries of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California really laid the foundations of the industry in the limits of the present United States. The mission flocks and the production of mutton and wool passed into the hands of Spanish and American colonists, and grew by bounds with the coming of the gold seekers and the advance of the rails. The book gives its message simply, effectively, and with an enlivening humor. There is much drama in the Indian raids, the great drives, the wars between cattlemen and sheepmen, and in the continuous struggle for the life of the industry.

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The Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly, edited with an introduction by David Morris Potter, was published by Yale University Press, 1945. In this volume Professor Potter gives not only the diary of two men going to California during the rush of 1849 but also comments and explanations based upon the study of thirty-three other diaries of the same year. The result is a wealth of detail on the great migration westward. Moreover, since the two diarists were in the employ of the Charlestown, Virginia, Mining Company, we find much information about the operation costs of this type of collectivist organization.

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Via Western Express and Stagecoach, by Oscar Osburn Winther, published by Stanford University Press, 1945, is confessedly an extension of an earlier work by Professor Winther and gives the "more human, and picturesque aspects of overland transportation." There is much color, as always, in the descriptions of the bandits, stagecoach drivers, the pony express, and the struggle for control of the mail-carrying business by rival companies.

Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails, by Henry L. Walsh, S.J., published by the University of Santa Clara Press, 1946, is the story of the pioneer priests of Northern California. Father Walsh has the flavor of California well preserved in this volume, and it is well that he finally accomplished his long task now when a change is coming over the spirit of the great western state with the inrush of an industrial society. His narrative of the struggles of the early Catholic missionaries, parish priests, and bishops is told in a colorful and even poetic style. His approach is highly sympathetic. He writes as a lover of his native land, its pioneers, its lore. He expresses the feelings of the early inhabitants and their pastors, and quotes many letters and not a few verses to bring that feeling to his readers. He has photographs of many of the pioneer priests and prelates and five maps to illustrate the organization of the Church in the northern counties of California. What could not conveniently be woven into the narrative has been put in eighty pages of notes and appendices. His task of organizing his materials into readable chapters was undoubtedly a difficult one. It is difficult even in fixed communities to assemble data on early beginnings of parishes, but Father Walsh's task was doubly difficult in that he had to follow gold rushes and later account for ghost towns, neither of which is inclined to yield much in the way of working material for the scholar. Californians will enjoy reading this book, and many who do not know the land well will come to an appreciation of its struggle and growth. Moreover, the volume may well serve as a history of the early Ctholic churches and pastors of the twenty-five northern counties of California.

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Franciscan Education and the Social Order in Spanish North America (1502–1821), by Pius Joseph Barth, O.F.M., was published by the author in Chicago in 1945. This is a dissertation in 431 pages submitted to the faculty of the Division of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. It is a painstaking and noteworthy work. Father Barth has gathered his materials from the important libraries, archives and secondary writings in the field of Franciscan history. He has presented these in a new form and in the terminology erected around education. It is no small contribution to have modern labels on aged ideas, and to have assessed the Franciscan plans and practices in the light of recent educational psychology. It is also an achievement to have performed this long-needed work in considerable detail.

There are seventeen chapters and forty-four illustrations. In the final chapter Father Barth summarized his conclusions regarding the nature of the education given by the Franciscans in North America. He finds that the friars "were interested in the common mass education of a submerged race of people, not only for the good of both state and church, but also for their own individual and social advancement"; as to higher education: "there appears to be less Franciscan emphasis for advanced schooling in North America than in South America"; thirdly, the "Franciscan education in Spanish North America was quite democratic and opportunistic."

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Major Trends in American Church History, by Francis X. Curran, S.J., published by The American Press, is a brief survey of the historical evolution of the Christian churches in the United States. The trends of the institutional development of the religions in America are traced in eleven chapters, 170 pages, and an appendix lists the Protestant sects now extant in this country. Father Curran considers the average American to be in complete, unashamed, and lamentable ignorance of the religious history of his country. Since the essays in the book are of a very general and comprehensive nature and since the terminology is difficult, it is hard to see just how the book will be very enlightening to the 70,000,000 people in this country who have no acquaintance with religion. While it has some apologetic value and may be used as a guide in the hands of a skillful teacher, who may enlarge on the generalizations and amplify the historical background, the book cannot be said to aim at any particular group of readers, and it seems beyond the reading level of many of those for whom it was destined.

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Carolina Chroncile, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707–1716, edited with an introduction and notes by Frank J. Klingberg, was published by the University of California Press, 1946. This is Volume 35 of the University of California Publications in History. Gideon Johnson was sent to the colony of Carolina as the representative of the Bishop of London to organize the Anglican Church, and later to act as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Each of the religious groups of missionaries coming to the Americas received support monies and other help from an Old World organization similar to the above-mentioned Anglican Society and the Catholic

Society for the Propagation of the Faith. In the case of Commissary Johnson the scene for organization and evangelization was South Carolina, and more particularly Charles Town. He and the hundreds of other ministers of the gospel were by rule required to report to London at regular intervals following a questionnaire procedure. Thus, information about the new land, social conditions, economic affairs, health, sanitation, crime, defence against Indians and raiders, and many other items may be gathered from the reports sent back to the motherland. Such papers from Gideon Johnson have been brought together in this volume by Mr. Klingberg. The general picture is the revelation of a homesick man struggling under various handicaps of illness and debt in a productive land afflicted by plagues and other calamities, but many of the less personal details are good observations on conditions.

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Catholics and the Civil War, by the Reverend Benjamin J. Blied, was published by St. Francis Seminary of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1945. It is a series of ten essays in 150 pages, designed to complement the studies already made and serve as a help to others who wish to make detailed and definitive research. The volume fulfills its purpose. We find in it answers to questions about the attitudes of individual Catholics toward great phases of our national development, as well as local, diocesan, official Catholic Church, and Catholic press attitudes. The general conclusions are not new, nor will time change them much, but some of the particular fragments are contributions, especially the illuminating chapter revealing the expressions of sorrow by press and prelate over the assassination of Lincoln. On other questions we find that Catholics fought in both armies during the Civil War; some held slaves and some did not; some bishops approved slavery, some disapproved; some Catholics were for abolition, but all were against Abolitionists; despite political, social, and economic differences on many of these important questions, Catholics regularly divorced these ideas from their religious beliefs and remained in the unity of the Faith.

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"Fourth of July Myths," by Charles Warren, appeared in *The William and Mary Quarterly for July*, 1945. According to the findings of Mr. Warren, which are amply substantiated, the true Independence Day is July 2. The Resolution Establishing Independence was drafted by the Continental Congress on June 2, 1776. It was

passed on July 2, adopted July 4, proclaimed on July 8. All signers did not affix their signatures on July 4, since some were not present at the meeting that day. Again, The Declaration of Independence was not the title of the famous document. It was first referred to as the "Declaration," and later as "The Declaration on Independence." On July 2 it was termed "the declaration respecting independency." On July 4 and July 8 it was: A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States in America in Congress Assembled. And on July 19 Congress ordered that the official title should be: "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen States of America." Another myth is banished when Mr. Warren shows that there is no record that the Liberty Bell was rung on July 4 or on any day previous to this while the Congress was in session. Sixty years later it was first referred to as the Liberty Bell and then in reference to freedom for slaves. The story about the Liberty Bell being rung on July 4, 1776, began in 1847. Finally, as to Fourth of July celebrations, the first of these was a local political celebration in 1777. The first official recognition of the day was made by Massachusetts in 1781.

Elsewhere in this number we find an article "For the Study of American History: The Newberry Library," by Ruth Lapham Butler. This is one of a series of articles in this quarterly on American collections and library treasures. It is capably done and leads us to suggest that these articles be gathered together for presentation in book form.

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A more pleasant shock to historians comes from the pen of Professor O. M. Dickerson, who, in an article in the March, 1946, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, poses the question: "John Hancock: Notorious Smuggler or Near Victim of British Revenue Racketeers?" and arrives at the answer that our famous signer of the Declaration of Independence was a worthy, unselfish patriot, not a smuggler. Professor Emeritus Dickerson first presents the evidence for the smuggling charges and lists the historians who have left the impression of Hancock's guilt, or who have openly stated it. He finds the evidence garbled and false. Hancock in having aboard his ship some oil and tar, not wine, was held in technical violation of the revenue law, and since he was considered a notable patriot, was singled out from among many captains who were like himself supposing that the laws were not being enforced and that they would not be bothered about technical points. When the cargo was

confiscated Governor Bernard received a third of the property and revenue officers also got their share for their personal use. The whole story was soon known. It touched off a riot in Boston, the first against such public plundering. The testimony of one Thomas Kirk, on which the charge of smuggling rested, is analyzed by Professor Dickerson and branded a perjury. The next questions—Was Hancock the near victim of British revenue racketeers? Who were these? What were they seeking in the way of hush money?—are clearly answered, and happily to the credit of John Hancock.

In the same number of this *Review* are some very important comments on Robert S. Henry's earlier article, "The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts." Eight historians offer their comments on what Colonel Henry found in the textbooks used by Americans and on what he published as his own findings and suggestions. Moreover, other interesting points are brought up for discussion and solution.

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Jokes at length have been granted formal space in an historical review. A few pages headed by the title "Incidents and Coincidences" made a timid bow in the July, 1945, *Missouri Historical Review*, and then disappeared from the following numbers. Although humor, to say nothing of humorous things, has at times found a final haven in scholarly magazines, this was to the best of our knowledge the first time jokes have been formally incorporated among historical items. The collection was from various metropolitan newspapers of Missouri.

Throughout the War this *Review* has been carrying articles under the general title: "Missouri and the War," and these promise to become permanent records for future reference. The April, 1946, number has a long list of Missourians who have received decorations in the Navy.

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Pacific Northwest Quarterly has in its April, 1946, pages an article of interest at this particular time of the United Nations meeting. This is "Pacific Northwest Opinion on the Washington Conference of 1921–1922," by Winston B. Thorson. The author points out the basic similarity of the problems of 1921 and 1946. He then recounts opinions about the success or lack of success of the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and special agreements made in the Washington Conference. Between the extreme opinions of those who condemned the United States policy and those who lauded it, Pro-

fessor Thorson proposes a more moderate appraisal, namely, that the Conference was a significant factor in moderating our world and Pacific relations during the 1920's. He then surveys the opinions of the Northwest as expressed in editorials and concludes that most editors considered that significant progress had been made. They were hopeful of permanent peace. Some others, however, were highly realistic and realized that the true foundations for lasting world peace had not been laid.

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The Chicago Historical Society is now publishing a quarterly named *Chicago History*. Its editor is Paul M. Angle, who recently became secretary and director of the Society after his successful years of librarianship at the Illinois State Library in Springfield. The new publication is the first pocket-sized historical journal that has come to our attention. Its purpose is stated in the mast-head as "an informal publication devoted in the main to the Society's museum, library, and activities." Chicagoans and visitors to Chicago will welcome the news found in this helpful publication.

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Those who are concerned about the congressional legislation regarding the National Science Foundation may find an article to their liking in *The Pacific Historical Review* for March, 1946. It is "The Social Sciences in the National Science Foundation," by Professor Louis Knott Koontz. After an introduction in which he points out that the social sciences were given practically no place in the federal plans for research during wartime, Professor Koontz gives the history of the bills introduced in Congress for the establishment and conduct of a very broad research agency in Washington under federal sponsorship, which bills have gradually broadened the scope of the research undertakings so as to include the social sciences. The bill to establish a National Science Foundation was introduced in the Senate on July 23, 1945, and it was known as S. 1297. Then in September President Truman in his message to Congress asked that this bill be extended to include the social sciences along with the basic sciences. For the public hearings a hundred witnesses from all over the United States were giving their testimony for nearly a month beginning October 8. These were all outstanding leaders in business, agriculture, labor, engineering, biology, et cetera, and from the fields of social sciences and humani-

ties. And their testimony finally summed up to a thousand printed pages of "choice comments on everything from Robinson Crusoe to the atomic bomb." Professor Koontz then gives many of the comments. The witnesses were unanimously for the establishment of a central Federal agency to aid research. Appended to the article is a summary of the progress of the legislation to February 20, 1946.

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A wide variety of topics of historical interest appears in the *Michigan History* for April-June of the present year. "History as a Living Force," by Christopher Crittenden, is a reprint of the article which appeared in *The Social Studies*; "Old Detroit: Drainage and Land Forms," by Bert Hudgins, is a geographic and geologic study; "Appointments to the Michigan Supreme and Chancery Courts, 1836–1850," by Clark F. Norton, is the continuation of a study of interest to political scientists and lawyers; "Century of Service," is a survey of Marygrove College by Sister M. Rosalita; and other articles are on workmen's compensation in Michigan, the 34th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and the Michigan poetess, Elizabeth M. Chandler. These with other shorter items make up an issue of the magazine that runs over two hundred pages.

* * * *

Thought in its March, 1946, number carried an editorial on "The Hayes Mission to Spain," by Ross Hoffman. In this Dr. Hoffman reviews *Wartime Mission to Spain, 1942–1945,* of Carlton J. H. Hayes, and makes some very pertinent observations, first about the success of Mr. Hayes in carrying out his task of transforming Spain from a state of hostile "non-belligerency" into a state of benevolent neutrality, and secondly about the host of enemies that have since wasted the fruits of a notable diplomatic victory.

* * * *

A welcome addition to the field of scholarly publications comes in the form of the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. The first number is dated January 1946. The scope of the magazine is indicated as: "The prompt publication of work relating to all aspects of the history of medicine, public health, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, veterinary medicine and the various sciences that impinge on medicine." The publisher is Henry Schu-

man, 20 East 70th Street, New York 21, New York. The quarterly has a board of five editors headed by George Rosen, forty-three consulting editors in the United States, and twenty-two in foreign countries. Germany, Austria, Italy and other middle and southeastern European countries are not represented, nor are any of the orientals. The new Journal does not intend to be a competitor of the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, but rather purposes to supplement the studies presented in the *Bulletin* and to offer articles of as wide an interest as possible to members of the medical profession.

* * * *

"Ohio Medical History," Part VI, practically filled the pages of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October, 1945. Medicos of the present day might glance with some amusement at "Cleveland Doctors and their Fees" (about 1840), by Dr. Howard Dittrick. According to the "Fee Table" the doctor should charge one dollar for the first visit, but five dollars if his opinion were in writing. For extracting a tooth the fee was fifty cents; for amputating toes or fingers it was five dollars, an arm thirty dollars, and a leg fifty dollars. Other articles give interesting data on equipment, drugs, and the training of medicos.

* * * *

A list of books on the World at War, prepared by the staff of the Michigan State Library, Lansing, was published in the October, 1945, *Michigan History*, pages 588-605. The titles are classified as campaigns, personal narratives, branches of the service, combatant countries, personalities, peace and reconstruction, economic and monetary problems, and international problems.

* * * *

Business firms should preserve their manuscripts for future research, according to two writers in the *Journal of Economic History* for May, 1945. But it is difficult to persuade all New York firms to take care of their records, so far as the New York Committee on Business Records can find, and it is difficult for librarians and archivists to organize, calendar, and care for the collections thus far donated. The first big need is the establishment of some reasonable procedure by which the materials can at least be preserved.

"The Progressive Movement in the South, 1870–1914," by Arthur S. Link, appears in *The North Carolina Historical Review* for April, 1946. The author begins with some definitions of terms, and this is rather noteworthy. "Progressives," he says, "are usually persons who strive for reforms that alleviate the ills of society, that assure the people a broader control of their governments, and that look toward affording greater economic, political, and social justice to the people. These progressives are the so-called 'liberals,' not 'radicals';" and where basic property rights and the capitalistic system are concerned, they are conservative. Dr. Link then shows, contrary to the opinion expressed by Senator Robert M. La Follette, that the Granger movement took root in South Carolina in 1871 and spread widely in the South. The Granges there fought a losing fight against railroad malpractices similar to what occurred in the North. So too, the other moves for progressive legislation, the Farmers Alliance and Populism, made good headway in the southern states, and many leaders for national reform developed in the South.

Book Reviews

Historia de la Leyenda Negra Hispano-Americana. By Rómulo D. Carbia. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Orientación Española, 1943. Pp. 240.

"The conquistadores came from Spain to seek their fortune in the shape of gold and silver and to return home with it as soon as possible." (12) "The important fact for us to remember is that Spain, using the Caribbean islands and the isthmus of Panama as bases, got a stranglehold on the neck of empire in the New World, and so were able to sieze its riches, to cover over its native culture with a layer of western civilization, and to make slaves or serfs of millions of its most advanced aboriginal peoples. (10)

In the lines above we have a typical expression of the Black Legend. The numbers refer to pages, and the book cited is the latest product of Yale's distinguished professor of diplomatic history and inter-American relations, Samuel Flagg Bemis. (*The Latin American Policy of the United States.* 1943.)

The legend in question may be stated more baldly, of course, in the traditional expression that "the Spaniards engaged in a systematic campaign to loot America and exterminate its natives." Whether this *bon mot* corresponds with the facts in the story is quite another point. Today one has no excuse for believing it, after the long, patient, methodical and sometimes brilliant efforts of a whole school of historians whose names can be found at the masthead of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and a number of kindred journals, including the one before the reader.

But the point is that it is believed. Last year the American Council on Education published a report (*Latin America*) on the teaching materials used in our schools and colleges in Latin American subjects. Chapter Three of the report treats of "a more serious matter," the widespread continuation in our textbooks of the Black Legend. This legend, says the report, pictures the colonial policy in Latin America as a combination of "ineptitude, cruelty, faithlessness, greed and bigotry." It is there called "the ancient body of propaganda against the Iberian peoples which began in sixteenth century England and has since been a handy weapon for the rivals of Spain and Portugal in the religious, maritime and colonial wars of these four centuries." The chapter concludes that "this prejudice has greatly diminished in the present century but it is still too strong and pervasive."

To say that the legend is "believed" connotes that it is "taken on the word of another." Careful students of the subject today do not "believe" or "hold" it. But the number of those who do teach and write it belies understanding.

In an effort to discover how this legend arose, and how it grew until the whole of western Europe took it for granted and passed it down to our times, Doctor Carbia determined on a thorough investigation of this item in the history of ideas. His work deserves the most careful attention.

Before his untimely death last summer, Carbia enjoyed a reputation of leadership among the Argentine scholars in history. A doctor in American history, professor in the Universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, his

special interest lay in verification of documentary evidence touching the discovery of the New World. His fundamental work, *El Problema del descubrimiento de América desde el punto de vista de la valoración de sus fontes* (Buenos Aires, 1935), won him wide respect as an exemplar of the canons of historical method.

In the title under review, his attention focuses on the origin and transmission of the legend. Only incidentally does he touch on its correspondence with reality.

The beginning of the narrative, as all who study it now understand, is the accusation of Bartolomé de las Casas that in the Indies his countrymen were embarked on the aforesaid systematic campaign of loot and annihilation. Las Casas had no idea of the progeny he would beget. As soon as his *Brevísima relación de la destrución de las Indias* appeared in 1552, it fell into the hands of enemies of Spain. Dutchmen, happy for a propaganda weapon against their masters, did a masterful job of publishing the diatribe, with a set of stark illustrations to enforce the printed page. Theodore De Bry, the Fleming of Liege, was the efficient decorator, his edition done in German at Frankfort in 1596. As time went on, anti-Habsburg France copied the pictures and issued numerous editions. England and the Germanies followed suit, and anti-Spanish Italians sponsored various Latin translations. After 1660 the legend passed into accepted fact. Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, men of such diverse views as Voltaire and Charlevoix, Pufendorf and Raynal, used the chapters of Las Casas to prove everything from Rousseau's "state of pure nature" to the complete indictment of Spanish depravity. Spaniards themselves, when ill at ease toward their rulers, adopted the canard without question. And, as Bemis proves, the chain is not yet broken.

Part of the study considers the effort to roll back this broad offensive battleline. Though this section properly concludes the study, its elements appear early in the book and give a special balance to what would otherwise be very pessimistic reading.

The competence of Carbia, as was said above, shows in his full command of the historical method. He knows his principles, and his product is as thorough as it is dispassionate. Three large divisions treat successively the origin and diffusion of the legend, its exploitation, and its repudiation. Each topic exhibits a coverage of the immense literature involved in this highly complicated problem. Points of emphasis in the interpretative work are the evidence furnished by Las Casas—with check and countercheck from contemporaries—, and the methods and motives employed by his propagators. The legend is exploited by the Reformers, the *Tolerantes* or *philosophes*, the revolutionaries and the Spanish Liberalists.

A final and satisfying investigation explains the historical rejection of the propaganda story. From the first, thoughtful and learned men saw how it fed religious and political hatred, and they battled it in the name of truth and international goodwill. To the Scot William Robertson, Carbia gives chief credit for its repudiation, thus buttressing previous if scanty studies on the same theme. At this point he might have included a larger list of American scholars, for Leslie B. Simpson, in particular, contributed a notable chapter on the subject in his *Encomienda in New Spain*. Others of our authors, less by direct attack than by the indirect method of telling

what actually went on in the Indies in those days, confine the legend to deserved obscurity.

It is to be hoped that some generous spirit will turn this essay into English. Few books have greater claim to translation. Above all, the ample footnotes should be made available, for they put the study on a basis of unquestionable solidity, as to bibliography and critical analysis. The printing and format are first class.

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.

University of Detroit.

Greater America Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton. The University of California Press, Berkeley, 1945. Pp. ix, 723. Illustrated.

Some years ago the students trained by Professor Bolton conceived the plan of honoring him on the occasion of his retirement. The plan was to produce a group of essays for presentation when the moment of retirement arrived. They failed to see that an institution cannot be retired, and when the time set by arbitrary regulations arrived, Professor Bolton proved to be in no physical or mental shape for surcease from his customary labor and he was, according to rumor, less ready for rest than some of his former students. Consequently, the long-delayed volume was presented to Dr. Bolton in late December of 1945 in "appreciation of his inspiration and guidance."

The scope of the essays is as wide as the Bolton concept of American history. There are twenty-seven essays in 533 pages, and these are followed by "A Bibliography of the Writings of Herbert Eugene Bolton," and "A Bibliography of the Historical Writings of the Students of Herbert Eugene Bolton." Twelve excellent maps and a fine index complete the physical aspects of the volume in a most pleasing manner.

According to the preface of the editors the essays are abridgments of complete monographs and their subjects "range geographically from Patagonia to Alaska, and chronologically from the age of discovery to the twentieth century," and they touch a wide variety of human endeavor. The opening essay is on "The Treaty of Tordesillas and the Diplomatic Background of American History." Thereafter, the subjects are the Spanish horse in Peru, the famous mining town of Potosí, Spanish voyages to the Far East, silk culture in colonial Mexico, education in colonial Hispanic America, missions and missionaries in New Spain, riots over social and economic troubles in the seventeenth century Mexico, Indian policy in Louisiana, Negro slavery in New Granada, the City of the Caesars, the colonization of Patagonia, New England traders in Spanish California, the Mormon advance westward, and others of no less interest. Each of the essays has a short bibliography of essential materials.

The volume like its predecessor in 1932 is more than a monument to an inspiring and esteemed professor. It is an indication of an influence on historical thought and procedure that is wider even than the Americas. Those who contributed to this and the preceding volume in honor of Professor Bolton, are now spread out over the country teaching a new generation the concept of American history that has become almost universal. In this concept, localism, sectionalism, bias of any sort, and exaggerated na-

tionalism gives way before a broad spirit of democracy. Much of this spirit has already penetrated the nations of this hemisphere, and much of the defeat of provincialism has been owing to the human understanding and directive force of Dr. Bolton.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago.

Guide to the American Historical Review, 1895–1945. Edited by Franklin D. Scott and Elaine Teigler. Published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association For the Year 1944, Vol. I, pp. 65–292. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1945.)

Students of American history will welcome the publication of this useful guide. It is topically arranged, and contains the listing of articles, notes, and documents published in the *American Historical Review* from 1895 to 1945. Brief descriptive notes accompany most of the articles listed.

Yet, a separate listing of all the presidential addresses of the Association would have been a useful addition.

The student of Hispanic American history will find thirty items on relations between the United States and Spain (most of them limited to the diplomacy of the Western Frontier during the period of the American Revolution); twenty-one items on relations between the United States and Hispanic America (most of them on the Mexican War); twelve items on Anglo-Spanish and Hispanic American relations in the colonial period and three items on Anglo-Hispanic American relations during the wars of independence south of the Rio Grande; two items on relations between France and Hispanic America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; one item on relations between Russia and Hispanic America during the wars of independence in that area; twenty-one items on Hispanic American history (these consist of seven articles dealing with the Age of Discovery, one on the mission as a frontier institution in the Spanish American colonies, and one on Hidalgo and Morelos, all written between 1899 and 1917, with the exception of two of the articles on Columbus; the remaining items are miscellaneous notes and documents); and nine items on Spanish history (six articles, and three bibliographical notes).

Of the Hispanic items referred to above, the most notable revelation of the *Guide* is that the *American Historical Review* has not published a single article on Spanish history since 1918, and of the total of six articles published on the subject, four are on the Spanish Inquisition, published by Lea between the years 1895 and 1906, one by Merriman on the Middle Ages published in 1911, and one by Haring on Spanish colonial administration, published in 1916. No bibliographical note on Spanish history or historical writing about Spain, has been publshed by the *Review* since 1927. A few other reviews published in the United States have contained an occasional article on Spanish history. However, Spanish social and political history, in the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods, pursued by competently trained professional historians, continues to remain one of the most neglected fields of historical investigation in the United States.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Washington, D. C.

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OCTOBER 1946
VOLUME 28 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 17 NUMBER 4

The "Recit des voyages et des decouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette."

(Concluded)

PART II

For reasons already indicated, the text of the Récit which we shall follow is that of the Montreal manuscript and the text of Marquette–5 for the two missing leaves. A word for word comparison between the Montreal copy and Marquette–5 makes it clear that the copyist of the latter made use of one of the copies sent to France, that he abbreviated words when there was no possibility of misunderstanding, omitted modifying adverbs, and did not transcribe in full the titles of the sections.[1] Textual criticism also shows that practically all the differences between the fragments of Marquette–4 and the Montreal manuscript are negligible, and that they are due merely to the idiosyncracies of the copyists.

The title of each of the three chapters begins with the same word: "Récit." We shall consider only the first chapter, in which the voyage of 1673 is narrated, because it is the only chapter whose authorship is disputed. The third chapter is of interest because it supplies a clue as to the date of composition of the whole document. We have already noted that the Récit is a part of the Relation of

[1] The title of the first section in the Montreal copy and in Marquette-4a reads as follows: "Depart du Pere Jacques Marquette pour la decouuerte de la grande Riuiere appellée par les Sauuages Missisipi qui conduit au nouueau Mexique." In Marquette-5, this title is rendered thus: "Depart du P. J. Marquette pour la Riuiere de Missisipi &c."

1677–1678, which was written in the latter year, and we know from Dablon's letter to Boucher that he sent "this little work" to Ragueneau in October 1678. Material for the third chapter, in which the voyage of Allouez to the Illinois country is narrated, cannot have reached Quebec before the late summer of 1677, for Allouez left the Kaskaskia village after May 3 of this year.[2] Finally, the added paragraph in Dablon's handwriting, in which mention is made of the departure of Allouez to the Illinois country in 1678, is not found in the fourth fragment of Canada–4 nor in Canada–5. This means that Dablon inserted it in his own copy of the Récit after the "petit ouvrage" had been sent to France in 1678.

PREAMBLE[3]

All admit that Marquette is not the author of the preamble, but that, like the rest of the Relation of 1677–1678, it was written by Dablon. There would be no need of ascertaining the sources used to write the preamble, except that its analysis supplies interesting data with regard to Dablon's method of composition.

"Il y auoit longtemps que le Pere premeditoit [meditoit in Marquette–4a][4] Cette Entreprise porté d'un tres [this adverb is not in Marquette–5] grand desir . . . ." Dablon's source for this statement is Marquette's letter to Father Le Mercier, which was inserted in the Relation of 1669–1670.[5] In fact, the opening paragraph of the preamble is a paraphrase of a passage of this letter, in which Marquette says that he plans to go to the Mississippi with a Frenchman and an Indian interpreter in the autumn of 1670, and that he intends to descend the river as far as he can.

"En L'année 1673 M^r^ le Compte De Frontenac Nostre Gouuerneur, (et M^r^ Talon alors Nostre Intendant)[6] Connoissant L'Importance de cette découuerte . . . . nommerent en mesme temps pour cette entreprise Le Sieur Jolyet." Every manuscript gives 1673 as the year when Jolliet was selected to find the Mississippi. We know, however, that Talon had chosen him before Frontenac's arrival at Quebec at the beginning of September 1672, and that Frontenac

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[2] JR, 60: 164.

[3] For the text of the document the reader is referred to JR, 59: 86 ff.

[4] Dablon had "premeditoit." See his letter of August 1, 1674: "et qui [Marquette] premeditoit depuis long temps cette entreprise." Throughout this article the references to Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, are to the text published in MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 317–324.

[5] JR, 54: 168–194.

[6] The words in parentheses are not in Marquette-4a, but are in Marquette-5, which means that Marquette-5 was not made on *this* copy of the Récit.

approved Talon's choice.[7] Dablon begins his letter of August 1, 1674, with the following words: "Il y a *deux* ans que Monsieur le Comte de frontenac et M[r] Talon alors nostre Intendant, jugerent . . ." It may well be that the copyist misread the last digit, for Dablon's handwriting is not easy to decipher; Dablon himself, however, did not correct the figure when he proofread the Montreal copy.

In the same paragraph Dablon explains why Frontenac and Talon considered the discovery of the Mississippi important: "soit pour chercher vn passage d'icy jusqua (la mer de la chine, par la riuiere qui se décharge a)[8] la Mer Vermeille ou Californie, soit qu'on voulu s'asseurer de ce qu'on a dit du depuis touchant[9] les 2 Roÿaumes de Theguaïo et de Quiuira,[10] Limitrophes du Canada, ou l'on tient que les mines d'or sont abondantes."

We know that as early as 1670, Talon was interested in finding a waterway which would lead to the "Sea of the South [Mar del Zur, the Pacific Ocean] which separates this continent from China,"[11] but from the same letter as well as from St. Lusson's procès-verbal[12] we also know that such a discovery was then a secondary consideration. In his letter to Colbert in which he notifies the Minister of Jolliet's return,[13] Frontenac mentions the explorer's belief that the Vermilion Sea or the Sea of California may be reached by way of one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi.[14] Frontenac was never very much interested in finding a waterway to the Sea of the South or to any other sea.[15] It was Dablon who had long been interested in such a discovery,[16] and who assumed that his own interest was shared by Talon and Frontenac.

The alternative objective of the voyage, namely, the verification of what had been said since 1672 about the rich gold mines of Theguayo and Quivira, is an incongruous anachronism, for in 1672 neither Dablon, nor Talon, least of all Frontenac, had any idea of

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[7] "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 68.

[8] The words in parentheses are not in Marquette-4a, but are in Marquette-5. See *supra*, note 6.

[9] In JR, 59: 87, the rendering "or because they desired to verify what has for some time been said concerning. . . ," does not bring out the anachronism.

[10] On Theguayo, see JR, 59: 307, note 15. Quivira has been located in Kansas, in Nebraska, in Missouri and in Texas.

[11] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136.

[12] On this document, see "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 18, note 67.

[13] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77.

[14] See Jolliet's dedicatory letter in "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 27 (1945): 227.

[15] *Ibid.*, 221.

[16] JR, 54: 136.

what was subsequently said about the two "kingdoms" bordering on Canada. Dablon is very likely referring to Bernou's plan for conquering these countries. Since this plan only took shape in 1676,[17] after Bernou had become acquainted with Peñalosa who arrived in France in 1674, it is clear that "ce qu'on a dit du depuis" concerning Theguayo and Quivira cannot have influenced Talon or Frontenac in Canada in 1672.

To carry out the undertaking, Frontenac and Talon chose Jolliet "quils jugerent tres propres [propre in Marquette–4a and in Marquette–5] pour vn si grand dessein, estant bien aise [aises in Marquette–4a] que le P. Marquette fut de la partie."

The first of these two variants is an error of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript. The sense is clear, for it is Jolliet who was considered fit for so great an undertaking. But it makes a great difference whether Dablon wrote the word "aise" in the singular or in the plural. If he wrote "aise" he meant that Jolliet was well pleased to have Marquette accompanying him; if he wrote "aises," he meant that Frontenac and Talon were well pleased to have Marquette accompanying Jolliet.

If Talon did not know in 1672 that a Jesuit was to accompany Jolliet, he learned it in France early in 1673, for in the letter transmitting the Relation of 1671–1672, Dablon wrote:

> We expect no less result from the expedition which M. the Count de Frontenac and M. Talon, in deference to the wishes of his Majesty, have sent for the discovery of the Sea of the South, which will probably give us access to the great China and Japan seas. *The Father* and the Frenchmen who are being sent on that hazardous expedition, have need of much courage and prudence in their quest of unknown seas over an entirely new route of three or four hundred leagues and through nations which have never seen any European.[18]

We have no means of knowing whether on learning this fact—on the supposition that he did know it in 1672—Talon was well pleased, or simply pleased, or not pleased at all.[19]

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[17] "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," MID-AMERICA, 28 (1946): 13–31.

[18] JR, 55: 234–236.

[19] Those who theorize about Talon's and Frontenac's opposition to a Jesuit taking part in a government expedition conveniently ignore that in 1671 Talon *asked* for a Jesuit to accompany Paul Denis, Sieur de Saint-Simon to Hudson Bay. Father Albanel was chosen (JR, 56: 148). Cf. Talon to Colbert, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 158. And in 1673, when Frontenac heard that Des Groseilliers was enticing the Indians away from the French and was attracting them to Hudson Bay, he "determined to make use of the zeal of Father Albanel, a Jesuit, who wished to go and open a mission in that part of the country."—Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 50.

This paragraph of Dablon's letter of transmittal disposes of Lorin's theory that the Jesuits did everything in their power to keep from Frontenac the fact that a Jesuit had accompanied Jolliet.[20] Dablon's letter written in November 1672 was printed in the first months of 1673, and the Relation in which it appears may have reached Quebec by the autumn of this year or at the latest in the summer of 1674. Frontenac may not have read the whole Relation, but he certainly read Dablon's letter, in which his name is mentioned in the second and in the fourth paragraphs. In the fourth paragraph, after speaking of the projected discovery of a route to the Sea of the South, Dablon says: "*The Father* and the Frenchmen who are being sent on that hazardous expedition . . . ." When Dablon wrote this letter, he knew that it would come back in print in Canada, and that Frontenac would see it. This is certainly not doing everything in one's power to keep from Frontenac the knowledge that a Jesuit accompanied Jolliet. We can be quite sure that if Frontenac had been opposed to a Jesuit's going with Jolliet, he would have protested in his letters to Colbert in 1673 or in 1674 when he heard about it.

Father Steck's theory is that when Frontenac heard that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet "he did not fail to manifest his displeasure by slighting Jolliet and openly supporting La Salle's project of westward exploration."[21] We have examined elsewhere the so-called "facts" advanced to bolster this theory.[22] We have also shown that by November 1674, Frontenac knew that Marquette had gone with Jolliet,[23] and we have just seen that by that time the governor had certainly read Dablon's letter of transmittal. Frontenac's supposed resentment would certainly have been shown in his letter of November 14, 1674, in which he notifies the Minister of the issue of the voyage of 1673.

The third and last paragraph of the preamble contains an eulogy of Jolliet. Dablon speaks of the explorer's fitness, enumerates his qualities for the undertaking, and tells of the unfortunate accident that befell him in sight of Montreal when his canoe capsized. The matter for this paragraph of the Récit is taken from two paragraphs of Dablon's own letter of August 1, 1674; clauses and expressions in the Récit are taken verbatim from that letter.

Thévenot did not print the preamble nor the first section of the

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[20] H. Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac* (Paris, 1895), 77, 93, 99.
[21] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 237.
[22] "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years," *loc. cit.*, 75–78.
[23] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 312–314.

Récit. Consequently this eulogy of Jolliet written by Dablon remained unknown until Shea published the Montreal manuscript. It is quite ridiculous to blame Dablon or the Jesuits for minimizing the share of Jolliet on the ground that Thévenot did not see fit to print the whole Récit. The manner in which Dablon speaks of Jolliet also shows that there was no "estrangement between him and the Jesuits";[24] for the Relation of 1677–1678 is a confidential report to the higher superiors in Europe, which was not intended for publication. If Jolliet "had taken to heart" Frontenac's "displeasure" because Marquette had gone with him, and if Jolliet had become "estranged" from the Jesuits, Dablon would not have written such an eulogy in 1678.

There are several statements in the last paragraph of the preamble which deserve more extensive comments. Speaking of Jolliet, Dablon says: "Il a L experience, et la Connoissance des Langues du Païs des Outaoüacs, ou il a passé plusieurs années." The parallel passage in the letter of August 1, 1674, reads as follows: "Ils [Frontenac and Talon] ne purent faire choix de personne qui eust de plus belles qualités que du sieur Jolliet, *qui a beaucoup frequenté ce pais la* [the Ottawa country]."

I endeavored elsewhere to identify the Jolliet whom MM. Dollier and Galinée met near present-day Hamilton, Ontario, in the last days of September 1669,[25] and came to the conclusion that this Jolliet was Adrien, Louis' elder brother. I showed that there were good reasons to believe that Adrien died before or during the summer of 1670, for only the death of the Jolliet whom Talon had sent to the West in 1669 explained the silence of the intendant in his letter of November 10, 1670.[26] If the Jolliet whom Galinée met had died, it follows that he was not Louis.

This deduction was later confirmed by a document dated September 20, 1670, in which Jeanne Dodier, Adrien's wife, is designated as "veufue Adrian Jolliet." Since I wrote the above article I found in the Judicial Archives of Three Rivers another document proving that the death of Adrien Jolliet had occurred much earlier in the year: "Par deuant Jean Cusson nottaire Royal en la Jur[idiction] Seig[neu]r[ie] et preuosté du cap de la magdelaine . . . furent p[rese]nts en leurs personnes dame Jeanne dodier *Veufue de deffunt le S^r^ Adrien Jolliet* et René benard S^r^ Bourjoly abitans dud^t^ cap . . . ."; then follow the conditions of the con-

[24] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 237.
[25] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," *loc. cit.*, 9–11.
[26] *Ibid.*, 13–20.

tract between Jeanne Dodier and Bourjoly. The act was "faict et passé en nostre estude aud[t] cap apres midy ce Jour d'huy *vingt deuxiesme mars mil six cens septante.*" The verso of the second leaf of the document is endorsed as follows: "bail d'un Vache a ferme par la Veuf[u]e de deffunt le S[r] Jolliet a René Besnard S[r] de bourjoly 22 mars 1670."[27]

Hence in March 1670, Jeanne Dodier, the wife of Adrien Jolliet, was already a widow. How much time had elapsed since the death of her husband has not been ascertained, but Adrien Jolliet's name does not appear in the burial registers of Three Rivers. Hence the presumption is that he may have died en route from the West.

In the same article I also showed that the earliest positive evidence of Louis Jolliet's presence in the West is dated June 1671, and that he must have left Quebec or Montreal in 1670. I also printed a document in which it is said that in 1672, Louis Jolliet had "obtained his trade permit *the second time* he went to the Ottawa country" solely in order to bring back pelts which belonged to his trade associates and which had been left in the West in 1671.

Commenting on this article, M. Georges-Henri Dagneau wrote in the Quebec *Action Catholique* for August 17, 1945, that there were "imposing contemporary testimonies" against my conclusion that Jolliet made his first western voyage in 1670.

The first of these contemporary testimonies is the passage of the Récit quoted above: "He has experience, and knows the languages spoken in the Ottawa country where he spent several years." The second contemporary testimony is taken from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, also quoted above: "They [Frontenac and Talon] could not choose anyone better fit than Sieur Jolliet who has much frequented that country." M. Dagneau, however, took this latter passage from the *Relations inédites*, the reading of which is altogether different from that of the manuscript: "qui avait fait plusieurs voyages dans ces contrées-la (who had made several voyages to those parts)." The third testimony is also taken from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, but in this instance the text of the *Relations inédites*, except for being modernized, is the same as that of the manuscript: "On arriving in the Ottawa country he joined Father Marquette, who was awaiting him for that voyage, for they had often planned it together."

"How," asks M. Dagneau, "could Jolliet and Marquette have

[27] Judicial Archives of Three Rivers, Greffe Jean Cusson.

often planned the voyage together if Jolliet only spent one winter in the West before his great undertaking of 1672? How could he have acquired in one winter his knowledge of the languages spoken in those parts, a knowledge which all agree in admitting that Jolliet possessed?"

Before examining the above three texts, we shall consider the generalization concerning Jolliet's knowledge of Indian languages spoken in the Ottawa country, a knowledge "que tous s'accordent à reconnaître unanimement à Louis Jolliet." Where, we may ask, are the texts proving that "*tous*" testify to this mastery of Indian languages by Jolliet in 1672? Except for the unsupported assertion of Dablon in the Récit, I doubt very much if a single text can be produced to justify this universal statement. We have evidence that on one occasion Jolliet acted as a Montagnais interpreter, but this was in 1697, after he had spent twenty years trading with Montagnais-speaking Indians on the Lower St. Lawrence.[28]

Dablon's assertion in the Récit on this point has little weight. We have just seen how, in the preceding paragraph, he attributed to Frontenac and Talon ideas that could not possibly have entered their mind in 1672. The several years which Jolliet is said to have spent in the Ottawa country may be understood in the sense that by 1678, when the Récit was written, Jolliet had spent several years there, namely, 1670–1671, and 1672–1674.

As can be seen, the reading of the second text is quite different in the manuscript from the text published in the *Relations inédites.* Even if the Jolliet whom Galinée met in 1669 had been Louis, it would mean that Louis had made only two voyages instead of one to the Ottawa country "before the great undertaking of 1672." This same Jolliet left Montreal shortly before July 6, 1669, and therefore arrived at Sault Ste Marie toward the middle of August, precisely at the time when Marquette left the Sault for La Pointe.[29] It is then barely possible that the two may have met. We know that Marquette remained at La Pointe until the spring of 1671, and that he arrived at Sault Ste Marie after June 4[30] but before July

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[28] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France, 1663–1710* (6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891), 3: 823.

[29] JR, 54: 168.

[30] He was not at Sault Ste Marie when St. Lusson took formal possession of the West on June 4, 1671. The arguments of Father Hamy (*Au Mississipi,* 274–276) tending to establish Marquette's presence at the Sault on that day are unacceptable; he also erroneously states that Marquette's letter of *post* March 25, 1673 (*infra,* note 36) was written in 1672.

2,[31] and also that Louis Jolliet was in the West at this time. The missionary may have spoken of the voyage to the Illinois villages on the Mississippi which he had projected in the autumn of 1670, but had not made owing to the hostility of the Sioux.[32] Such a conversation, if it took place and if Louis Jolliet had mentioned it to Dablon, would be all that the latter needed to write as he did: "L'ayant bien des fois concertée ensemble."

This explanation of these words of Dablon is very hypothetical, involving as it does a large number of "ifs." Even so, it has the merit of being based on the one fact which we know for certain; namely, that Louis Jolliet made a voyage to the West in 1670. The suggestion that he made a previous voyage thither needs to be supported by some positive evidence if it is to be taken seriously. The impossibility of proving positively that he did not make such a voyage is by itself no indication that he did make it.

SECTION 1.

The Récit which begins with this section, is written in the first person singular. This is the reason why so many have believed that Marquette was its author; but one of Father Steck's arguments against Marquette's authorship is the use of the first person, because in some instances this would indicate boasting on the part of the missionary.[33] Such an argument is invalid. In the journal of the second voyage, which was undoubtedly written by Marquette, the first person singular in the nominative, possessive and objective case is used twice as many times as the more modest first person plural when Marquette speaks of himself. What should be said is that the use of the first person singular is a literary artifice employed by Dablon, the real author of the Récit.

As the aim of the historian was to please or to instruct, or to please and instruct at the same time, history was a *genre littéraire*: there were not too many scruples on the score of proofs; those who worked from written documents took no care to distinguish the text of such documents from their own text; in reproducing the narratives of their predecessors they adorned them with details, and sometimes (under the pretext of being precise) with numbers, with speeches, with reflections and elegances. We can in a manner see them at work in every instance where it is possible to compare Greek and Roman historians, Ephorus and Livy, for example, with their sources.

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[31] Marquette took his last vows at Sault Ste Marie on July 2, 1671. A facsimile of the document is reproduced in G. J. Garraghan, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Marquettiana," MID-AMERICA, 18 (1936): 23.

[32] JR, 54: 184, and 55: 170.

[33] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 293.

> The writers of the Renaissance directly imitated the ancients. For them, too, history was a literary art with apologetic aims or didactic pretensions . . . . Even in the seventeenth century we find, in Mézeray, a historian of the ancient classical pattern.[34]

Dablon's concept of history did not differ from that of his contemporaries; the literary devices mentioned in the above quotation are exemplified throughout the Récit. No one today holds that the speeches in Livy or in Tacitus were pronounced as they are reported in the works of these two historians, and in many cases it is doubtful whether any speech at all was made. Once this is understood, the question of the authorship of the Récit no longer "involves . . . the honesty of Père Dablon."[35] After all, Marquette had gone down the Mississippi. He had seen and heard and experienced all that Dablon narrates about the voyage, and the latter, using the written or oral documentation at his disposal, composed the Récit according to the canons of history-writing prevalent in his day.

We shall now ascertain Dablon's sources for the various specific facts mentioned in the first three paragraphs of this first section of the Récit, namely, the date of Jolliet's arrival at Michilimackinac; the number of men who took part in the expedition; the date when they left St. Ignace; and that fact that a map based on native information was drawn before they began their journey.

Dablon may have inferred the date of Jolliet's arrival at Michilimackinac, December 8, 1672, or Jolliet himself may have supplied this information. Jolliet left Quebec after October 3, 1672, and did not reach Sault Ste Marie before the middle of November. From Sault Ste Marie he may have gone to Michilimackinac, or he may have gone first to Michilimackinac and then to Sault Ste Marie, for he was bringing Dablon's order to Marquette that the latter should accompany him. This we know from Marquette's letter written after March 25, 1673:[36] "Meanwhile I am preparing to leave

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[34] Charles-V. Langlois and Ch. Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1899), 258. The translation is from *Introduction to the Study of History*, G. G. Berry, transl. (New York, 1925), 298.

[35] Repplier, *Père Marquette*, 264.

[36] The date of this letter is established as follows. Marquette returned from La Pointe in the spring of 1671 and was at Sault Ste Marie after June 4 but before July 2, 1671. He did not send Dablon any detailed account of the state of the mission in 1672 (JR, 56: 116). In this letter, he speaks of the Hurons having begun "des l'été passé vn fort proche La Chapelle" (JR, 57: 248), and mentions a journey made to Sault Ste Marie with Father Allouez "l'été passé" (*ibid.*, 250). If the letter had been written in 1672 he would have said "cet été." He says that the Indians left the mission for the hunt "des l'automne" (*ibid.*, 254), and refers several times to the severe winter. Finally, he writes that he baptized an Indian woman "Le iour de L'annonciation' (*ibid.*, 260). Hence the letter is posterior to March 25, 1673.

it [the mission at St. Ignace] in the hands of another missionary, to go according to the order of your Reverence and seek toward the Sea of the South new nations that are unknown to us, to teach them to know our great God, of whom they have hitherto been ignorant."[37]

According to the Récit, Jolliet arrived at Michilimackinac on December 8, 1672, "with orders from M. the Count de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendant, to make this discovery with me." We do not know whether Jolliet had orders from Frontenac and Talon to take Marquette with him, but, as we have seen, he either had their approval or at any rate they were not opposed to having a Jesuit accompanying him.

The source of the last lines of this paragraph, in which Marquette is made to say that at La Pointe Illinois Indians had asked him to go to their villages, is Marquette's letter of April 1670.[38]

In his interview with Jolliet in 1674, Dablon learned how many men took part in the expedition. The date when they left St. Ignace, May 17, 1673, may be an inference. Dablon knew from having made the journey himself in 1670 that it took about a week to go by canoe from Michilimackinac to the St. Francis Xavier mission near present-day Green Bay. He had written in his letter of August 1, 1674, that "they [Jolliet and Marquette] set out with five other Frenchmen toward the beginning of June [1673] to penetrate into countries where no European had ever set foot." Jolliet must have told Dablon that they entered unknown territory beyond the Mascoutens village "toward the beginning of June." Hence Dablon can easily have inferred that they left St. Ignace on May 17.

Father Steck gives May 15 as the correct date. He says that Thévenot has May 13 [le treize May], and he supposes that the manuscript used by Thévenot had a *5* which was misread for a *3*. He also calls attention to the fact that in the Montreal manuscript "a 7 is written over what is generally assumed to have been originally a 3." On close examination, he adds, "we find that the original figure was certainly not a *3*; it seems rather to have been a *5*, . . . On what authority the correction was made we have not been able to learn; perhaps on the authority of other manuscript copies which are said to be extant in Europe. In 1673, May 13 was a Saturday. One prefers to think that they waited until Monday, the 15th, spending Sunday at Mission St. Ignace."[39]

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[37] JR, 57: 263.
[38] JR, 54: 168–194. See especially pp. 186, 188, 190.
[39] *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 151, note 29.

The correction *17* was made by Dablon when he proofread the Montreal copy in 1679; that this correction represents the original is clear from the fact that both Marquette–4a and Marquette–5 have May 17; the figure over which Dablon wrote the "7" cannot be identified with certainty as either a *3* or a *5*.

There is another fact in this paragraph for which we have no written evidence; namely, that before setting out the explorers obtained all the information they could from Indians who have frequented the unknown region toward which they were bound, and embodied this information in a map.

Dablon either learned this detail from Jolliet or else took for granted that the explorers followed the common practice in this respect.[40] A tolerably accurate sketch of the course of the Mississippi can be drawn from the description of the river by the Indians which Dablon himself inserted in the Relation of 1670–1671.[41] After the writing of this Relation, the Indians had supplied further information about the great river, as is evident from Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674. Beyond the Mascoutens village, he wrote, the explorers looked for a portage of half a league where they would pass from this river [the Fox] into another [the Wisconsin] which came from the northwest and which led to the Mississippi.

The fourth and last paragraph of the first section is transcribed below and the main variants of Marquette–4a and Marquette–5 are noted:

Sur tout je mis nostre voyage (équipage, in M–4a) soubs la protection *de la S*^{te}. *Vierge* (the words italicized are omitted in M–4a) Immaculée, luy promettant, que si elle nous faisoit la grace de découurir la grande Riuiere, Je luy donnerois Le Nom de la Conception et que je ferois aussi porter ce (le, in M–4a) nom a la premiere Mission que j'établirois (j'y establirois, in M–4a) chez Ces (Ses, in M–4a) Nouueaux peuples, *Ce que jay fait de vraÿ chez les Illinois* (the words italicized are omitted in M–4a and in M–5).

The first omission is clearly a distraction of the Marquette–4a copyist; and the fact that these words are in Marquette–5 is another indication that this copy was not made on the first fragment of Canada–4.

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[40] Cf. JR, 44: 236; La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, in Margry, 2: 52 f; Journal of the *Badine*, Margry, 4: 178; Journal of the *Marin*, *ibid.*, 269.

[41] JR, 55: 206–208.

Whether Marquette promised to call the Mississippi "R. de la Conception" or whether this is an inference is not ascertainable, for Dablon knew of Marquette's great devotion to the Blessed Virgin under this attribute. However that may be, it is certain that Marquette legended the Mississippi "R. de la Conception" on his map.[42]

The omission of the last nine words in Marquette–4a and in Marquette–5 means that they were not in the copy or copies sent to France in 1678. Moreover, since these words are in the handwriting of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript, it follows that Dablon inserted them in a copy kept in Quebec, and that the Montreal manuscript is a later transcription of that copy.

From what Marquette wrote in the introduction to his journal of his second voyage, namely, that he was awaiting orders "for my voyage to the mission of the Conception of the Illinois," it is clear that he had so named the mission in 1673, for his journal ends a few weeks before his return to the Illinois village. This had escaped Dablon's attention when he wrote the first draft of the Récit, for it is not in the copy or copies sent to France, and since the sentence in the Montreal manuscript is in the handwriting of the copyist, we conclude, as above, that Dablon inserted it in a copy kept in Quebec and that the Montreal manuscript is a later transcription of this copy.

Finally, this addition in the Montreal manuscript establishes two important points. The first regards the authorship of the Récit. If Marquette were actually the author, this detail would be found in the other earlier copies, namely, in Marquette–4a and in the manuscript used by the copyist of Marquette–5. The second point is a confirmation of what we have already said with regard to the literary device of using the first person singular, to add greater vividness by making Marquette tell the story himself.

SECTION 2.

Except for the manner of harvesting wild rice, and the reference to a medicinal herb and a minerable spring, there are few details in this section which cannot be traced to extant written sources.

The harvesting of wild rice is a disgression containing details which Dablon witnessed or which he learned from other Jesuits. It should be noted that Dablon in 1670 passed by the Menominee

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[42] I have dealt elsewhere ("Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 27 [1945]: 37, note 37) with Father Steck's remarks with regard to the authenticity of this legend.

River in September[43] at the time of the harvest,[44] whereas Marquette passed by it in May.

It is doubtful whether the explorers went out of their way to enter the Menominee River; they may have met a band of Menominee Indians on the west shore of Green Bay. The fact that the name "folle auoine" is on Marquette's map does not mean that they visited the village of these Indians, for the 8tagami (Fox) village is also inscribed on the map, and the explorers certainly did not visit it. If they actually met some Menominee, the reported speech of the latter, in which they enumerated the dangers awaiting Marquette from men, monsters and devils, is a stock speech made by Indians to explorers and missionaries, partly because the Indians themselves believed in the existence of such obstacles, and partly because they did not wish white men to bring European goods to other tribes.[45]

What we said above with regard to the addition to the Montreal manuscript equally applies to the addition at the end of the fifth paragraph of this section: "en ayant baptisé plus de deux mille [Indians] depuis qu'ils [Jesuits] y [at Green Bay] sont." Moreover, this second addition shows that the Montreal manuscript was recopied in 1679. In the Relation of this year, Dablon speaks of the great number of baptisms conferred by the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier and in the dependent missions;[46] and he repeats this detail in his letter to the general of the order.[47] Taken in conjunction with the paragraph added by Dablon at the end of the third chapter

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[43] JR, 55: 184.

[44] A. E. Jenks, "The Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology . . . 1897-1898 (Washington, D. C., 1900), 1056.

[45] See La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, in Margry, 2: 42 f; and the letter of July 2, 1661, in JR, 46: 260. The latter supposedly a joint letter of Druillettes and Dablon, was actually written by the latter. Compare the answer of Marquette to the speech of the Indians with that made by the two missionaries, *ibid.*, 262.

[46] JR, 61: 148–156.

[47] Dablon to Oliva, September 1, 1679, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, I, 67v.—In the Catalogus Barbarorum Canadensium à Patribus Societatis JESV Baptisatorum hoc anno 1679 (*ibid.*, 69v), Dablon lists the number of baptisms conferred by the missionaries in the Northwest:

In Missionibus Decem apud Outaoüacos, quibus praeest P. henricus Nouuel, aquis baptismatis Tinxerunt hoc anno 1679 aut superiore

Ex prouinciâ Tolosanâ	P. henricus Nouuel P. Joannes Enjalran	37 adultos, et 108 Infantes
ex gallo-belgicâ	P. Philippus Pierson	5 adultos—25 Infantes
ex aquitaniâ	P. Petrus Bailloquet	9 adultos—40 Infantes
ex Tolosanâ	P. Gabriel druilletes	4 adultos—71 Infantes
ex aquitaniâ	P. Andreas Bonnault	13 adultos—88 Infantes
ex Tolosanâ	P. Carolus Albanel	40 siue adultos siue Infantes
ex Lugdunensi	P. Ludovicus André P. Antonius Silvy	220 siue adultos siue Infantes

in which he notes the departure of Father Allouez for the Illinois country, these facts show that the Montreal manuscript is a copy made in 1679 of an earlier copy, duplicates of which were sent to France in 1678, and this later Montreal copy was further corrected by Dablon.

Most of the specific data in the remainder of this section are taken from previously published Relations. Dablon himself had given the explanation of the name of Green Bay—baye des Puants—in the Relation of 1670–1671;[48] he knew the length and the width of Green Bay[49] through having visited it in 1670, and he also knew its shape, for he is very probably the author of the draft of the 1671 map of Lake Superior.[50]

The question of tides in Green Bay had been discussed in the Relations of 1671–1672 and 1672–1673.[51] The alternative cause—the attraction of the moon or the winds—of what was thought were tides, mentioned in the earlier of these two Relations,[52] is repeated in the Récit; and in the Relation of 1670–1671, Dablon himself had speculated as to the cause of these "tides."[53] Several expressions in these three sources are found verbatim in the Récit.

The brief description of the lower Fox River is a summary of Dablon's own description in the Relation of 1670–1671;[54] here again, Dablon reproduced in the Récit some expressions of his earlier Relation.

Two specific data cannot be traced to extant written sources: the mineral spring and the curative virtue of a medicinal herb which an Indian made known to Father Allouez. Dablon makes no mention of the spring in his description of the Fox River Valley, nor is there among the extant writings of Father Allouez any reference to this spring or to the medicinal herb. I believe, however, that these details were in the report sent by Allouez in 1672, for it is clear that Dablon, in editing the Relation of 1671–1672, considerably abridged this report. He wrote: "We should need almost as much time to follow Father Claude Allouez in an account of his apostolic journeys as he took in making them . . ." How the dispensations of Divine Providence were manifested will "be easily

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[48] JR, 55: 182; and cf. JR, 45: 218.

[49] Father Louis André wrote to Dablon in 1673: "V. R. sçait mieux que moy La Longueur et La Largeur de la baye ainsy ie ne Luy en parle pas."—JR, 57: 304.

[50] "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 32 f.

[51] JR, 57: 300–304.

[52] JR, 56: 136–140.

[53] JR, 55: 160–164.

[54] JR, 55; 190–194.

realized from the short account which we [*i. e.,* Dablon] will give of the almost incredible pains which he took to instruct tribes speaking five different languages . . ."[55] The reason why Dablon devotes only five pages in the original Relation to Allouez's apostolic labors is probably because he wished to publish in that year the journal of Father Albanel's voyage to Hudson Bay, which covers fifty-four pages in the original Relation.

The last specific fact in this section of the Récit is the date of the expedition's arrival at the Mascoutens village. That this date is an inference will be seen from the following consideration. In 1674, Dablon had been told by Jolliet that they left for the unknown territory "toward the beginning of June." The earlier text of the Récit as we have it in Marquette–4a and in Marquette–5 reads thus: "ou [at the Mascoutens village] nous arriuasmes vers le 7 (7^{e} de, in Marquette–4a) Juin"; whereas the Montreal manuscript, which is a later copy corrected by Dablon, has "ou nous arrivâmes le 7^{e} De Juin." Hence, if in 1678 he only knew approximately (*vers*, about June 7) the date of the arrival of the expedition at this village, it is unlikely that he knew it positively in the following year.

Even if this variant is merely an oversight on Dablon's part when proofreading the later copy, the fact remains that if he had had Marquette's journal he would not have written in 1678, that the date of arrival at the Mascoutens village was *about* the 7th of June; for in Marquette's second journal all the dates of the various entries are given exactly.

It was not difficult for Dablon to infer this date, for he himself had made the journey in 1670. In ordinary circumstances it took about eight or ten days to go by canoe from Michilimackinac to Green Bay; and it had taken Dablon nine days to go from Green Bay to the Mascoutens village. Hence the whole journey took nearly three weeks. Having written in the previous section that the explorers set out from Michilimackinac on May 17, he inferred that they reached the Mascoutens village "about June 7."

SECTION 3.

In the Relation of 1670–1671, Dablon had called attention to the fact that by changing a few letters, the word "Mascoutens" may signify "Nation of Fire"; and he repeated this statement in the

[55] JR, 56: 140.

opening lines of this section.[56] The enumeration in the Récit of the tribes composing the Mascoutens village is the same as in the Relation of 1672–1673.[57] The description of the character of the Miami Indians is a paraphrase of Allouez's journal printed in the Relation of 1669–1670.[58] The reference to the eagerness of the Miami to listen to Father Allouez is taken from the Relation of 1672–1673, and what is said about the peculiar kind of huts made of rush matting seen in the Mascoutens village is taken from the same Relation. It should be remembered, also, that Dablon himself had spent several weeks in this village in 1670, and had observed that these people "have no other houses, for the most part than such as are made of rushes woven together in the form of mats";[59] finally, in this same year, together with Allouez, he had visited the enclosure in which the Miami dwelt.[60]

In August 1672, after having erected a huge cross in the Mascoutens village, Allouez returned to the St. Francis Xavier mission. He was again in that village on May 5, 1673, and camped near the cross. He left on May 22, that is, a few weeks before the arrival of Jolliet and Marquette. In the journal of his travels, Allouez mentions the offerings made by the Indians to this cross. As the following parallel passages show, Dablon combined two entries of Allouez's journal when writing the paragraph of the Récit in which this cross is mentioned:

Journal of Allouez	*Récit*
Le soir ie vis des tresses de bled d'inde, des ceintures et des iartieres rouges qu'ils auoient pendues a La croix . . . Les mémes miami ont quitté Les manitous qu'ils inuoquoient pour Leur guerre Chasse &c. ils n'inuoquent que celuy, qui a fait Le Ciel et La terre, en effect ces iours passez allants en guerre ils ont pendu a La croix	Je fus extremément Consolé de veoir une belle Croix au milieu du bourg et ornée de plusieurs peaux blanches, de Ceintures rouges, d'arcs et de flêches, que ces bonnes gens auoient offertz au grand Manitou, (C'est le nom qu'ils donnent a Dieu) pour le remercier de ce qu'il auoit eu pitié D'Eux pendant L'hyuer, Leur donnant une

[56] JR, 56: 198. See F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 vols., 4th impression, Washington, D. C., 1912), *s. v.* Mascoutens.

[57] JR, 58: 22.

[58] JR, 58: 22, and 60–62.

[59] JR, 55: 194.

[60] *Ibid.*, 200–206.

qui est a Leur bourg vne peau blanche pour inuoquer ainsy quils mont dit, Le Dieu des armées qui a fait Les hommes et Le Ciel et La terre.[61]

chasse abondante, Lorsqu'ils apprehendoient Le plus La famine.[62]

The next paragraph, which contains the description of the Mascoutens village, is a variation of what Dablon himself had written in 1670:

Relation of 1670–1671

[The Mascoutens village] est placée sur un petit costeau d'où l'on ne découvre de tous costez que de vastes prairies avec quelques bocages, épars en diver endroits.[63]

Récit

Car d'une Eminence sur la quelle elle [the Mascoutens village] est placée on découure de toutes parts les prairies a perte de veüe, partagees par des bocages ou par des bois de haute futaÿe.[64]

The speech of Jolliet, which Dablon recorded in indirect discourse, is the latter's own composition, based on a few words from the explorer. "On the following day, the tenth of June, two Miami, who were given us as guides embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd . . ." We saw above that the expedition is said to have arrived at the Mascoutens village on June 7. From the wording of the preceding paragraph, "No sooner had we arrived than we assembled the elders together," it is clear that the following day was not June 10, but June 8; it is also clear that Dablon did not get these dates from Marquette's journal or from Jolliet, but that they are inferences. These figures are no copyists' errors, for the date is spelled out—le dixiesme de Juin—in Marquette–4a and in the Montreal manuscript. As for the two guides, Dablon must have been

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[61] JR, 58: 26 and 62.

[62] JR, 59: 102. Except for differences in spelling the text is the same in the three manuscripts.—The reason given in the Récit for these offerings is a paraphrase of what Allouez had written, JR, 58: 62.

[63] JR, 55: 198.

[64] JR, 59: 102. Some of the products of the country mentioned in the remainder of this paragraph of the Récit are also listed in Dablon's description of the Fox River Valley.—JR, 55: 194.

"This description [of the country around the Mascoutens village] tallies perfectly with that given by Allouez on the occasion of his visit in 1670 (September 15)."—A. E. Jones, "The Site of Mascoutin," in *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1906 (Madison, Wis., 1907), 179. Of course it tallies, for the same man wrote both. The description is not by Allouez, but by Dablon. Father Jones never doubted that the Récit was Marquette's "journal."

told by Jolliet or by Largilier that they were Miami, or else he inferred that they belonged to that tribe from what he knew about these Indians from Allouez's report of 1673.[65]

"We knew that three leagues from Mascoutens there was a river which emptied into the Mississippi." As we noted previously, this knowledge was obtained from the Indians. The distance from the Mascoutens village to Portage, Wisconsin—three leagues—found in every manuscript, is clearly an error of the copyists, which Dablon failed to correct when he proofread the Montreal manuscript in 1679. That the original figures set down by Dablon was thirty is easily ascertainable.[66]

In the narrative of his own journey to the Mascoutens village, Dablon says that after one day's journey up the Fox River, there are three or four leagues of rapids, beyond which one must travel "more than twenty leagues" before reaching Mascountens.[67] Hence according to his reckoning the distance from Green Bay to Mascoutens was about thirty leagues. In July 1674, Jolliet had told Dablon that the distance between Green Bay and Portage was nearly sixty leagues, and Dablon figured that the Mascoutens village was about half way up the Fox River,[68] seeing that on Marquette's map the distance between the village and the portage was between twenty-five and thirty leagues.

In July 1674, Dablon had learned from Jolliet the two other specific facts contained in this same paragraph of the Récit:—the direction of the Fox River and the length of the portage. Jolliet

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[65] JR, 58: 60–62.

[66] The reasoning of Father Jones ("The Site of Mascoutin," *loc. cit.*, 180 f), ingenious though it be, is unacceptable. The expression "de Maskoutens" does not mean "from the river of the Maskoutens"; and the remark that "Marquette [*i. e.*, Dablon] does not use the article before the name of rivers" proves nothing. The meaning of the clause "a trois lieuës de Maskoutens" is "three [*i. e.*, thirty] leagues from the *village* of the Mascoutens." This is clear from other passages of the Récit where the village is mentioned. While ascending the Fox River, "Nous aduancions toujours vers Maskoutens ou nous arrivâmes le 7e De Juin"; again, the opening words of the third section read: "Nous voicy rendus a Maskoutens." The meaning of "Maskoutens" in these two texts is not different from its meaning in the passage: "Nous scauions qua trois lieuës de Maskoutens est la Riuiere qui se décharge dans Mississipi." Yet, Father Jones interprets the word as "the *river* of the Mascoutens."

John J. Wood ("The Mascoutin Village," *loc. cit.*, 173, note 14) had correctly surmised that the text should read "thirty instead of three leagues."

[67] JR, 55: 190 and 198.

[68] R. G. Thwaites, *Historic Waterways* (Chicago, 1888), 26 f, gives 94 miles as the distance from Green Bay to Berlin (in the vicinity of which the Mascoutens village was located), and 81 miles as the distance from Berlin to Portage.

had then told him that in ascending the river he went "toward the west-southwest" and that they were looking for a portage of half a league. In the Récit this portage is said to be 2,700 paces long. These paces were ordinary paces, two of which made one geometrical pace or five feet; hence the 2,700 paces equal 6,750 feet or 1,125 toises of six feet, or half a *lieue moyenne* (the land league) of 2,282 toises.[69]

The next paragraph is transitional. Dablon may have learned from Largilier and Jolliet that they began, as he says, a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin, for we know from Jolliet's letter to Laval that he, like Marquette, had a singular devotion to the Mother of God. On the other hand, this new devotion may be a surmise of Dablon, based on the statement in Marquette's journal of the second voyage, namely, that Marquette began at Chicago a special novena in honor of the Blessed Virgin to obtain from God the cure of his illness.

Dablon saw the name of the Wisconsin [Meskousing] on Jolliet's map; he computed on this map the distance—thirty leagues—between the portage and the iron mine, which is also shown on Jolliet's map along with the "chain of rocks" said by Dablon to be quite near this mine. The direction of the Wisconsin River, toward the southwest, the distance traveled on it, forty leagues, and the latitude of the mouth of the Wisconsin, 42°30′,[70] are details that he had learned from Jolliet. In July 1674, he had been told by the latter that "sur laquelle [Wisconsin River] estants embarqués, et ayant fait quarente lieües vers le soroüest, Enfin le 15 Juin, se trouvant a 42 degres et demy, ils entrerent heureusement dans cette fameuse Riuiere que les sauuages appellent Misscisipi."

The arrrival at the mouth of the Wisconsin is expressed as follows in the Récit: "et nous trouuant a 42 degrez et demy D'esleuation, Nous entrons heureusement dans Missisipi le 17^{e} Juin avec une joie que ne ne peux pas Expliquer."[71]

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[69] Since there were twenty-five land leagues to the degree of latitude, each league measured 2.76 statute miles, and 2,700 paces equal 1,35 miles. The distance between the marker erected near the bank of the Wisconsin River by the Wau-Bun Chapter of the D. A. R. and the nearest point on the Fox River is 1,6 miles.

[70] This is also the latitude on Marquette's map. For the other latitudes of the mouth of the Wisconsin on maps based on that of Jolliet, see "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," MID-AMERICA, 28 (1946): 96.

[71] "Auec un joie que je ne puis exprimer," is the reading in Marquette-5 and in Thévenot. On this reading, which is Dablon's own text, see H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la Cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545–1700* (Paris, 1872), 141, note 2.

Love of symmetry is one of the standard results of a classical education. In Dablon's case this symmetry is exemplified by the sameness of the important dates which he gives for the expedition of 1673:—May 17, when the expedition left St. Ignace; June 17, when it reached the Mississippi; July 17, when the explorers began their northward journey. Moreover, he had to make sure that enough time was allowed for traveling from the Mascoutens village to Prairie du Chien. In 1674, he had been told by Jolliet that the distance between these two places was 70 leagues (actually 200 miles) through unknown territory, and that nearly half this distance (30 leagues) was upstream. Consequently he changed the date of their reaching the mouth of the Wisconsin from June 15, which he had written in his letter of August 1, 1674, into June 17, thus allowing one week between their departure from the Mascoutens village on June 10, and their arrival at Prairie du Chien.

At the beginning of this third section, Dablon had written: "Here [the Mascoutens village] is the limit of the discoveries made by the French; for they have not gone any farther." Until the expedition of 1673 reached this point, he could supplement his narrative with descriptions and details from earlier Jesuit Relations as well as with what he knew of the country from personal knowledge. Beyond the Mascoutens village, however, he had to rely first, on the meager information in his own letter of August 1, 1674, which contains the details learned from his interview with Jolliet; second, on Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac; and finally, on supplementary odds and ends learned from Jolliet and Largilier. For the geography of the territory beyond the Mascoutens village, all that he had was the map of Marquette and the map which Jolliet drew from memory between August and November 1674. This oral and written evidence is the basis for the rest of the Récit, except for irrelevant disgressions, the sources of which will be ascertained in due course.

Although it is true that for 250 years Marquette has been regarded as the author of the Récit, this does not prove that he is really its author. The acceptance of his authorship by historians does not affect the fact itself. Otherwise an erroneous ascription would become true merely because historians for centuries have believed it to be true. Furthermore, this unanimous consent with regard to Marquette's authorship of the Récit is much less impressive than is generally thought; for among the numerous writers who have made use of the document not one has taken the trouble to investigate its authenticity. Previous to the publication of Father

Steck's dissertation, everyone took for granted that Marquette wrote it. Some went so far as to call it the "journal" of the expedition, and others, going farther still, called the Montreal manuscript Marquette's *autograph.*

The style of the narrative as an argument against Marquette's authorship had not been sufficiently emphasized. Dablon's style is very distinctive; his use of words, his expressions, and even his sentence structures are so individualistic that one can recognize his contributions in the earlier Relations, even though these contributions have been "edited" or "revised" by the editor of the Relations in Quebec or in Paris. Because of its importance, we must repeat once more what we have said several times in the course of this article:—the Récit is an integral part of the 1677–1678 Relation. No one has ever doubted that those parts of this Relation which are not transcriptions of letters from missionaries in the field were written by Dablon. In particular, no one denies that Dablon wrote the chapter describing Marquette's second voyage to the Illinois country and his death on the return journey. The same characteristics of style are so obviously present in the Récit of the voyage of 1673 and in the Relation's narrative of the second voyage to the Illinois country that, if some student ignorant of the question of authorship were given both documents, he would, we confidently believe, recognize that they were written by the same man.

SECTION 4.

In the following two paragraphs the sources of the statements concerning the Mississippi River in the Récit are indicated after each statement.

"La Riuiere de Missisipi tire son origine de diuers lacs." On the anonymous copy of Jolliet's map, three lakes are shown as the headwaters of the river.—". . . qui [lakes] sont dans le païs des peuples du Nord." As early as 1670, relying on information received from the Indians, Dablon had written that the Mississippi took "son origine dans les Quartiers du Nord";[72] and after his interview with Jolliet in 1674, he wrote that the Mississippi "vient de fort loing du costé du Nord, au rapport des Sauuages." On Jolliet's map, north of Lake Superior, there is a legend which reads: "Nations du Nord."—"Elle est estroitte a sa [*i. e.,* la] décharge de Miskous." The last word is clearly a mistaken reading of "Miskousing" on Jolliet's map. Since the name is correctly written in

[72] JR, 55: 206.

the preceding section of the Récit, the reason for the misreading seems to be that Miscou, on Chaleur Bay, had long been known in Canada, and when Dablon proofread the copy he did not make the correction, because he too was more familiar with Miscou than with Miskousing.[73]

"Son courant qui port[e] du Costé du Sud est lent et paisible." Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, has: "Elle coule fort doucement . . ."—"A la droitte on voist une grande Chaisne de Montagnes fort hautes et a la gauche de belles terres." To the right of the river, that is, looking at Jolliet's map.—"Elle est couppee d'Isles en diuers Endroictz." Dablon had written in 1674, that the river is much wider "aux endroitx où elle est coupéé d'Isles."—"En sondant nous auons trouués dix brasses d'Eaux." In the letter of August 1, 1674: "Elle a jusques a dix brasses d'eau."—"Nous suiuons doucement son Cours qui va au Sud et au Sudest jusqùaus 42 degrés d'Eleuation." On Marquette's map, the Mississippi flows southeastward to latitude 41°; the manuscripts sent to France have 42°; the later Montreal copy had 14e, which Dablon crossed out and wrote "42" above it.

Deer, cows, sturgeons and turkeys are mentioned in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674. What were the "swans without wings" and who supplied Dablon with this information, we do not know. The monstrous fish has been identified as probably the cat fish; the monster with the tiger-cat, and the "extraordinary fish" with the *polyodon spatula*.[74] Since these animals are not mentioned in any of the written sources which have come down to us, we conclude that their description was given orally by Jolliet or by some other member of the expedition.

"When we reached latitude 41°28′, following the same direction, we found that turkeys had taken the place of game, and the pisikious,[75] or wild oxen, that of the other animals." The next paragraph of the Récit contains a description of the buffalo which

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[73] Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 99 and 130 f.

[74] See the notes of B. F. French in J. G. Shea, ed., *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852), 17 f.—A drawing of the "extraordinary fish" based on the description in the Récit was inserted in a band outside the frame of a map made in Quebec at the end of the seventeenth century. The draughtsman legended it: "Chausarou ou Poisson armé." On this map cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 86 f.

[75] "Pisikiou" is the French rendering of the Algonquian name of the buffalo: *Piciki*; Chippewa, *Pijiki*, ox, bull, cow, buffalo; plur. *Pijikiwag*.

is simply a variant of Dablon's earlier description published in the Relation of 1670–1671, as the following parallel texts will show.

Relation of 1670–1671	*Récit*
C'est aussy parmy ces gras paturasges, que se retrouve des bufles, qu'on appelle Pisikiou, qui ont beaucoup de rapport à nos taureaux, pour la grandeur, & la force, . . .	Nous les [Pisikious] appelons boeufs sauuages parcequ'ils sont semblables a nos boeufs domestiques, ils ne sont pas plus longs mais ils ont pres d'une fois plus plus gros et plus Corpulents; . . .
. . . leurs cornes, qui de vray sont toutes semblables, à celles de nos boeufs, en figure et en couleur, mais qui sont une fois plus grandes, . . .	. . . les Cornes qui sont entierement semblables a Celles de nos boeufs, mais elles sont noires et beaucoup plus grande[s], . . .
. . . pour le poil, qu'ils ont gros, velu, noirastre & tirant un peu sur celuy des moutons, mais beaucoup plus fort, & plus espais; aussi en fait on des robes, & des fourrures, qui defendent contre le froid plus que toutes les autres de ce païs: La Chair en est excellente, & la graisse mélée avec la folle avoine fait le mets le plus delicat de ce païs.[76]	. . . Le reste du Corps est reuetu d'un gros poil frisé a peu pres Coñe Celuy de nos moutons, mais bien plus fort et plus Espais, il tombe en Esté et la peau deuient douce Comme du Velours. C'est pourlors que les sauuages les Emploÿent pour s'en faire de belles Robbes qu'ils peignent de diuerses Couleurs; la chair et la graisse des pisikious est Excellente et fait le meillieur mets des festins.[77]

"They [buffaloes] are scattered about the prairie in herds: I saw one herd of 400." After his interview with Jolliet in 1674, Dablon wrote: "Le Pere en a conté jusques 400 en une seule bande." In his letter to Laval, Jolliet said: "J'en ai ueu et compté jusques 400 ensemble dans une prairie," and in his dedicatory letter to Frontenac: "J'en ay mesme compté jusqua 400."[78]

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[76] JR, 55: 194–196.
[77] JR, 59: 110–112.
[78] These passages are commented upon in "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 225.

In the next paragraph of the Récit there are three kinds of data which must be considered separately:—the distances, the changes in direction of the Mississippi, and the latitudes.

Two distances are given. They had traveled more than one hundred leagues and more than sixty leagues on the Mississippi without discovering anything. This total distance includes the forty leagues on the Wisconsin River which Dablon had learned from Jolliet in 1674. The distance on the Mississippi he inferred as follows: he knew that they had entered the Mississippi at latitude 42°30′, and he saw on Marquette's map that the village of the Peoria where they met Indians for the first time was situated slightly above latitude 40°. Since Dablon counted twenty-five leagues to the degree of latitude, he concluded that they had traveled more than sixty leagues on the Mississippi.

The varying directions of the course of the Mississippi. For this section of the course of the Mississippi, Dablon either misread Marquette's map or failed to ascertain the exact rhumbs with a protractor. On Marquette's map, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to latitude 41°, the river flows S. E. by S., and from latitude 41° to the Peoria village, it flows south one and a half points to the west.

The two latitudes (41°, 40° and some minutes) are derived from Marquette's map. As we just noted, the first is where the Mississippi changes its direction, and the second is the location of the Peoria village on Marquette's map. In the preceding paragraph of the Récit, another latitude is mentioned, 41°28′. This same figure is found in Marquette–5 and in Thévenot. What led Dablon to mention this position is unascertainable, for on Marquette's map there is nothing distinctive between the mouth of the Wisconsin (latitude 42°30′) and latitude 41°.

"Finally, on June 25, we noticed on one of the banks of the river tracks of men and a narrow beaten path leading to a fine prairie . . . thinking that it led to some Indian village, we resolved to follow the path and find out." The date, June 25, is an inference. As we saw, Dablon wrote that they entered the Mississippi River on June 17, and computed the distance from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Peoria village as 60 leagues. Having been told that they stopped every night, he figured that it took the explorers eight days to cover this distance.

This village was situated a few leagues inland on the Iowa River.[79] The details concerning the reception of Marquette and

[79] Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 102 f.

Jolliet must have been supplied by the latter; the presentation and the brief description of the calumet in the Récit are outlined in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674.

SECTION 5.

The narrative of the reception tendered to the explorers is an exercise of style. To write it Dablon drew from his fund of general knowledge of Indian customs and supplemented it with bits of specific information obtained from Jolliet or from other members of the expedition. Marquette's speech is no more actual than the speeches in Livy, and contains a statement which Marquette could not possibly have made. "The third [present], I said, is to inform them [the Indians] that the great captain of the French has restored peace everywhere and that he had subdued the Iroquois." In the supposed answer of the chief, we learn who this subduer was: "By this gift [a calumet] he expressed to us his esteem for Monsieur our governor, from the account which we had given of him." Now by June 1673, Frontenac had not subdued anybody. He had arrived at Quebec at the beginning of September 1672, and even if he had subdued the Iroquois during the winter of 1672–1673, the explorers could not have known about it, for they had left St. Ignace in May 1673.

The other points of Marquette's speech are commonplaces found in discourses made by missionaries to the Indians. The greeting of the chief, "que le soleil est beau, françois, quand tu viens nous visiter," is developed in the answer which he supposedly made to Marquette's speech: "Jamais la terre n'a esté si belle ni le soleil si eclatant qu'aujourd'huy . . ." This seems to have been a common figure of speech. In June 1672, on his way to Hudson Bay, Father Albanel met an Indian chief who controlled the territory which he and his party had to cross. The missionary made the ordinary presents, and on the following day, at the end of a great feast, the chief spoke as follows: "C'est aujourd'huy, mon Pere, que le Soleil nous luit, & que nous favorisant de ta douce presence, tu nous fais le plus beau jour que ce païs ait jamais yeu."[80]

Dablon had learned from Jolliet that the Peoria village comprised 300 lodges. This figure is also found in Jolliet's letter to Laval.[81]

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[80] JR, 56: 176.

[81] Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Primary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 224.

SECTION 6.

This section, the longest of the Récit, is divided into three parts: the first deals with the Illinois Indians, their language, their character and some of their customs; the second part treats of the calumet; the third contains the description of the calumet dance.

To write the paragraphs on the Illinois Dablon made use of the following sources: Marquette's map, Marquette's letter of April 1670, Allouez's report of May 1677, and Dablon's own description of these Indians which had been published in the Relation of 1670–1671.

By 1678, the meaning of the word "Illinois" was common knowledge in Canada; and it should be remembered that, in 1670, at the Mascoutens village, Dablon had seen more Illinois[82] than Marquette ever saw at La Pointe, which was visited by only a few bands of these Indians while Marquette was there.[83]

According to the Récit the Illinois are divided into several villages. In 1671, Dablon had written that "beyond that great river [the Mississippi] lie the eight villages of the Illinois."[84] We are also told in the Récit that "a few of these villages are quite distant from the one of which we speak and which is called Peoüarea." Dablon seems to have concluded that the villages inscribed on Marquette's and Jolliet's maps west of the Peoria were the other Illinois villages about which he had heard in 1670.

"Their language resembles Algonquian, so that we easily understood each other." Marquette certainly did not make this statement. In his letter of the spring of 1670 written at La Pointe, after mentioning that the Ottawa had appointed an Indian to teach him Illinois which, he said, "one can scarcely understand, although it resembles Algonquian."[85] The great difference between Algonquian and the Illinois dialect is also attested by Allouez: "The Ilimouec [Illinois] speak Algonquian, but their dialect is very different from that of all the other tribes. I understood them only slightly, for I have talked with them very little."[86] Both Marquette and Allouez, especially the latter, knew Algonquian well, and were well aware of the differences between the various Algonquian dialects; whereas, owing to circumstances, Dablon never learned either of the

[82] JR, 55: 206–218.
[83] JR, 54: 184–188.
[84] JR, 55: 96.
[85] JR, 54: 186.
[86] JR, 51: 46.

two basic languages, Algonquian and Huron, which were spoken in the territory evangelized by the Jesuits of New France.[87]

"Their disposition is gentle and tractable." The section in which Dablon speaks of the Illinois whom he saw at the Mascoutens village in 1670 is entitled: "Some particulars concerning the Nation of the Illinois, especially regarding the good disposition and politeness of these peoples."[88] Moreover, in the spring of 1670, Marquette had written that "ceux que j'ay vu paroissent estre d'assez bon naturel."[89] Dablon knew that they practiced polygamy, and that they were very jealous of their wives, from Allouez's report of 1677.[90] In his letter of August 1, 1674, Dablon had written: "Aussy leur coupe ton le nez quand elles font mal." In the Récit he says: "Et ils leurs coupent le nez ou les oreilles quand elles ne sont pas sages."

These texts sufficiently show the dependence of the Récit on these sources for all that pertains to the character and customs of the Illinois; anyone wishing to complete the proof may compare the remainder of this part of the Récit with Marquette's letter of the spring of 1670,[91] with the corresponding part of Dablon's Relation of 1670–1671,[92] and with what Allouez says in his report of 1677.[93] The only detail in the Récit for which there is no written reference prior to 1678 is the institution of the berdashes; but this custom was very probably known by that time, and is mentioned by all subsequent writers who explained the "mystery" connected with this custom.[94]

The second part of this section treats of the calumet. The two paragraphs describing it are a paraphrase of what Dablon had

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87 "Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 100.
88 JR, 55: 206; cf. p. 210.
89 JR, 54: 186.
90 Récit: "Ils ont plusieurs femmes dont ils sont extremement jalouz." Allouez: "Ils ont plusieurs femmes, et ils en sont extremement jaloux."—JR, 60: 160.
91 JR, 54: 184–190.
92 JR, 55: 206–218.
93 JR, 60: 158–166.
94 "Il y avoit avec eux [Sioux] deux femmes et un de ces infâmes qui servent de femmes, quoyqu'ils soient hommes, que les Islinois appellent Ikoueta [Algonquian: *Ikwe*, woman, *Ikwak*, women]." La Salle's letter of August 22, 1681, in Margry, 2: 255.—"We saw in the village of the Kappas one of those wretches who from their youth dress as girls and pander to the most shameful of all vices. But this infamous man was not of their nation; he belonged to the Illinois among whom the practice is quite common." Letter of St. Cosme in L. P. Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699* (New York, c1917), 360.—Additional references in JR, 59: 309, note 26.

written in 1674 after interviewing Jolliet: "Il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston [the calumet], aussy bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples [Illinois], en attendant que nous en receuions le recit nous dirons seulement . . . ." But, as we have seen, Dablon never received *le recit,* and in 1678, he recast what he had written four years earlier. The following parallel passages speak for themselves:

Letter of August 1, 1674	*Récit*
[The calumet] est un grand mystere parmy ces peuples pour ce quil est comme un passeport et une sauuegarde pour aller en assurance partout sans qu'on ose en aucune façon offenser ceux qui portent ces caducez on n'a qu'a le montrer, et on est asseuré de la vie, mesme dans le plus fort du combat, Comme il y a un baston de paix, il y en a un de guerre qui ne sont differens neantmoins que par la couleur des plumes dont ils sont couverts; le rouge estant marque de guerre, et les autres couleurs signe de paix.[95]	Il ne reste plus qu'a parler du Calumet, il n'est rien parmy eux ny de plus mysterieux n'y de plus recommandable, ... C'est assez de le porter sur soy et de le faire voir pour marcher en assurance au milieu des Ennemÿs, qui dans le fort du Combat mettent bas les armes quand on le montre. . . . il y a un calumet pour La paix et un pour la guerre, qui ne sont distingués que par la Couleur des plumages dontz ils sont ornés: Le Rouge est marque de guerre, ...[96]

The description of the calumet dance is a variant of that given by Allouez in the Relation of 1666–1667.[97] Moreover, Dablon himself had seen Indian dances. When he arrived at Nikabau in 1660, the Indians performed a dance which, he says, was executed "auec telle cadence, que leur bal auroit trouué ses approbations en France."[98] And in 1670, at the Mascoutens village, he witnessed Illinois "dansans à la cadance de quelques airs tres-mélodieux qu'ils chantoient de tres-bon accord."[99]

Two comparisons found in the Récit have been questioned by

[95] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, 26 (1944): 318 f.
[96] JR, 59: 130.
[97] JR, 51: 46–48.
[98] JR, 46: 276.
[99] JR, 55: 204.

a modern critic: "There are two comparisons which one would prefer not to ascribe to Marquette. As priest and religious, whose ideas ran in other channels than those of a layman, Marquette would scarcely have likened the proboscis of a fish seen in the Mississippi with a 'woman's busk' and detected a similarity between the start of the calumet dance and 'the first scene of the ballet.' "[100]

I do not quite understand why Marquette could not have made these two comparisons. Aside from the explanation given by Garraghan, to which reference is given in the footnote, Father Steck seems to have overlooked the fact that priests and religious in seventeenth-century France had not yet been deeply affected by the deleterious influence of that peculiar form of Puritanism known as Jansenism. The ideas of priests and religious of the Middle Ages presumably ran in the same channels as did the ideas of later clerics; yet in their writings as well as in those of bishops, popes and canonized saints, we find comparisons which are much more unexpected than comparing the proboscis of a fish with a woman's busk, or the start of the calumet dance with the first scene of the ballet. As a matter of fact, this comparison with the ballet was made some years earlier, in 1667, not by a layman, but by Father Allouez. After witnessing the calumet dance for the first time, he wrote: "On prendroit cette danse comme vn ballet en posture."[101]

The song is *not* the calumet song, but as the Récit says, it is "one of the songs which they [Illinois] are in the habit of singing."[102] As for the music score, Dablon, who was a gifted musician,[103] may have written it down while listening to the music in 1670.[104]

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[100] Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 295. The question and exclamation marks of Repplier, *Père Marquette*, 260 f, are beside the point. On the other, Garraghan's explanation (*Thought*, 4 [1929]: 59) is abundantly illustrated in A. F. Michel's article, "The Dance on the Jesuit Stage," *The Historical Bulletin*, 23 (1945): 51 ff.

[101] JR, 51: 46.

[102] As we said (*supra*, p. 177) the second fragment of Canada-4 (Marquette-4b) begins with the last six lines of the song; the whole song has seven lines and is found in Marquette-5. It is reproduced from this manuscript in the *Relations inédites*, 2: 273, and from the latter compilation by Thwaites in JR, 59: 311.

[103] "Claude Dablon," *loc. cit.*, 93.

[104] Cf. JR, 55: 204.—Dablon's great interest in Indian songs may be seen from what he wrote in the journal of his first voyage to the Iroquois country in 1655. JR, 42: 114–116.

SECTION 7.

We pointed out in section 6 that the date of arrival at the Peoria village, June 25, was an inference; the date of departure, "toward the end of June," confirms this deduction. For if Dablon had made use of documents containing precise dates he would have given one of these rather than use the vague expression. It is also peculiar that whereas he seems to know the day only approximately, he is able to say that the departure took place "at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon."

The reason for saying that the Indians wondered at the smallness of the explorers' canoes is that, according to Jolliet's statement to Dablon in 1674, the canoes of the Indians of this village were fifty feet long.[105]

"On our way down, we followed the current of the river called Pekitanoui, which comes from the northwest and empties into the Mississippi. I shall have something important to say about it, after I have related what I observed along this river [the Mississippi]."[106] Dablon was undoubtedly distracted when he wrote the first part of this passage, for the explorers were not then descending the Missouri but the Mississippi River. We can see, however, how the mistake was made. On Marquette's map, between latitude 38° and latitude 39°, Pekitanoui flows parallel to the Mississippi a short distance to the west.

Dablon learned the original name of the Missouri River from Marquette's map,[107] for no other document gives this name to the river. Although after his return to Quebec, Jolliet had a vivid recollection of the Missouri, he did not remember its name.[108]

The plants mentioned in the next two paragraphs have been identified as being probably the prickly pear, the persimmon, and

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105 Cf. the parallel references in "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 103.

106 "We descend, following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoüi, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the northwest." Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 38. This is the sense, of course, but it is not the translation of the passage: "Nous descendons suivant le courant de la rivière appelle Pekitanoüi, qui se décharge dans Mississipy venant du Nord-Oüest."

The Montreal manuscript originally had "Pekitanoni," but the second "n" was later corrected into a "u." There is no doubt about the spelling of the word on Marquette's map: "Pekitan8i." The second fragment of Canada-4 (Marquette-4b) has "Pekitanoui"; it is spelled "Pekitranoni" in the title of this section in Marquette-5, but in the body of this section, whenever the name is used, the spelling is "Pekitanoui."

107 Gabriel Marest to Iberville, July 10, 1700, Archives du Service Hydrographique, 115-10: no. 15.

108 "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 105.

the chincapin;[109] it is also probable that the description of these plants was supplied by Jolliet, or that it was in a lost account of the expedition.[110] We have discussed the piasa at length and have shown that its description in the Récit is after a drawing originally made by Jolliet.[111]

In 1674, Jolliet told Dablon that the waters of the Missouri greatly increased the swiftness of the Mississippi current, and that at the confluence "the disturbance was so great that the water was very muddy and could not become clear." It is quite probable that then or at a later date Jolliet also supplied the additional details mentioned in the Récit.[112]

Dablon had also learned from Jolliet the direction, west-northwest, whence the Missouri comes; later, when Marquette's map reached him he saw that the river was shown on this map as coming from the same direction. In the Récit, however, he simplified this direction and wrote that it came from the northwest. The knowledge that there were several Indian villages along the Missouri is derived from Jolliet's map, for on that of Marquette the names of Indian tribes are not placed on the bank of the river.

"Judging from the direction of the Mississippi, if it continues the same way, it must empty into the Gulf of Mexico." In 1674, Dablon had written: "The second remark concerns the terminus of this discovery. The Father and Sieur Jolliet have no doubt that [the river flows into] the Gulf of Mexico."

The remainder of the last paragraph of this section is wholly devoted to conjectural western geography; nearly all the elements of this speculation are found in the third remark of Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, with the difference that in the Récit Marquette is doing the theorizing.

"I learned from the Indians," Marquette is made to say, "that after ascending this river [the Missouri] for five or six days, one reached a fine prairie, twenty or thirty leagues long. After crossing this prairie in a northwesterly direction, one comes upon a small

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109 Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 38.

110 See "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 107 f.

111 *Ibid.*, 116–121.

112 See La Salle's description in his letter of [March, 1683], Margry, 2: 180.—"Le 2 Sept. [1687]," we read in Delisle's extracts from Joutel's journal, "nous arrivames à l'emb. de la R. des Missouris ou Pequitanoni elle est aussi large que le Mississipi et est extrement rapide de maniere qu'elle doit fe. un grand rauage aussi est-ce elle qui brouille Mississipi et qui entraine un si grand nombre d'arbres qui font de grands amas de bois en plusrs endroits." ASH, 115–9: no. 11. See in Margry, 3: 471, how De Michel abridged this passage of Joutel's journal.—What Marest wrote to Iberville in 1700 (*supra*, note 107), is amplified in JR, 66: 224.

river, on which one may embark, for it is not difficult to carry canoes across such a fine prairie. This second river flows southwestwardly for ten or fifteen leagues, and empties into a small lake which is the source of another deep river. This second river flows toward the west, and empties into the sea, which I hardly have any doubt is the Vermilion Sea."

We have here an excellent example of the wish being the father to the thought. In 1674, Dablon had written that it would have been very desirable if the Mississippi emptied into the Vermilion Sea instead of into the Gulf of Mexico; however, he had added, we should not despair of finding by way of the Missouri, a waterway to the Pacific. Perhaps, he went on to say, after ascending one of the western tributaries, which Jolliet identified with the Missouri in the dedicatory letter to Frontenac, some lake will be found which discharges its waters toward the west. In the Récit, this lake is said to exist, and to be the source of a river which flows toward the west where it empties into the Vermilion Sea. In addition, this lake is connected with the Missouri by means of a ten or fifteen league river and a prairie twenty or thirty leagues long.

It is of course quite possible that the Indians met by the explorers mentioned a prairie and a river, but it is unlikely that they gave their length and the direction as stated in the Récit. I am inclined to believe that this is nothing else than speculation on the part of Dablon. With a Sanson map of North America before one's eyes, one can to some extent reconstruct his reasoning.

Like his contemporaries, Dablon thought that the width of the American continent was one third smaller than its actual width. He saw on Marquette's map that the longitude of the mouth of the Missouri was approximately the same as that of the mouth of the Wisconsin; but he realized that it was still quite a distance from the Mar Vermejo. So he bridged this gap by saying that five or six days' journey (roughly 70 leagues) from the mouth of the Missouri, toward the northwest (the direction of the river), there was a prairie which had to be crossed also in a northwesterly direction before one reached a river flowing southwestward for ten or fifteen leagues to a small lake. In 1674 Jolliet had told Dablon that the latitude of the great river coming from the north-northwest was 38°, and he saw on Marquette's map that Pekitan8i emptied into the Mississippi at this latitude.

By means of the above data we can locate approximately the position of the "small lake" which is said to be "the source of a deep river flowing toward the west and emptying into the sea, which I

hardly have any doubt is the Vermilion Sea." This lake should be in the northwest approximately between latitudes 40° and 41°. Now, on Sanson's map of North America published in 1650 as well as on other maps published subsequently, there is a small lake above latitude 41°, and there is also a river which flows out of this lake and empties into the Mar Vermejo. The description in the Récit of that part of the water route to the Pacific would fit in perfectly with what we see on Sanson's map, were it not for the direction of the river which on this map flows to the southwest. The French text, however, has "au couchant" which is a more general direction than "à l'ouest," and includes other points of the compass besides due west.[113]

"I do not despair of discovering it [the Vermilion Seal] some day, if God grant me the grace and the health to do so, in order that I may preach the Gospel to all the peoples of this new world who have so long remained in the darkness of infidelity."

A few words of comment on the sentence "if God grant me . . . the health to do so" are in place here. When Dablon wrote the Récit, Marquette had died, his health broken down under the hardships endured in the missions. Until the illness of 1674 his strength was unimpaired, and he would have had no reason for writing the above sentence. He was vigorous (vires firmae) when he entered the Society of Jesus in 1655,[114] and one of the reasons why he was sent in 1668 to help Allouez in the West was his "sound health and robust body."[115]

SECTION 8.

From Marquette's map Dablon knew that the explorers traveled beyond the mouth of the Missouri River twenty leagues due south and "a little less than twenty leagues toward the southeast" before reaching the mouth of the Ohio; the name of the latter river—8abouskigou, the earliest form of Wabash—as well as the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio, he also learned from Marquette's map. Before reaching the Ohio, the Récit describes a whirlpool which

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113 Although on Marquette's and Jolliet's map the Ohio is shown coming from the northeast, Dablon wrote that "cette riviere vient des terres du Levant." JR, 59: 144.

114 G. J. Garraghan, "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 4 (1935): 284, note 50.

115 Le Mercier to Oliva, September 1, 1668, Jesuit Archives, Rome, *Gallia*, 110, I, 44. The pertinent passage of this letter is printed and translated by G. J. Garraghan, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Marquettiana," MID-AMERICA, 18 (1936): 22.

seems to be the same as that mentioned by M. de St. Cosme;[116] the source of this information may have been Jolliet or some other member of the expedition.

The general direction whence the Ohio comes and the names of the Indian tribes in the east are on Marquette's and Jolliet's maps. These Indians, says Dablon, are called Chaoüanons (Shawnee), and "are so numerous that in one district there are twenty, and in another, fifteen villages quite close together." The statement about the number of villages is derived from Jolliet's map, but Dablon mistakenly counted twenty-three instead of eighteen huts, each representing an Indian village, and he inaccurately calls the two groups of villages "Chaoüanons," whereas on Jolliet's map the group of fifteen villages is indicated as the only one inhabited by these Indians.[117] The Iroquois raids on the Shawnee had been known in Canada long before 1678.[118]

The iron mine below the mouth of the Ohio is indicated on Jolliet's map, and the sticky earth which is said to be near the same mine is an interpretation of the inscription "terres ciseléez" on the same map.[119] Dablon very likely learned from Jolliet the detail about the dyeing of the paddle with heavy sand (probably the "sable doré" inscribed on Franquelin's map of 1678). The paddle was "dyed so deeply that the water could not wash it away during a fortnight while I [Marquette] used it for paddling." This last statement is another confirmation of what we have already said with regard to the literary device of using the first person singular; only very exceptionally did the missionaries do any paddling.

A few words from Jolliet or from Largilier would be a sufficient basis for the paragraph describing how the explorers protected themselves against mosquitoes.

We read in the Récit that beyond the red clay: "We perceived on the bank of the river Indians armed with guns who were awaiting us. I at once produced my plumed calumet, while our Frenchmen prepared for defense . . . I addressed them in Huron, but they answered by a word which seemed to mean war . . . what we took for a signal for battle was in reality an invitation to draw near that they might give us food . . . ."

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116 Kellog, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 356 f.

117 On these two clusters of villages, see "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 113. We are sure that the number of huts, each representing a village, was 18 and 15, respectively, because Franquelin inscribed these figures on his map of 1678.

118 JR, 47: 144; 56: 62; Galinée in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 170, 183 f.

119 See "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi, *loc. cit.*, 112.

There is a vague allusion to meeting Indians in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674: "From time to time they met Indians by whom they were well received, thanks to their caduceus or calumet . . . ." That they met Indians in the vicinity of present-day Memphis, we know from Marquette's letter, but this meeting did not occur until their return journey.[120] The problem of identifying these Indians is well-nigh insoluble.[121] On Marquette's map, at the latitude of Memphis, close to the east bank of the Mississippi, a village of Mons8pelea is indicated; whereas on the anonymous copy of Jolliet's map, in the same relative position,[122] a village of Aganatchi is indicated. There would be no doubt that Dablon combined oral testimony with the information supplied by the maps, if either of these two tribes were mentioned. As it is, we can only surmise that he did so.

"They have guns, hatchets, hoes, knives, beads, and flasks of double glass in which they put their powder." We have called attention to the fact that the information concerning the guns of these Indians may have been contained in a lost account of the voyage.[123] Furthermore, it should be observed that on the two Manitoumie maps and on the engraved product published by Thévenot, the Aganalt (Aganahali, Aganatchi) and the Monsoperia (Mons8pelea) are made to appear as though they were in one village, and that immediately below the names of these two tribes is the inscription: "Ils ont des fusils."[124]

Oral testimony is almost certainly the source of the description of the appearance of these Indians. "They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from the sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from Europeans who lived toward the east, that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played musical instruments; that some of them looked like me, and they were kindly received by these Europeans when they visited them."[125]

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120 "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 51.

121 Some think that these Indians were Chickasaw, others that they were akin to the Taensa.

122 We say "relative position" because on this copy of Jolliet's map, the latitudes of all identifiable points are inaccurate. Cf. "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 96.

123 "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 8.

124 An alternative possible source is discussed in "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 112.

125 The translation of the last sentence in JR, 59: 149, is faulty. "Et qu'ils en estoient bien receu," or as in Marquette-5 "dont ils en estoient bien receus," does not mean "who had been kindly received by these savages" but "who [the Europeans in the east] received them [Indians] kindly."

As we shall see, 150 miles below Memphis, they were also told that they were ten days' journey from the sea. At Memphis, they were 860 miles from the Gulf, half way down from the point at which they had entered the Mississippi. It should also be remarked that if the Mons8pelea are the Indians referred to by Marquette in his letter, it is difficult to see how they could have imparted this information as well as the description of the Europeans in the east, for Marquette wrote that he understood nothing of what the Indians were saying: "cum ab ipsis nihil intel[l]igerem."

"We were near latitude 33°, having followed nearly all the time a southerly direction." This is the latitude of the terminus of the expedition which Jolliet gave Dablon in July 1674, and in October of the same year, he wrote to Laval that he had decided to return when he reached this point. As the wording shows, this latitude is an appróximation; to be consistent with the latitude given in the next paragraph it should be 34°. The general direction followed is also found in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674: "Ils ont marche jusques au 33^{e} [degré] . . . leur route ayant presque toujours été vers le sud."

They were near latitude 33° when they "sighted on the water's edge a village called Michigamea." On Marquette's map as well as on the maps based on that of Jolliet, there is a village of that name on the west bank of the Mississippi. We have discussed the probable reason why this village which was inhabited by Quapaw is called Michigamea.[126] The hostility of the Indians, their change of attitude after seeing the calumet, and the outcome of the encounter, bear a distinct similarity to the previous episode.

"At first we had to speak by signs, because none of them understood the six languages which I spoke." The Quapaw spoke a Siouan dialect which Marquette did not know,[127] but he knew Huron and was very proficient in Algonquian.[128] The six languages mentioned by Dablon in the above quotation should be understood to mean, besides Huron and Algonquian, the dialects spoken by the various tribes near La Pointe (Chippewa, Kiskakon, Ottawa Sinago), and Illinois which Marquette had learned in

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126 "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 45–47.

127 In his letter of the spring of 1670, Marquette wrote as follows: "Ils [Sioux] ont une langue toute differente de l'Algonquine, & de la Huronne . . . . Ie leur ay envoyé un present par l'Interprete . . ." JR, 54: 190, 192.

128 "Lingua Algonquina peritus," wrote Le Mercier to Oliva, September 1, 1668. *Supra*, note 115.

1670. This interpretation is borne out by what we read in the Relation of 1671–1672. In his summary of the apostolic labors of Father Allouez, Dablon wrote about the almost incredible hardships undergone by Allouez in preaching the Faith to "peuples de cinq langues differentes," and he stated that in the Mascoutens village there were "trois peuples de langues differentes."[129] Now we know that these five, and especially these three different languages were Algonquian dialects.

Through an old man who could speak a little Illinois they were informed that they would learn all about the sea at another village "named Akamsea, which was only eight or ten leagues lower down." We have shown elsewhere that when Dablon says that "Akamsea" is located eight or ten leagues below Michigamea, he is interpreting Marquette's map on which there is a village called "Akansea" eight or ten leagues from Michigamea. We also identified "Akansea" with Tongigua, one of the four villages of the Arkansas group, and pointed out that Tongigua was not "large," for its very name means "little village."[130]

SECTION 9.

On the day following their arrival at Michigamea, they left for Akamsea with the old man who knew a little Illinois. "Fortunately, we found there a young man who spoke Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Michigamea." Through this second interpreter, the Indians were asked what they knew about the sea. They replied that it was ten days' journey away; but, adds the Récit, "we could have covered the distance in five days."

We shall try to reconstruct Dablon's reasoning for saying that the sea could have been reached in five days. In 1674, Jolliet had told Frontenac that he had gone within ten days' journey from the sea; and we saw in the preceding section that the Indians whom they had met had also said that they were ten days away from the sea. By considering the latitudes on Marquette's map, Dablon saw that the Mosopelea were at latitude 35°, two degrees above the lowest point which Jolliet said he reached, and on all the maps of the period the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico ran between the 31st and the 32d parallels. Hence, he reasoned, if they were ten days' journey from the sea when they met the first Indians, they could have reached it in half the time, because for all Dablon knew,

[129] JR, 56: 140, 142.
[130] "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 46.

the Arkansas village was half way between where the Mosopelea are located on Marquette's map and the Gulf of Mexico. He had all the more reason to believe that this was correct, because Jolliet had told him in 1674 that he was within fifty leagues, that is, two degrees from the sea.

As a matter of fact, the lowest point reached was still more than 700 miles from the sea; and if it took them a month to travel over the thousand miles from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Arkansas village, at the same rate of travel the voyage from this village to the sea would have taken them three weeks.

At "Akamsea," the Indians said that "they were not acquainted with the tribes that dwelt near the sea, because their enemies prevented them from trading with Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads which we saw were sold to them partly by nations from the east,[131] partly by Illinois Indians in a village situated four days' journey to the west."[132]

In the remainder of this paragraph of the Récit there is a statement which cannot be easily explained. The Quapaw told the explorers that the Indians with guns whom they had met were their enemies who blocked the way to the sea and who prevented them from trading with Europeans. These Indians, they added, would endanger the lives of the explorers if they persisted in descending to the sea, because of the continual forays along the river and the constant watch maintained by these warlike enemies armed with guns.

On Marquette's map a village of "Mons8pelea" is inscribed close to the east bank of the Mississippi at latitude 35°; and on the Manitoumie map the "Mons8peria" (a variant of Mons8pelea) are located at the same latitude but 100 miles inland, and underneath this name is the inscription "ils ont des fusils." On the same Manitoumie map, also 100 miles inland on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Arkansas and the Gulf, there is another "Mons8peria" village; whereas on the anonymous copy of the map which Jolliet drew from memory, this southern Mons8peria (written M8ns8peria) is the only one which is indicated, without, however, any inscription to the effect that these Indians have guns. The source of the information inscribed underneath the northern "Mons8peria" may have been Jolliet himself, or else this information may have been contained in a lost account of the discovery of the

[131] It should be noted that the Indians whom they had first met had said that they received their goods "from Europeans who lived in the east."

[132] On the source of this passage of the Récit, cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, 47.

Mississippi. The latter hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the anonymous compiler of a résumé of the narrative of the expedition wrote: "Those [Indians] who are near the sea have a few guns."[133]

On the basis of these data, we suggest the following solutions of the difficulty presented by the text of the Récit. We have shown elsewhere that Dablon is very likely the author of the original draft of the Manitoumie map, and that this map is practically a copy of the one drawn by Jolliet from memory, with the addition of a few legends taken from Marquette's map.[134] When Dablon wrote the Récit, he may have concluded that since the Mons8peria above the Arkansas had guns, those below the Arkansas had guns also. Another solution is that Dablon may have had the lost account of the discovery of the Mississippi, in which it was said that the Indians near the sea had a few guns; he may have concluded that they were Mons8peria, because he had learned that these Indians above the Arkansas had guns and because on Jolliet's map they were inscribed between the Arkansas and the sea.

I am well aware that these solutions or explanations of the difficulty are unsatisfactory, but they are based on the meager evidence available. A similar difficulty is encountered when one tries to reconcile Dablon's interpretation of the geography and nomenclature of the Arkansas region with the geography and nomenclature of that region as supplied by the scanty cartographical evidence of the voyage.

Most of the matter of the paragraph in which the Quapaw are described is derived from oral testimony, but there are quite a few details which are found in written evidence, as is apparent from the following parallel passages:

Letter of August 1, 1674	*Jolliet's dedicatory letter*
Ce sol est si fertile quils trois fois l'année du bled. Il produit naturellement des fruits qui nous sont inconnus, . . . et quantité d'autres [fruits] se cueillent partout, et presque en tout temps, aussy n'y connoist ton l'hyver que par les pluyes.	Ils font du bled d'Inde la plus part trois fois l'année, et tous les [*aliter*, des] melons d'eau pour se rafraischir dans les chaleurs qui ne permettent point de glace et fort peu de nege.

[133] Cf. "The Discovery of the Mississippi. Secondary Sources," *loc. cit.*, 3–8; "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *ibid.*, 110–112.

[134] "The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 83, 84, 86, 114 f.

Récit

Ils ont le bled d'inde en abondance qu'ils sement en toutes saisons . . . de sorte qu'ils sement trois fois l'an . . . . Ils ne voyent jamais de neige chez eux, et ne connoissent l'hyver que par Les pluÿes qui y tombent plus souvent qu'en esté; nous n'y avons pas mangé de fruictz que des melons d'eau.

In the evening, the elders held a secret council; some wanted to put the strangers to death and rob them. But the chief of the village intervened, sent for the explorers, "danced the calumet dance before us . . . , and in order to banish all fear, made me [Marquette] a present of the calumet."

The following passage from Father Gravier's journal shows first, the trustworthiness of the oral testimony given to Dablon, and second, that Marquette kept a journal. After arriving at the Quapaw village on October 31, 1700, Gravier inquired from the chief whether he remembered having seen a Frenchman clad like himself in black. The chief said that he did, but that it was long, long ago.

I told him that it was more than twenty-eight [*i. e.*, twenty-seven] years ago. He added that they had danced to him the captain's calumet—which I did not at first understand, believing that he was speaking of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with him in the Mississippi country as a safeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they had indeed danced the calumet to him.[135]

By juxtaposing the last paragraph of this section with statements found in Dablon's letter of August 1, 1674, the source from which this paragraph is derived will at once be evident.

Letter of August 1, 1674

Ce fut pour lors que le pere et le S^r^. Joliet delibererent sur ce qu'il auoient a faire, scauoir s'il estoit expedient de passer outre . . .

Récit

Nous fismes Mr Jolliet et Moy un autre Conseil, pour deliberer sur ce que nous avions à faire si nous pousserions [passerions, in M–5] oultre ou si nous contenterions de la decouverte que nous avions faite. Apres avoir attentivement consideré que nous n'estions pas loing du golphe Mexique dont le basin estant a la hauteur de 31 degrez 60′ [31°40′ in

[135] JR, 65: 120.

. . . qu'ils [Jolliet and Marquette] n'en [from Europeans] estoient esloignés que de trois journées puis de deux journées seulement . . . Le pere et le S^r^ Joliet ne doutent point que ce soit [mouth of the Mississippi] vers le golphe Mexique, qui est la floride parce que du costé du leuant ce ne peut pas estre la virginie, dont le bord de la mer est au plus au 34^e^ degré de l'eleuation, et eux ont marché jusques au 33^e^, et cependant n'ont approché de la mer que de 50 lieües: du costé du couchant ce ne peut pas aussy estre la mer vermeille, par ce que leur route ayant presque toujours esté vers le sud, les en detournoit.

M–4b and in Thévenot], et nous nous trouvant a 33, 40 minutes nous ne pouvions pas en estre eloignez de plus de 2 ou 3 journées qu'indubitablement la riviere Missisipi avoit sa decharge dans la floride ou golphe Mexique, n'on [non] pas du costé de L'Est dans la Virginie dont le bord de la mer est a est a 34 degréz que nous avons avons passéz sans neantmoins estre encor arrivés à la mer, non pas du costé de l'oüest a la Californie, parceque nous devions pour cela avoir notre route a L'ouest, oú a l'oüest soroüest et nous L'avons tousjour eu au sud.

[Marquette and Jolliet] ne doutant point quils n'allassent se jetter entre les mains des Espagnols de la floride, s'ils auançoient d'auantage, ... qu'ils perdroient le fruit de de leur trauuaux et qu'il n'en pourroient pas donner connoissance s'ils estoient arrestés prisonniers . . .

Nous considerâmes de plus que nous nous exposions a perdre le fruict de ce voyage duquel nous ne pourrions pas donner aucune connoissance, si nous allions nous jetter entre les mains des Espagnols qui sans doubte nous auroient du moins retenus captifs . . . .

Ces raisons leur firent prendre resolution de retourner sur leurs pas, apres s'estre informés de Tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter dans une pareille rencontre.[136]

Enfin, nous avions pris toutes les connoissances qu'on peut souhaiter dans cette decouverte toutes ces raisons firent conclure pour Le Retour, . . . [137]

[136] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 320, 319, 321, 320.

[137] JR, 59: 158–160.

The latitude of the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico (31°60′) is evidently a *lapsus calami* on the part of the copyist of the Montreal manuscript, for Marquette–4b has the latitude (31°40′) as Dablon originally wrote it. On the Manitoumie maps, the latitude in the inscription: "On est venu iusques icy a la hauteur de 33 degrez," is that which Jolliet gave to Dablon in 1674 and mentioned in his letter to Laval, dated October 10 of the same year. On the same Manitoumie maps a cross indicating the terminus of the expedition is inscribed on the west bank of the Mississippi at latitude 33°40′, which is the position of "Akansea" on Marquette's map; on this map, however, the village is located on the east bank of the Mississippi. We have established elsewhere that the Quapaw village,[138] the terminus of the expedition, was the northernmost village of the Arkansas group, and was situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, in the vicinity of present-day Knowlton, Arkansas, between latitudes 34°5′ and 34°10′.

SECTION 10.

One of the peculiar features of the Récit is the account of the return voyage which comprises only two paragraphs of the shortest section of the whole document. It is true that from the Quapaw village to the mouth of the Illinois River, the explorers went over the same route, but the ascent of the Illinois River to the Kankakee, then up the Des Plaines to Chicago, and thence northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Sturgeon Bay, where they portaged to Green Bay, was over rivers and along shores until then altogether unknown. In 1673, although white men knew of the existence of a great river in the West, its course from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas was unknown, except through vague reports obtained from the Indians, and had never before been descended by Europeans. Also from vague Indian reports, the French had a hypothetical knowledge of the Ohio, but there is no valid evidence that white men suspected the existence of the Missouri or of the Illinois rivers.

The explorers of 1673 only saw the mouth of the two great tributaries of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, but from the mouth of the Illinois River to Sturgeon Bay, a distance equal to that from the Quapaw village to the Illinois, they traveled over unknown territory. Yet all this is dispatched in a few lines.

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[138] "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River, *loc. cit.*, 41–44.

"After one month's navigation, having descended the Mississippi from latitude 42° to beyond latitude 34° . . . we left the Arkansas village on July 17." The difference between the latitude of the mouth of the Wisconsin previously given in section 3 of the Récit (42°30′), and that given in this section, shows that in summing up the voyage Dablon was not concerned with strict accuracy. The same is true with regard to the lowest latitude, "beyond 34°," which in the preceding section is specified as being 33°40′.

The time which it took the explorers to travel over this distance —one month—was obtained from Jolliet or from Largilier, or could have been approximately computed by means of other data in the Récit. For instance, Dablon had written that it took eight days to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin (latitude 42°30′) to the village of the Peoria (latitude 40° and a few minutes); it was a simple matter to calculate the time it would take to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin to latitude 33°40′. The exact date when the explorers began the return journey, July 17, is one month after the date when they are said to have entered the Mississippi, June 17.

The difficulties experienced in breasting the current of the river had been mentioned by Jolliet in 1674. Above the mouth of a large river which comes from the west-northwest (the Missouri), he had said, the Mississippi flows very gently, but below the Missouri "it becomes very swift, and its current is so strong that in ascending it one can only make four or five leagues a day, paddling from morning to night."

"We left the Mississippi at about latitude 38° to enter into another river which greatly shortens the way and with little effort led us to the Lake of the Illinois." On Marquette's map, the mouth of the Illinois River is at "about latitude 38°"; also on Marquette's map, the Illinois-Des Plaines appears as one river with its headwaters near Lake Michigan.

For the brief description of the Illinois country, Dablon utilized two paragraphs of his own letter of August 1, 1674, which contains Jolliet's enthusiastic account of the fertility of the region.

The length of the Chicago portage, half a league, is mentioned in the same letter. The name of the Illinois village is on Marquette's and on Jolliet's map; but when he wrote the Récit, Dablon had Marquette's journal of his second voyage and spelled the name—Kaskaskia—as it is spelled in this journal. He must have learned from Jolliet that an Illinois chief accompanied the party to Chicago, or deduced it from Largilier's mention of what took place on Marquette's return from his second voyage to the Illinois country: "Ces

bonnes gens [Illinois] . . . vouleurent l'accompagner . . . pendant plus de 30 lieues de chemin."[139]

In his letter of August 1, 1674, Dablon wrote that the explorers reached the "baye des puants [*i. e.*, the St. Francis Xavier mission] sur la fin de Nouembre"; whereas in the Récit the date of their arrival there is said to be "toward the end of September." The latter date is more nearly correct for the following reasons. We are fairly certain that the expedition reached the Mississippi in the middle of June, and it must have taken about a month to go from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Quapaw village, a distance of more than one thousand miles. Thus the return journey began about the middle of July. Jolliet told Dablon that below the Missouri, the current of the Mississippi is so swift that they could not make more than four or five leagues a day, that is, about fifteen miles. Since the distance from the Quapaw village to the mouth of the Illinois is nearly 600 miles, they would at this rate have reached the mouth of the Illinois River toward the end of August. The journey from Grafton, Illinois, to Lake Michigan—325 miles—and their stopover at the Kaskaskia village took three weeks. Hence they reached Chicago sometime during the last ten days of September.

The above reasoning is confirmed by what we read in Joutel's journal. In 1687, Joutel left the same Quapaw village on August 2, was at the mouth of the Illinois River on September 3, and at Starved Rock by September 14. In the following year, he left Starved Rock on March 21, and was at the Chicago portage by the 29th.[140] Further confirmation of this is to be had from an entry in Marquette's journal of his second voyage. On March 31, 1675, at the Chicago portage, he wrote: "This is where we began our portage eighteen months ago,"[141] *i. e.*, at the end of September 1673.

The distance along the west shore of Lake Michigan from Chicago to Sturgeon Bay, where they portaged,[142] is 225 miles, and from Sturgeon Bay to the St. Francis Xavier mission another fifty miles, a two weeks' journey. Accordingly the party must have arrived at the St. Francis Xavier mission before the middle of October.

The last paragraph of the Récit expresses what all the missionaries felt: no pain, no hardship was considered too great when the

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[139] JR, 59: 190.
[140] Margry, 3: 463, 471, 477, 508, 509.
[141] JR, 59: 180.
[142] Marquette's journal, *ibid.*, 166.

salvation of a single soul was at stake.[143] The fact that Marquette baptized a dying child would have been mentioned by Jolliet or by Largilier.

CONCLUSION

The reader is now in a position to judge whether there is anything of importance in the Récit which is not found in the extant sources enumerated in the first part of this article. He is also in a position to determine whether the Récit is Marquette's journal or Marquette's notes edited by Dablon and whether the latter had any need of a Jolliet journal as a source of his information.

Before comparing some passages of the Récit with corresponding passages of the letter of August 1, 1674, and of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac, Father Steck brings forward a number of arguments against Marquette's authorship which are entirely inconclusive. He contrasts the clearness and precision of Marquette's journal of his second voyage with the vagueness of the Récit with regard to time and place.[144] But every instance of vagueness which he cites is paralleled by the vagueness of a letter of Father Zénobe Membré, who descended the Mississippi with La Salle in 1682.[145] From this letter, we cannot tell "whether the Frenchmen are on the east bank of the Mississippi or on its west bank"; there is no indication whatever of "the day on which they first sighted the great river." In order to know these facts, we must have recourse to maps and contemporary accounts just as we have done in the case of the Récit. There is just as much reason for questioning the authenticity of Membré's letter because of its vagueness, as there is for

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143 Compare what Dablon says in this paragraph with what Charlevoix wrote the daughter of the chief of the Pimitoui village: "Mon voyage dût-il être d'ailleurs tout-à-fait inutile, je vous avouë, Madame, que je n'en regretterois pas les fatigues & les dangers, puisque selon toutes les apparences, si je n'étois pas venu à Pimiteouy, cette Enfant ne seroit jamais entrée dans le Ciel où je doute pas qu'elle ne soit bientôt." *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle-France, avec le Journal historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Spetentrionalle* (3 vols., Paris, 1744), 3: 389.

144 *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 294.

145 A copy of this letter is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Clairambault, 1016: 163–165v, printed in Margry, 2: 206–212. It should not be confused with the narrative attributed to Membré in C. Le Clercq, *Premier etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (2 vols., Paris, 1691), 2, Chapters 22 and 23. Notwithstanding the opening sentence: "The following is, then, word for word what that good religious has written concerning" La Salle's voyages from 1680 to 1682, Father Membré is no more the author of this narrative than Marquette is the author of the Récit.

questioning the authenticity of the Récit because of its lack of precision with regard to time and place.

"Regarding the subject matter," says Father Steck, "there are five descriptions in the narrative [Récit] that are quite foreign to its scope."[146] This is quite true, but it has nothing to do with the question of authenticity. Membré's letter, too, contains matter which is "foreign to its scope."

"Besides these five digressions there are two comparisons which one would prefer not ascribe to Marquette." We have already shown, in commenting on these two comparisons,[147] that such a preference would be as groundless as it is irrelevant to the question of authorship.

"Again," he remarks, "there are three omissions, one of which immediately strikes the reader as very extraordinary," that is, there is no mention of Marquette having said Mass from May to September. Father Steck disposes of the objection "that the missionaries were not accustomed to say Holy Mass on such expeditions and under such circumstances," by calling attention to the number of times Marquette speaks of saying Mass in the journal of his second voyage, and he could have numerous instances of the practice of other Jesuit missionaries.[148] By itself, however, the fact that the Récit contains no mention of saying Mass does not affect the question of authenticity; there is a similar omission in Membré's letter.

Of the other two omissions, only the second needs be discussed, for the third has been dealt with elsewhere.[149] This second omission is the failure of the Récit to mention the letter which Marquette wrote on August 4, 1673. "If that letter is genuine, why does the narrative not make some reference to it?"[150] The genuinity of this letter is entirely independent of the Récit; its authenticity is established on quite different grounds, for, as Alvord remarked, "in August 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name 'Conception.' "[151] "The fact of having written it," says Father Steck, "as also the insertion of a copy would have been just as interesting and certainly as pertinent as some other matter contained in the narrative." The fact that Mar-

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146 *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 295.

147 *Supra*, p. 240.

148 Nouvel, JR, 49: 40, 46, 48; Allouez, JR, 50: 266; Albanel, JR, 56: 178, 186.

149 "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, note 37.

150 *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 296.

151 C. W. Alvord, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter," *The American Historical Review*, 25 (1920): 677.

quette wrote this letter was very likely mentioned in his journal, just as he mentions in the journal of his second voyage that he gave Illinois Indians letters for the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier mission.[152] Of course the insertion of the letter would have been "interesting and pertinent," but one does not usually question the authenticity of a document on the grounds that it omits interesting and pertinent matter. For instance, the authenticity of Albanel's journal of his voyage to Hudson Bay in 1671, is not questioned because, although he mentions the reception of Bishop Laval's letters-patent as well as Courcelle's and Talon's passports—undoubtedly interesting and pertinent documents—he did not insert copies of them in his journal.[153]

Father Steck, as we have already said, deserves credit for insisting on the fact that Marquette was not the author of the Récit. His above-mentioned arguments against Marquette's authorship, however, are completely lacking in probative force. We have attempted in the preceding pages not only to disprove Marquette's authorship conclusively, but also to indicate the real author of the document and to make clear the sources on which its author relied.

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152 JR, 59: 178.
153 JR, 56: 158.

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INDEXER'S NOTE

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