NARRATIVES OF EARLY WISCONSIN TRAVELLERS, PRIOR TO 1800

BY HENRY EDUARD LEGLER
Secretary of Wisconsin Free Library Commission

[From Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1905]

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By Henry Eduard Legler

In order that the exploratory period of Wisconsin history, stretching over more than a century and a half, may properly be understood, a mental reconstruction of the map of the Mississippi valley and the basin of the Great Lakes is essential. Comparisons between a modern physiographic map of this region and the work of the seventeenth and eighteenth century's cartographers explain many misconceptions of that time that largely guided the movements of the explorers and affected subsequent events. In the accounts of ecclesiastics and laymen alike, seemingly absurd or distorted statements may thus frequently be reconciled with good faith in the telling, rather than considered as evidences of travellers' license—although there were not wanting writers whose imagination was over-vivid. The facts that pertain to the printing of these early narratives, with the impelling motives for publication, constitute an interesting and a not unimportant part of our early history. Until the nineteenth century, these narratives and their accompanying and contemporary maps are the primary sources of Wisconsin history. They may roughly be classified into four divisions:

1. Reports of Jesuit priests sent back from the wilderness missions for the information of their superiors and the en-

couragement of wealthy patrons across seas. Such were the *Jesuit Relations,* printed annually from 1632 to 1672.

2. Accounts of Recollect fathers who were attached to expeditions from which Jesuits were excluded; they also wrote from actual observation. Such were the narratives of Louis Hennepin and Christian le Clercq.

3. Memoirs of voyageurs who were acting wholly or in part as governmental representatives, seeking royal favor or financial aid by means of their reports. To this class belong the numerous recitals that resulted from the La Salle journeys.

4. Narratives of travellers acting independently, whose rovings were prompted mainly by a spirit of adventure, with an admixture of commercial motive. The travels of Alexander Henry and Jonathan Carver, and in a measure those of Pierre Radisson, belong in this category.

The accounts referred to in the first three divisions appeared originally in French; those comprised in the fourth division, in English. Many of them were translated into numerous other languages of continental Europe, had a wide circulation, and gave a considerable impetus to adventurous quest for fame and fortune in the new land of romance and mystery.

[Signature of Father Marquette]

After Jacques Cartier's memorable voyage from St. Malo, whereby France added a vast empire to its possessions, a full century elapsed before a white man's foot pressed the soil of Wisconsin. Nicolet doubtless reached the neighborhood of the Fox-Wisconsin portage; but nearly forty years more were required to traverse the region that lay between that portage and the river Colbert (or Conception)—the Mississippi River of our present-day nomenclature. It was not definitely known until nearly ten years later whether or not that great stream emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Vermilion Sea—if the latter, meaning a short route to China. Such geographical un-

certainties fascinated soldiers of fortune; and the tales of wandering tribesmen, who sought a mart for their furs at the mouth of the Ottawa, stimulated the activity of merchants as well as of government agents.

As for the Jesuits, they were concerned only with the souls of red men. With an utter disregard of self that brought martyrdom to many, priests of that order penetrated the remotest forest recesses in an endeavor to convert the heathen to their faith. Thus, beginning with the year 1634, and at intervals that gradually became briefer, a picturesque procession of forest rangers, black-gowned Jesuit priests, girdled Franciscan friars, and uniformed French officers crossed and recrossed the domain between the great lakes and the great river, following the routes suggested by the most convenient water-courses, and portaging from one stream to another when necessary. Here and there, in the course of the years, a little mission chapel was erected as shelter for a patient priest, or a rude stockade became the rallying point for the roving coureurs des bois.

When in 1684 Henry de Tonty and his little company of Frenchmen scaled Starved Rock and built thereon a rude enclosure that they called Fort Saint Louis, they were the sole representatives of royal authority in that vast stretch of country extending from the Alleghany Mountains on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west, from the great Superior Sea on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. Six months before, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, upon reaching the mouth of the Mississippi had with impressive formality performed the ceremony whereby the king of France became possessed of the wide region that became known as Louisiana. Its boundaries were later claimed to be the Rocky Mountains and the Appalachian system on the west and east respectively, the frozen sources of the Mississippi on the north, and from Spanish Florida to Mexico on the south. "This stretch ran from corn to oranges; from sycamore to palmetto. The flood that coursed this enormous basin was one of the world's largest, draining an area of more than twelve hundred and fifty thou-

sand square miles, sending twenty million of millions of cubic feet of water annually to the sea."[1]

Although usually written with probability of publication in view, and designed to enlist interest and aid, the accounts constructed by these intrepid explorers frequently lack polish in diction, but seldom fail in graphic presentation of incident, keen analysis of Indian character, and minute description of their customs. The *Jesuit Relations* are especially important, as containing a remarkable fund of information, not only with reference to these subjects, but as well about the fauna and flora of the country, and the languages, customs, laws, and other peculiarities of the aborigines. Frequently their reports were written in their little cabins of bark, under the most distressing difficulties, and transmitted to the hands of their superiors when the flotilla of Indian canoes made its annual voyage to the St. Lawrence. The manuscripts were subjected to careful revision before transmission to Paris, where the king's printer, Sébastien Cramoisy, annually (1632–72) issued a duodecimo *Relation* with his imprint. Unfortunately, the pencil of the ecclesiastical censor expunged from the manuscripts of the missionaries, before publication, all references to persons hostile to the order. For instance, in none of the series can any reference be found to La Salle. On the other hand, all knowledge of the first exploration in the Wisconsin region would be unknown today but for the interesting account of Jean Nicolet's remarkable canoe voyage up the Ottawa, down the French, along Georgian Bay, and after skirting the shores of Green Bay, up the Fox River to where that stream nearest approaches the Wisconsin River.

The account of Nicolet's expedition appeared in the *Relation* of 1642–43,[2] known as Vimont's *Relation,* from the name of the superior who compiled the manuscript for the printer, ob-

[1] Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac,* p. 294.

[2] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896–1901, 73 vols.), xxiii.

taining his data from the letters of individual missionaries in the field. A translation into English was not made until volume xxiii of the Cleveland edition of the *Jesuit Relations,* edited by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, appeared in 1898. In his preface to this volume, Dr. Thwaites notes that. owing to the fact that the Iroquois had captured the year's report of the Huron missions, "the *Relation* of 1642–43 is written wholly by the superior, Vimont; it is without date, but doubtless was written in the early autumn of 1643, in time for the vessel returning to France." Nearly a half century ago Cyrus Woodman of Mineral Point spent some time at the Harvard College library translating those portions of the *Relations* bearing upon Wisconsin history, the result being published in volume iii of Smith's history of the state. The Vimont *Relation,* the most important in its bearing upon Wisconsin history, appears to have been unaccessible to Woodman at the time, as the Nicolet journey is not included in his translation.

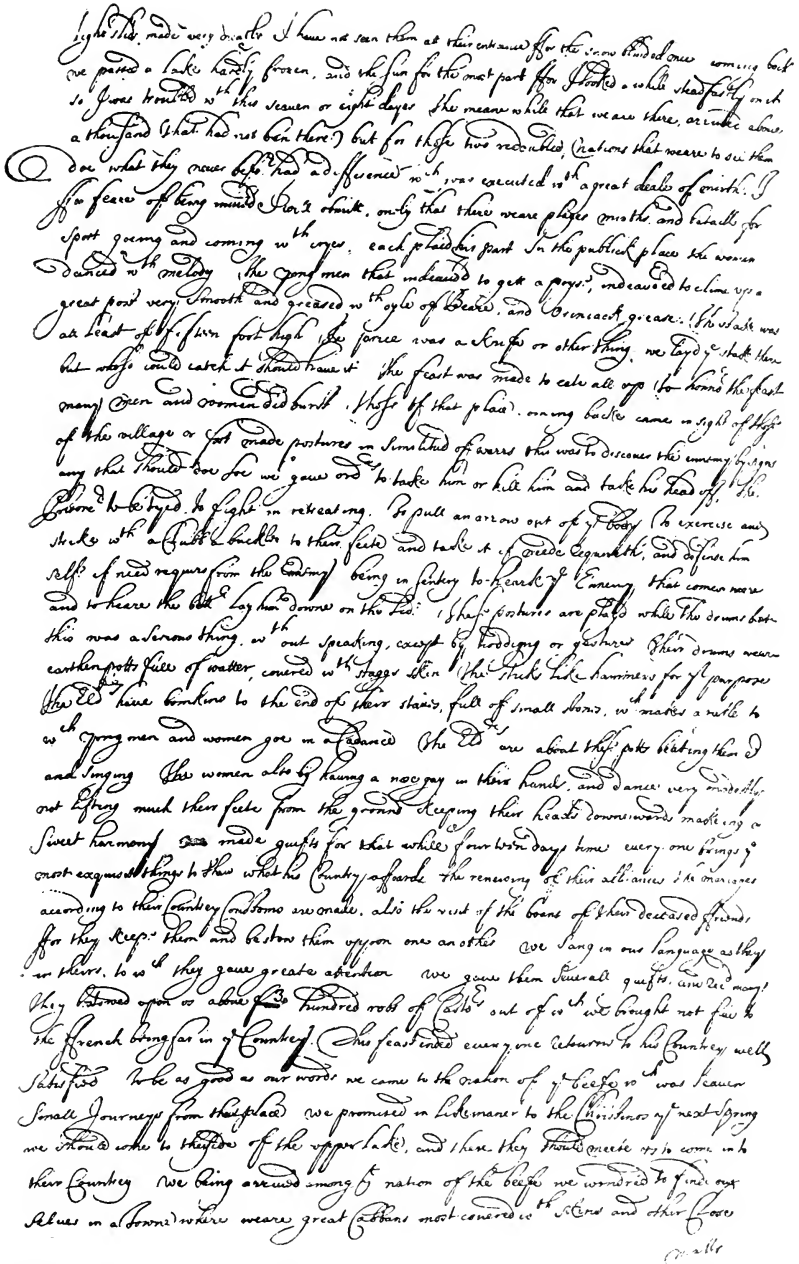
The story of Nicolet's coming to Wisconsin, in the belief that here he would find China, has frequently found its way into print with some embellishment. The wording of the *Relation* is as follows—adopting the translation in the Thwaites edition:

After this treaty of peace [with the Iroquois] he went to live eight or nine years with the Algonquin Nipissiriniens, where he passed for one of that nation, taking part in the very frequent councils of those tribes, having his own separate cabin and household, and fishing and trading for himself. He was finally recalled, and appointed Agent and Interpreter. While in the exercise of this office, he was delegated to make a journey to the natives called People of the sea, and arrange peace between them and the Hurons, from whom they are distant about three hundred leagues Westward. He embarked in the Huron country, with seven savages; and they passed by many small nations, both going and returning. When they arrived at their destination, they fastened two sticks in the earth, and hung gifts thereon, so as to relieve these tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred. When he was two days' journey from that nation, he sent one of these savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was especially well received when they heard that it was a European who carried the

message; they despatched several young men to meet the Manitou-irinion—that is to say, "the wonderful man." They meet him; they escort him and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about, and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least six-score Beavers. The peace was concluded; he returned to the Hurons, and some time later to the three Rivers, where he continued his employment as Agent and Interpreter, to the great satisfaction of both the French and the Savages, by whom he was equally and singularly loved.

The next French travellers to reach the region between Lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi were Radisson and his brother-in-law Groseilliers. The interesting account of their sojourn in northern Wisconsin (1659–60) was written by Radisson to interest King Charles II and Prince Rupert in behalf of their fur-bartering schemes, for Radisson and his brother-in-law were renegades who changed flags between France and England as often as cupidity might dictate. Notes which Radisson had made during his long wanderings in the new world were hammered into eccentric English with an orthography that is curiously at variance with any known English standard. For two hundred years this important journal remained in manuscript. In 1885 it finally found its way into print as a publication of the Prince Society, Boston. In the preface the editor of this publication, Mr. Gideon Scull, tells the interesting story of the vicissitudes that befell Radisson's manuscript till part of it found its way into the British Museum and the rest into the Bodleian library:

The narrative of travels between the years 1652 and 1664 was for some time the property of Samuel Pepys, the well-known diarist and secretary of the admiralty to Charles II and James II. He probably received it from Sir George Carteret, the vice-chamberlain of the King and treasurer of the navy, for whom it was no doubt carefully copied out from his rough notes by the author, so that it might, through him,



Facsimile of page of Pierre Radisson's Narrative, from the original MS. in Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.

be brought under the notice of Charles II. Some years after the death of Pepys, in 1703, his collection of manuscripts was dispersed and fell into the hands of various London tradesmen, who bought parcels of it to use in their shops as waste-paper. The most valuable portions were carefully reclaimed by the celebrated collector, Richard Rawlinson, who in writing to his friend, T. Rawlins, from London house, January 25th, 1749–50, says: "I have purchased the best part of the fine collection of Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty during the reigns of Chas. 2d and James 2d. Some are as old as King Henry VIII. They were collected with a design for a Lord High Admiral such as he should approve; but those times are not yet come, and so little care was taken of them that they were redeemed from *thus et odores vententibus*."

The manuscript containing Radisson's narrative for the years 1682 and 1683 "was purchased of Rodd, 8th July, 1839," by the British Museum. The narrative in French, for the year 1684, was, as his bookplate informs us, bought by Sir Hans Sloane from the collection of "Nicolai Joseph Foucault, Comitis Consistoriani."

In these voyages Radisson and his brother-in-law visited the Ottawas, "ye nation of ye stairing haires," as the French called them; also the famous Fire Nation of Wisconsin, whose chiefs nearly a quarter of a century before had hospitably entertained Nicolet. The adventurers passed a winter with the Potawatomi, and heard both of the Sioux nation and a wandering tribe called the Christino, dwelling in summer on the shores of Hudson Bay, and in winter on the Wisconsin side of Lake Superior. It has been claimed that while with the Mascouten, or Fire Nation, the two Frenchmen made a canoe voyage to the Mississippi River. "We weare 4 moneths in our voyage without doeing anything but goe from river to river," Radisson wrote; "We went into ye greate river that divides itself in 2." Evidence is lacking to prove the surmise that Radisson therein meant that he reached the Mississippi.

It was during their second voyage that Radisson and Groseilliers had their liveliest experience. En route they enjoyed themselves hugely, shooting game—"it was to us like a terrestrial paradise." On the shore of Chequamegon Bay they con-

structed the first habitation ever built by white men in Wisconsin—a little fort of stakes surrounded by a long cord on which little bells were tied. They reasoned that if hostile "wildmen," as Radisson terms the Indians, came unexpectedly upon them, the ringing of these bells by sudden contact would apprise the occupants of the fortified hut in season to guard against surprise:

We went about to make a fort of stakes, wch was in this manner. Suppose that the watter side had ben in one end, att the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from an assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand covered. There were boughs of trees all about our fort layed acrosse, one uppon an other. Besides these boughs, we had a long cord tyed with some small bells, wch weare senteryes. Finally, we made an end of that fort in 2 dayes' time.

The "wildmen" proved to be friendly. In fact they seemed to fear the strangers, rather than to wish to do them harm. But the Frenchmen were on their guard, and took good care to prevent treachery and to astonish the natives with a show of power. In his quaint style, Radisson remarks in his journal:

We suffered none to goe in but one person [at a time], and [they] liked it so much the better & often durst not goe in, so much they stood in feare of our arms, that were in good order, wch weare 5 guns, two musquetons, 3 fowling peeces, 3 paire of great pistoletts and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his sword and dagger. * * * We waere Cesars, being nobody to contradict us.

Then he adds, in narrating a visit from fifty young warriors, and their wonder at sight of the fort: "They were astonied, calling us every foot devills to have made such a machine."

When the Hurons went on their great winter hunt, Radisson and Groseilliers went with them. They killed much large game, for in those days Wisconsin's forests were the haunt of the moose, the elk, the antelope, the woodland caribou, and other animals long extinct here, while on the prairies roamed great herds of buffalo. Among other quadrupeds killed were beavers, bears, and wolverines. The moose seems to have been

the chief trophy of the chase—Radisson calls this animal the oriniack:

We beated downe the woods dayly for to discover novelties. We killed severall other beasts, as Oriniacks, staggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Catts of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The snow increases daily. There we make racketts, not to play at ball, but to exercise ourselves in a game harder and more necessary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may go in the snow and not sinke when they runne after the eland or other beasts.

Following this prodigality of hunting prowess, there came a great famine, for the snow, which fell in immense quantities, was so light that it would not bear the burden of the snowshoes, and hunting for food was out of the question. With painful minuteness the journal of Radisson depicts their misery, which "grows wors and wors dayly."

Although Radisson's journal was written some years after this event, its memories must have remained fresh, judging from the graphic fidelity of his narrative. For instance:

O, cursed covetousnesse, what art thou going to doe? Every one cryes out for hunger; Ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding you shall tast of the bitternesse. Where is the plentynesse that yee had in all places and in countreys. Here comes a new family of these poore people dayly to us, halfe dead, for they have but the skins and boans. The first 2 weeke we did eate our doggs. As we went backe upon our stepps for to gett anything to fill our bellyes, we were glad to gett the bones and carcasses of the beasts that we killed. And happy was he that could gett what the other did throw away after it had been boiled 3 or foure times to get the substance out of it.

Finally they were reduced to eating boiled skins, ground bones, and the bark of trees. As Radisson expressed it, "finally we became the very Image of Death. Here are above 500 dead. It's time to come out of such miseryes." At last the snow hardened, and the wornout hunters were enabled with great effort to secure a few animals with which to cheer their famished stomachs.

Much of the success that attended the barter of these two Frenchmen with the Indians was due to the possession of merchandise that pleased the fancy of the latter. Such articles as glasses, little bells, combs, vermilion, necklaces, and bracelets were profitably exchanged, although the barter was ostensibly made in the nature of an exchange of gifts. Says Radisson: "We gave them several gifts and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs of castors" (beavers).

How far south of the Wisconsin River Radisson and his brother-in-law went in their journeys is a matter of conjecture. Benjamin Sulte, who has made a close study of Radisson's journal, believes that in 1658–59 they wintered in the neighborhood of Milwaukee, if not of Chicago.

For many years, beginning in 1665, Nicolas Perrot was the chief of forest rangers in Wisconsin. A monstrance wrought in silver and in 1686 presented by him to the Jesuit mission at Green Bay, is now in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.[1] Perrot wrote an account of his experiences, but this was not published until 1864, when Father Tailhan prepared it for publication, with numerous notes of his own. An English translation has never appeared, although extracts in English have been included in Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Allouez,* and in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections.*

Among the most interesting material in Perrot's narrative is that descriptive of Indian customs. Particularly vivid is his account of an Indian feast and war dance, as practiced in Wisconsin two centuries and a half ago. After describing the contents of the war bag, or "pindikossan," consisting of the skins of owls, snakes, white birds, parrots, magpies, and other animals, he proceeds:

Before the feast they always fast, without eating or drinking until they have had a dream. During this fast they blacken their face,

[1] Illustrated in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 142.

shoulders and breast with coal; they smoke, however. Some are said to have fasted twelve consecutive days—which seems incredible—and others less.

After elaborate ceremonials and the eating of dog's flesh, an Indian delicacy, the master of ceremonies, who is armed with bow and quiver of arrows as well as a javelin,

assumes a most furious look, entones his war song, and at each syllable that he pronounces makes most horrible contortions of head and body—the most terrible that can be seen. After him all the guests, one after another, endeavor to outdo one another in assuming most furious appearances. While singing, some fill their plates with hot ashes and burning coals, which they throw upon the spectators, who vociferate in chorus with a very strong but slow voice, "Ouiy!" Others seize fire-brands and throw them up into the air; others, again, act as if they were going to tomahawk the spectators. These last are obliged to repair the affront offered to him whom they feigned to strike, by making him a present of vermillion, knife or some other object of like value. Only such warriors as have slain or captured an enemy are allowed to act in this manner. These feints signify that it was thus the enemy was slain.[1]

After some more shouting and grimacing, the best of the feast is given to the guests. "Above all," adds Perrot, "everyone must come provided with his own plate; otherwise he would not get his share. Hence they never fail in this, the Indian being naturally too gluttonous to forget on an occasion like this to fill well his belly."

[Signature of Father Allouez]

For the pathetic account of Father Ménard's death, while seeking his lost sheep, the migratory Huron Indians, about the headquarters of the Black River, the *Jesuit Relations* must again be referred to. Therein, also, are recited the sore trials that befell Father Claude Allouez, and the story is told how Father Louis André dealt with the untutored savages. With

[1] Verwyst's translation.

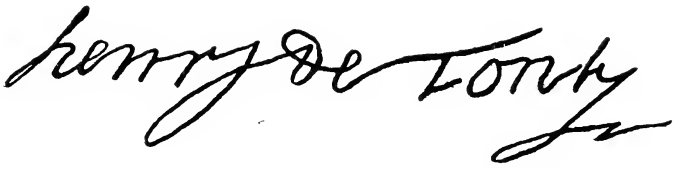
a flute, André taught the Indian children to sing the canticles of the Catholic church, and then marched them through the villages, preaching to their elders through the medium of their youthful voices. The *Relation* goes on to say:

Certain spiritual songs which he sung to the children with French airs, pleased these savages extremely; in such a manner, that in the streets and in the cabins our mysteries were made public and were received there with applause, and insensibly stamped themselves on the mind by means of these canticles. This success gave courage to the father, and caused him to resolve on attacking the men through the children, and to combat with idolatry by these innocent souls. In effect he composed canticles against the superstitions of which we have spoken, and against the vices most opposed to Christianity, and having taught them to the children by the sound of a soft flute, he went everywhere with his little savage musicians, declaring war against the jugglers, the dreamers, and those who had many wives; and because the savages passionately loved their children and suffered everything from them, they allowed the reproaches, although biting, which were made to them by these songs, inasmuch as they proceeded from the mouths of their children. It happened sometimes, that as the father was obliged in the heat of dispute to refute the errors of these superstitious people, and to convince the old men of the falsity and silliness of their idolatry, it happened, I say, that this troop of children tired of hearing such disputes, threw themselves among them and sounding their canticles, obliged their parents to be silent. This gave the father much joy, who saw that God made use of these innocent mouths to confound the impiety of their own parents.

[Signature of Louis Jolliet]

The 17th day of June, 1673, is a memorable date in the history of the Mississippi valley. On that day the two canoes of Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette passed from the waters of the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi. Upon their return from the lower reaches of the great Western waterway, Marquette wintered at Green Bay, where he wrote his famous

account of the voyage. Jolliet hurried on to Quebec to submit his official report. His canoe capsized in Lachine rapids, when near his destination, his journal and notes being swept away and irrevocably lost. Marquette thus became the historian of the expedition. His manuscript did not become a part of the famous printed *Relations,* for the government license for the publication of them was withdrawn in 1672, and it was not till nine years later that Thevenot, a Paris publisher, brought it out, together with the missionary's map, in a small duodecimo volume comprising forty-one pages.



[Signature of Henry de Tonty]

La Salle's expedition to Green Bay—which his vessel the "Griffon" reached in 1679—and beyond in canoes by way of the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan to the Illinois country, resulted in the publication of numerous journals and memoirs. Those referring to the journey in the Wisconsin territory were written by his loyal lieutenant Henry de Tonty, and by Father Louis Hennepin. There are briefer references in the account of Father Christian Le Clercq. Tonty's memoir first appeared in 1697, being Englished the following year. A spurious account attributed to him, but which he repudiated, also appeared in 1697. Despite the inordinate vanity exhibited by its author, Hennepin's book is most readable. It includes an interesting account of a buffalo hunt by Indians, in western Wisconsin. The volume had an extraordinary sale in Europe, and its many editions, in several languages, have engaged the industry of several bibliographers.

In 1689 Baron Lahontan reached Green Bay and proceeded as far as the Mississippi. His adventures, as printed, include

a vivid account of mythical nations inhabiting the regions of a mythical river reaching from the Mississippi westward to the mysterious regions which on earlier maps appear as lands unknown to the geographer. The "Long River" of Lahontan's map was for many years perpetuated on subsequent charts, before its bogus character was discovered. The mendacious baron wrote his tale while a fugitive in England. In his preface he avers that had the king of France restored him to his offices, the manuscript would have been committed to the flames.

Fathers St. Cosme and Guignas were birds of passage, who refer but briefly to their journeys through Wisconsin in the closing years of the seventeenth century.

In 1721 Father Charlevoix came to Wisconsin, the result of his observations being embodied in his monumental history of New France, Shea's English translation of which has appeared in six volumes.

Daniel Greysolon du l'Hut (Duluth), a cousin of La Salle's lieutenant, Tonty, was, so far as recorded, the first white man to journey in a canoe from Lake Superior to the Mississippi River, his route being by way of the St. Croix River. His memoir refers but briefly to his explorations in Wisconsin.

Like the accounts written by Hennepin, the printed recital of Captain Jonathan Carver's travels in Wisconsin, in 1766, had a large sale in Europe, especially in England. At least twenty-three editions appeared in rapid succession from presses in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and numerous towns in the English colonies. It was the most popular book of the day. Latter-day research has proved that much of his material was stolen from earlier books of travel written by Frenchmen.[1] However, Carver's book served for the first time to advertise the Western country to English-speaking people.

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1 John Goadby Gregory, in Parkman Club *Publications*, No. 5 (Milwaukee, 1896). See also article on Carver by Edward G. Bourne, in *American Historical Review* for January, 1906.

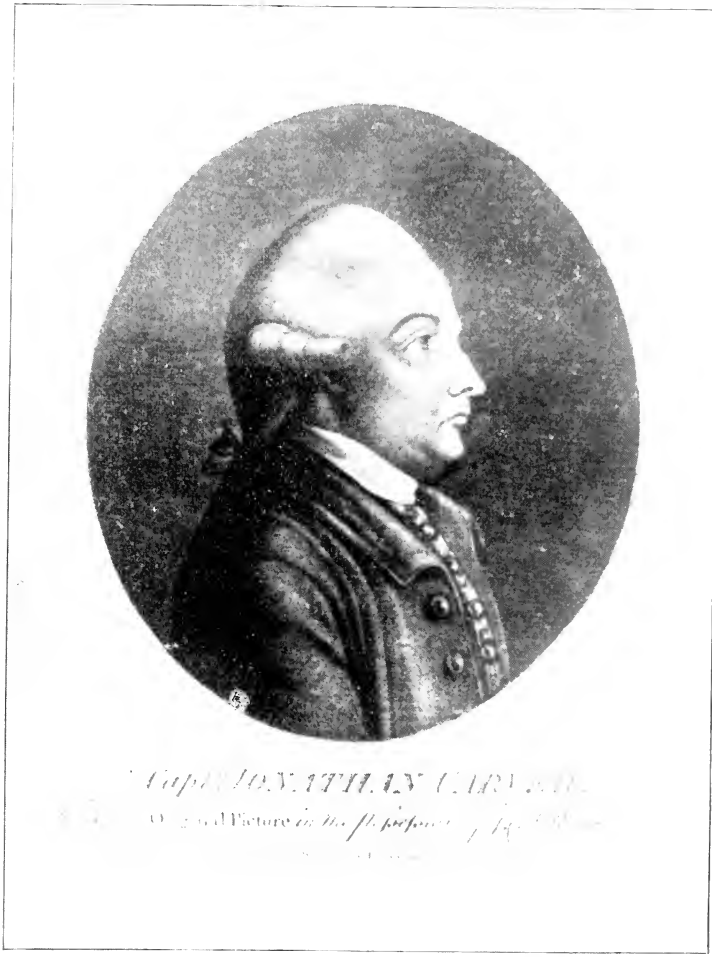
Like other travellers who followed his route, Captain Carver noted the immense tracts of wild rice meadows along the shores of Fox River, and the myriad game birds that fed upon this grain. "This river is the greatest resort of wild fowl of every kind that I met with in the whole course of my travels," he wrote; "frequently the sun would be obscured by them for some minutes together. Deer and bear are very numerous in these parts."

From the time he left Green Bay until his canoe was beached at Prairie du Chien, Carver had seen no trace of white men. Well-built Indian towns greeted his view as he floated down the Wisconsin; but at Prairie du Chien he found the most notable town. He wrote:

It is a large town and contains about 300 families. The houses are well built after the Indian manner and pleasantly situated on a very rich soil, from which they raised every necessary of life in great abundance. I saw many horses here of a good size and shape. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them the furs to dispose of to the traders. But it is not always that they conclude their sale here; this is determined by a general council of the chiefs, who consult whether it would be more conducive to their interest to sell their goods at this place or carry them on to Louisiana or Michilimackinac.

It has been claimed for Carver that he was the first traveller to make known to the people of Europe the ancient Indian mounds found in the Mississippi valley, and long believed to have been the work of an extinct people. This is his description of what he conceived to be an ancient fortification, but since assumed to have been an elevation to keep the wigwams of the builders above the annual overflow of Lake Pepin:

One day, having landed on the shore of the Mississippi, some miles below Lake Pepin, whilst my attendants were preparing their dinner, I walked out to take a view of the adjacent country. I had not proceeded far before I came to a fine, level, open plain, on which I perceived at a little distance a partial elevation that had the appearance of an entrenchment. On a nearer inspection, I had greater reason to suppose that it had really been intended for this many centuries ago.



From portrait in Carver's *Through the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778)

Notwithstanding it was now covered with grass, I could plainly discern that it had once been a breastwork of about four feet in height, extending the best part of a mile, and sufficiently capacious to cover five thousand men. Its form was somewhat circular, and its flank reached to the river. Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself. The ditch was not visible, but I thought, on examining more curiously, that I could perceive there certainly had been one. From its situation also I am convinced that it must have been designed for this purpose. It fronted the country, and the rear was covered by the river; nor was there any rising ground for a considerable way, that commanded it. A few straggling oaks were alone to be seen near it. In many places small tracts were worn across it by the feet of elks and deer, and from the depth of the bed of earth by which it was covered I was able to draw certain conclusions of its great antiquity.

Carver spent the winter among the Sioux, and rather extensively explored Minnesota. They told him much about the country of the West—of a great river that emptied into the Pacific; of the "Shining Mountains," within whose bowels could be found precious metals; and much else that was new and wonderful. It is claimed that in their great council cave, they gave to him and to his descendants forever a great tract of land, about 14,000 square miles in area, embracing the whole of the Northwestern part of Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. This alleged gift was afterwards made the basis for the famous Carver claim.[1] After long investigation and consideration the United States congress rejected the claim. Nevertheless, many persons were duped into purchasing land on the strength of Carver's Indian deed. In some of the counties of Wisconsin there are still on file some of the worthless conveyances made out on this shadowy title.[2]

Five years before Carver's visit to Wisconsin, a detachment of British regulars had taken possession of the tumble-down

1 See map of Wisconsin in 1847, illustrating Mr. Holmes's "History of the First Constitutional Convention in Wisconsin, 1846," *post*, for boundaries of Carver's Claim.

2 See D. S. Durrie, "Captain Jonathan Carver and 'Carver's Grant,'" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 220–270.

fort at Green Bay. Lieut. James Gorrell, who was in command, kept a journal of their experiences. This manuscript has had a curious experience. In an introductory note in volume i of *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (1855), the late Dr. Lyman C. Draper conveys the information that:

> The late venerable Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, obtained from Horatio Ridout, Esq., of Whitehall, near Annapolis, Maryland, quite a collection of rare and curious manuscripts relative to the old French and Indian war, and among them this journal of Lieut. Gorrell. Mr. Ridout's father was John Ridout, who was secretary to Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland during the French and Indian war, and thus became possessed of these valuable papers. Mr. Gilmor presented them to the Maryland Historical Society.

While Francis Parkman was collecting materials for his work on Pontiac's conspiracy, he chanced upon these papers, and caused a copy of Gorrell s journal to be transcribed for the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Although his travels and adventures are embraced between the years 1760 and 1776, Alexander Henry's recital of them did not find a printer till 1809. His book is one of the most interesting and instructive of the numerous volumes of travel relating to this region. He was a fur trader, and spent a considerable period at Chequamegon. Among the interesting personal episodes narrated by him, is that which tells how his life was saved in the cabin of Charles Langlade, later Wisconsin's first permanent white settler. It was when the English garrison at Mackinac were being massacred by the Indians:

> I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion. Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. * * * I had in the room in which I was, a fowling-piece, loaded with swan-shot. This I immediately seized, and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms. In this dreadful interval, I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living.
>
> At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing resistance made to the enemy, and sensible, of course, that no effort of my own unassisted

arm, could avail against four hundred Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging, I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians nor suffering injury; and, from this circumstance, I conceived a hope of finding security in their houses.

Between the yard door of my own house, and that of Mr. Langlade, my next neighbor, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance, I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M. Langlade, begging that he would put me into some place of safety, until the heat of the affair should be over; an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but, while I uttered my petition, M. Langlade, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders, and intimating that he could do nothing for me—"Que voudriez-vous que j'en ferais?"

This was a moment for despair; but the next, a Pani woman, a slave of M. Langlade's, beckoned to me to follow her. She brought me to a door, which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfully obeyed her directions, and she, having followed me up to the garret-door, locked it after me, and with great presence of mind took away the key.

This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. * * *

I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was. The garret was separated from the room below, only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear everything that passed; and, the Indians no sooner came in, than they inquired whether or not any Englishman were in the house. M. Langlade replied, that "He could not say—he did not know of any;" answers in which he did not exceed the truth; but the Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret, and her own. M. Langlade was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me, as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers, that "They might examine for themselves, and would soon be satisfied as to the object of their question." Saying this he brought them to the garret-door.

The state of my mind will be imagined. Arrived at the door, some

delay was occasioned by the absence of the key, and a few moments were thus allowed me, in which to look around for a hiding-place. In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch-bark, used in maple-sugar making, as I have recently described.

The door was unlocked, and opening, and the Indians ascending the stairs, before I had completely crept into a small opening which presented itself at one end of the heap. An instant after, four Indians entered the room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood, upon every part of their bodies.

The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe; but I thought that the beating of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction about the garret and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put forth his hand, he must have touched me. Still, I remained undiscovered; a circumstance to which the dark color of my clothes and the want of light, in a room which had no window, and in the corner in which I was, must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during which they told M. Langlade how many they had killed, and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I, with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was the barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

Bibliographical Data

In this paper no attempt has been made to indicate sources or authorities other than those printed in the English language, although incidental mention is made of their appearance in French. The English titles which are appended *in extenso,* represent in all cases the first publication in that language of the accounts written by early Wisconsin travellers, or by others concerning such travels. Where satisfactory bibliographies exist, mention is made of these without repetition of their contents. In the absence of existing bibliographies, there is fuller guidance to specific sources. The subjoined compilation is not, therefore, a bibliography of Wisconsin

travels, but rather a guide to existing bibliographies and other sources of information concerning such narratives.

The great storehouse of original material descriptive of early journeys through the Wisconsin region, supplementing the books of travel that were printed independently during contemporary years, is a compilation in five volumes by Pierre Margry. This work was issued during a term of years beginning in 1876, the title bearing the following form:[1]

Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale. * * * 1876–86.

Volume i must be consulted by students of the enterprises in which were engaged the missionary priest Claude Allouez and the devoted friend of La Salle, Henry de Tonty. The following chapters in this volume are particularly notable in their relation to travels in Wisconsin:

II. First French voyage to Baie des Puans (Green Bay).
III. The wanderings of Allouez, 1657–1690.
XI. Marquette and Jolliet, and their discovery of the Upper Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, 1673.
XXII. Relation of Henry de Tonty.

In the *Jesuit Relations* must be sought much material bearing upon this subject which cannot be found elsewhere. Copies of the original Cramoisy series, printed annually in Paris from 1632 to 1672, have survived in such few numbers that but one complete set is known—that in the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library. Reprints of some of these were undertaken by E. B. O'Callaghan, John Gilmary Shea, and James Lenox during the middle period of the last century; and in 1858 an incomplete and somewhat modified edition, crowded into three large volumes, was issued in Quebec. These were all in French. It was not until the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* in 73 vol-

1 The general title appears only on the covers and as half-title. The regular title pages present the special titles of the separate volumes. The fine paper edition, 1879–88, has a title different in wording, and there are extra maps and a special introduction.

umes (Cleveland, 1896–1901), that anything like completeness was attained in collecting this valuable material in many languages and presenting in well-edited form an English translation side by side with the original.

Other authorities that will well repay careful consultation are the series known as *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (index to volume i–x cumulated in volume x),[1] the series known as *New York Colonial Documents,* and the *Memoirs* of the Royal Society of Canada. Especially helpful in the latter are the numerous articles by Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, who has likewise contributed many studies on the early French voyageurs to the historical and literary press of Canada and the United States.[2]

Some of the original narratives herein mentioned have been included in whole or in abridgment in numerous collections of travels. Memoirs and journals of Wisconsin travels prior to 1800, appearing in separate form, include the following:

Pierre Esprit Radisson. In English.
Nicolas Perrot. In French.
Father Jacques Marquette. In French and English.
Henry de Tonty. In French and English.
Father Louis Hennepin. In French, English, Dutch, German, Italian, and Spanish.
Baron Lahontan. In French, English, Dutch, Italian, and German.
Capt. Jonathan Carver. In English, French, and German.
Father Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix. In French, English, and German.
Alexander Henry. In English.

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[1] Volumes xvi and xvii are entirely devoted to a scholarly presentation of contemporary documents bearing on French exploration. Most of these were transcribed from the archives in Paris especially for the Wisconsin Historical Society; others are reprinted from published sources, but with corrections rendered necessary upon comparing the transcriptions with the original documents.

[2] "Writings of Benjamin Sulte" (Milwaukee, 1898), a reprint of a bibliography that appeared in *American Book-Lore.*

Bibliographies dealing with these travels are neither numerous, save as to Hennepin, nor satisfactory, with the exception of those recently prepared for the Thwaites editions of Hennepin and Lahontan by Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits. The following general bibliographies can be consulted with more or less profit, but caution must be observed to avoid the perpetuation of the many inaccuracies contained therein:

Bartlett, John Russell. *Catalogue of the John Carter-Brown Library*, parts ii, iii. (Providence, 1882; 1871.)

Gagnon, Phileas. *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne.* (Quebec, 1895.)

Harrisse, Henry. *Notes sur la Nouvelle France.* (Paris, 1872.)

Pilling, James Constantine. *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages.* (Washington, 1891.)

Sabin, Joseph. *Dictionary of Books Relating to America.* 19 vols. (New York, 1868–91.)

Winsor, Justin. *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv. (Boston, 1884.)

The Sabin bibliography ends with the letter S (Smith) and does not therefore include Tonty. It was begun in 1868 and no volumes have been issued since 1901, so that numerous additional titles have been discovered, although in its day it was considered a carefully compiled and excellent bibliographic work. Justin Winsor was somewhat prone to accept without verification the statements he found in booksellers' and auction catalogues. Henry Harrisse's lists suffer from brevity. Gagnon's lists are limited to titles in his own library. The catalogue of the Carter-Brown library also necessarily excludes all titles not represented on its shelves.

A bibliography of the *Jesuit Relations,* with careful collations, was printed in 1879 as a contribution to a catalogue of the Lenox Library. However, only a few of the volumes there listed are of interest to the student of Wisconsin travels. Volumes xxiii, l, liv, and lv of the Thwaites edition are of most value in this connection.

The early Jesuit missionaries serving in Wisconsin were: Réné Ménard, 1660; Claude Allouez, 1665; Louis André,

1672; Jacques Marquette, 1669; Father Michel Guignas, 1728; Father Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, 1721. Father Jean François Buisson de Ste. Cosme, 1698, who journeyed along the Wisconsin edge of Lake Michigan, was a Seminary priest (Sulpician).

In lieu of bibliographies of Ménard, Allouez, and André, the index volumes of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (lxxii, lxxiii) may be consulted. This model index serves, with unusual fullness and detail, as a guide to the great historic wealth of the *Relations.*

The St. Cosme and Guignas accounts are reprinted in an English version in John Gilmary Shea's *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany: Munsell, 1861), of which a second edition was printed by Joseph McDonough in 1902. In Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1853; likewise reprinted by Joseph McDonough, Albany, 1903) are given the original narratives of the Jesuits Marquette and Allouez, and the Recollects Membré, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay. In the same work Shea includes a note on Father Dablon, the Jesuit superior, who in 1668 "followed Father Marquette to Lake Superior * * * and reached the Wisconsin with Allouez. He prepared for the press the narrative of Marquette and Allouez."

It will be recalled that in 1672, after forty years of publication, the little vellum-covered duodecimos bearing the imprint of Sébastien Cramoisy's press discontinued their annual appearance. Marquette's journal of his Mississippi River voyage, as well as that relating to the Illinois mission, therefore failed to be included in the original series of *Jesuit Relations.*[1]

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[1] Bibliographical information concerning the Marquette voyages is given quite fully in vol. lix of *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, pp. 295–303. There the bibliographic history of Marquette's voyages is termed a puzzle, and this is apparent to anyone who seeks to trace the successive editions in their numerous garbs—independent editions, abridgements, sections of composite volumes, etc. The holo-

It did not appear until 1861, when a Paris publisher gave it to the reading public as a part of the Thevenot collection of voyages. The Marquette narrative occupies forty-three pages, bearing the following title:

Voyage et Découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique Septentionale par le P. Marquette et Sr. Joliet. A Paris, Chez Estienne Michallet ruë S. Jacques à l'Image S. Paul. MDCLXXXI. Avec privilege du Roy.

The map accompanying this duodecimo volume is undoubtedly the first ever published of the upper Mississippi River. A reprint was made for Obadiah Rich in 1845. In 1854 James Lenox caused a reprint to be made of Marquette's journals from the manuscript still preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. A facsimile of the Marquette later journal, derived from the same source, is given in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (xvi). A Dutch version of the journal of 1673 is included in Van der Aa's collection (Leyden, 1707). In his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* Shea printed the French version of Marquette's journal; it occupies pages 231–264. B. F. French, in volume ii of his *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1850), gives an English rendering of Marquette's account, occupying pages 277–297 with the following sub-title:

An Account of the Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in North America, in 1673, by Pere Marquette and Sieur Joliet. Translated from the French.

The Charlevoix *Historie de la Nouvelle France* was first published in 1744. Shea translated it into English, issuing the work in six sumptuous volumes in 1866–70. A German translation appeared in 1756. In 1901 Francis Harper, New York, reprinted the six volumes.

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graph copy of Marquette's later voyage (1674) is preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College at Montreal, and is given in facsimile in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi. The account of his first voyage does not exist in his own handwriting, though evidently that in St. Mary's College is a copy by a contemporary hand.

Recollect Missionaries

The Recollect Fathers were: Anastase Douay, 1679; Zenobe Membré, 1679. The original narratives of Douay and Membré, who accompanied the La Salle expedition to Green Bay and along the Wisconsin shore into Illinois, are reprinted in abridged form in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.* These narratives form the basis for part of Father Christian LeClercq's *Établissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France,* which was first printed in France in 1691. An English translation did not appear until 1881, when John Gilmary Shea issued the work in two volumes from Elizabeth, N. J.[1] Le Clercq's work is largely devoted to the explorations of Robert Cavelier de la Salle. The Jesuits ar attacked with caustic vigor in the Recollect's book, and it is claimed that on this account it was rigidly suppressed. However, Harrisse quotes from Antoine Arnold's works (Paris, 1780) the following reference thereto.

> The Jesuits opposed the book and did all they could to suppress it. The Recollects, who have friends at court, maintained that the book was good and contained nothing but the truth. The bookseller was for a time under arrest for his book, but when it was shown that there was nothing in it to be gainsaid, the book passed, and has ever since been sold freely.

It is certain, however, although the book did not suffer absolute suppression, few copies were ever sold. It is an exceedingly

[1] Shea's translation of the title is as follows: "First Establishment of the Faith in New France, containing the Publication of the Gospel, the History of the French Colonies, and the Famous Discoveries from the Mouth of the St. Lawrence, Louisiana, and the River Colbert, to the Gulf of Mexico, accomplished under the direction of the late Monsieur de la Salle, by Order of the King, with the Victories gained in Canada, by the Arms of his Majesty over the English and Iroquois, in 1690, Dedicated to M. le Comte de Frontenac, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, by Father Christian le Clercq, Recollect Missionary of the Province of St. Anthony of Padua, in Arthois, and Warden of the Recollects of Lens."

RELATION

DE CE QVI S'EST PASSE'
EN LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE
EN L'ANNEE 1642. & 1643.

Enuoyée au R. P. IEAN FILLEAV,
Prouincial de la Compagnie de IESVS,
en la Prouince de France.

Par le R. P. BARTHELEMY VIMONT, *de la meſme Compagnie, Superieur de toute la Miſſion.*

A PARIS,

Chez { SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY, Imprimeur Ordinaire du Roy, ET GABRIEL CRAMOISY. } ruë S. Iacques, aux Cicoignes.

M. DC. XLIV.

Auec Priuilege du Roy.

Facsimile of title-page, original edition of Vimont's *Relation* of 1642–43

scarce work. Its authorship has been disputed. Shea calls attention to a statement in Father Hennepin's *Nouveau Voyage*—a volume drawn from the *Établissement*—that the real author of the latter work was Father Valentine le Roux, commissary or superior of the Recollects in Canada. Joutel, in his *Journal,* insinuates that some of the statements were distorted versions of materials secured from himself by Father Anastasius, one of the alleged informants of La Clercq. Indeed, much uncertainty enshrouds the authorship of the work. Count de Frontenac is said to have inspired parts of it. Chapters 20–25 are descriptive of the La Salle expedition; the narratives of Fathers Membré and Douay, who were with him, are the basis for this section of the work.

Jean Nicolet, 1634

The account of the travels into Wisconsin by the first white man to reach this region, was not written by himself. It appeared in the Jesuit series of 1643, known as the Vimont *Relation,* which bears the following title:

Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Novvelle France, en l'anneé 1642 & 1643. Par le R. P. *Barthelemy Vimont, * * * Superieur de toute la Mission.* A Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy, MDCXLIV.

There are copies of this *Relation* in the original edition in the following libraries: Lenox branch of New York Public (2); Harvard University; St. Mary's College, Montreal; Laval University, Quebec; Library of Parliament, Ottawa; Brown University, Providence; British Museum (2).

A brief bibliography of Nicolet appears in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* xi, pp. 23–25. It was compiled by Consul Willshire Butterfield, whose excellent monograph on *The Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet* describes fully the remarkable chance journey of the French explorer. Benjamin Sulte, whose researches established the date of Nicolet's coming to Wisconsin, has a valuable chapter on Nicolet in his *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Litterateur* (Ottawa, 1876).

Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1659

Radisson's journey to Wisconsin was written in English, and remained in mauscript for more than two hundred years. The Prince Society of Boston included it as one of its series of publications, the work being given the following title:

Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an account of his travels and experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original manuscripts in the Bodleian library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations and an introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston. Published by the Prince Society. 1885.

In his introduction thereto the editor of the Radisson narrative states that that explorer, a native of France, has an imperfect knowledge of English, "and as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of sentences, conforms to no known standard of English composition. * * * During his long and perilous journeys from 1652–64, he made notes during his wanderings which he afterward copied out on his voyage to England in 1665."

A bibliography of Radisson by Henry Colin Campbell is appended to Parkman Club *Publications,* No. 3 (Milwaukee 1896).

Nicholas Perrot, 1665

Of the many coureurs de bois who traversed the region of the Great Lakes, none is so thoroughly identified with Wisconsin as Nicholas Perrot. For nearly two centuries his written account slumbered under dust in Paris; but in 1864 Father J. Tailhan, S. J., rescued it from its obscurity and edited the manuscript for publication, enriching it with copious annotations. An English translation has not been published. The only printed form in which the memoir is accessible is in the Tailhan edition, which bears the following title:

Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale par Nicolas Perrot. Publié pour la première fois par le R. P. J. Tailhan de la Compagnie de Jésus. Leipzig and Paris. Librairie A. Franck, Albert L. Herold. 1864.

The Perrot memoir occupies 156 pages, and Tailhan's notes 185; there is also an index of 39 pages. The best narrative in English of Perrot's picturesque career was the initial Parkman Club *Publication,* contributed by Gardner P. Stickney, who has translated the memoir into English, but the translation has not yet been printed.

Louis Hennepin, 1679

The numerous editions which have attested the popularity of Father Hennepin's vividly-written account of his travels have engaged the attention of many bibliographers. The first attempts to gather information about them are found in Dawson's *Historical Magazine* for 1857 and 1858, in the form of communications from James Lenox, E. B. O'Callaghan, John Russell Bartlett, and other collectors of American incunabula. In 1872, Henry Harrisse included a list of Hennepin editions in his *Notes sur la Nouvelle France.* Other Hennepin bibliographies include the following:

Sabin, Joseph. A list of the editions of the works of Louis Hennepin and Alonso de Herrera. N. Y., 1876.

Extracts from Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America.*

Shea, John Gilmary. Bibliography of Hennepin, in his translation of Hennepin's Louisiane, 1880.

In this compilation, Shea was assisted by George H. Moore.

Neill, E. D. The Writings of Louis Hennepin, St. Paul, 1880.

Bartlett, John Russell. Separate from Catalogue of the Carter-Brown Library, second edition, Providence, 1882.

Winsor, Justin. Father Louis Hennepin and his real or disputed discoveries, in volume iv of Narrative and Critical History of America. Boston, 1884.

Mr. Paltsits terms this "a resume embodying the mistakes of others, with the addition of errors of its own."

Remington, Cyrus Kingsbury. In The Shipyard of the Griffon. Buffalo, 1891.

A second edition appeared in 1893. The bibliography was also appended to the Ninth annual report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara. Albany, 1893.

A

New Discovery

OF A

Vast Country in AMERICA.

Extending above Four Thousand Miles,

BETWEEN

New France *and* New Mexico;

WITH A

Description of the Great *Lakes*, *Cataracts*, *Rivers*, *Plants*, and *Animals*.

Also, the *Manners*, *Customs*, and *Languages* of the several Native *Indians*; and the Advantage of Commerce with those different Nations.

WITH A

CONTINUATION,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the

Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*, and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*, *H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.

Facsimile of title-page of Vol. I of Hennepin's *New Discovery*, ed. of 1698. By courtesy of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Dionne, N. E. In Hennepin: ses Voyages et ses Œuvres. Quebec, 1897.
"The collations are inaccurate," says Mr. Palsits.

Gagnon, Phileas. In his Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne. Quebec, 1895.

Paltsits, Victor Hugo. In the Thwaites edition of Hennepin's A New Discovery. Chicago, 1903.

Also issued as a separate of twenty pages. This is an authoritative bibliography, and an excellent example of critical and scientific work. Full collations are given.

The first English edition of Hennepin's *A New Discovery* appeared in 1703, with the following title:

A new Discovery of a Vast Country in America extending above Four Thousand Miles, between New France and New Mexico; with a Description of the Great Lakes, Cataracts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals. Also, the Manners, Customs, and Languages of the several Native Indians; and the Advantage of Commerce with those different Nations. With a Continuation, giving an Account of the Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the Mines of St. Barbe, etc. The Taking of Quebec by the English; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan. Both Parts Illustrated with Maps, and Figures, and Dedicated to His Majesty K. William By L. Hennepin, now Resident in Holland. To which are added, Several New Discoveries in North-America, not publish'd in the French Edition. London, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship, 1698.

Henry de Tonty, 1680

Tonty's memoir was first published in 1697, an English version appearing in 1698 bearing the following title:

An account of Monsieur de la Salle's last Expedition and Discoveries in North America. Presented to the French King, and Published by the Chevalier Tonti, Governour of Fort St. Louis, in the Province of the Illinois. English from the Paris Original. Also, the Adventures of the Sieur de Montauban Captain of the French Buccaneers, in the year 1695. *London:* Printed by *J. Tonson*, at the Judge's Head. * * * 1698.

"Tonty disowned to Iberville and to Father Marest the publication of a book published in Paris in 1697, entitled 'Dernieres Decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, le M.

de la Salle, par M. le Chevalier Tonti,' which has just been reprinted under the title 'Relation de la Louisiane ou du Mississippi par le Chevalier de Tonti.' "

Tonty's memoir has been reprinted in the following works, in English translations:

Vol. 2, New York Historical Collections, 1812.

Falconer's On the Discovery of the Mississippi. London, 1844.

French's Historical Collections of Louisiana. N. Y., 1846, i, pp. 52–80.

Relation of Henry de Tonty concerning the exploration of La Salle, from 1678 to 1683. Caxton Club, Chicago, 1898.

The Journeys of Réné Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Salle as related by his faithful lieutenant Henri de Tonty, etc. N. Y., 1905. 2 vols.

The memoir, in French, is given in full in Margry, vol. i, pp. 573–614.

Parkman Club *Publication* No. 3 (Milwaukee, 1896), by the present writer, is a connected account of Tonty's travels and experiences, bearing the title "Chevalier Henry de Tonty." This account, with additional material, maps, and illustrations, was reprinted with the following title: "The Man with the Iron Hand" (Milwaukee 1896).

Baron Lahontan, 1689

Of the numerous editions of Baron Lahontan's voyages, a complete series can be found in no library, nor collectively in the libraries of any one city. Of the numerous attempts to construct a bibliography of these interesting travels, the following may be enumerated, although that compiled by Victor H. Paltsits, of Lenox branch of the New York Public Library, for the Thwaites reprint, is the only one approximating accuracy:

Harrisse, Henry. In Notes sur la Nouvelle France (Paris, 1872); nos. 795–803.
Incomplete.

Sabin, Joseph. In Dictionary of Books relating to America, vol. x (1878), pp. 27–32.
Some of the editions listed are not known to later bibliographers.

Winsor, Justin. In Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. iv (1884), pp. 257–262.

A summary which the writer calls "a bibliographical and critical note."

Pilling, James Constantine. In Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages (1891), pp. 288–295.

Seven title pages of French editions are reproduced in facsimile.

Roy, J. Edmond. Notes sur les diverses Editions des Ouvrages de Lahontan, in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1894, pp. 179–192.

Roy's monograph on "Le Baron de Lahontan" was issued as a separate, the bibliography constituting its final division.

Gagnon, Phileas. In his Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne (Quebec, 1895).

Gagnon included only books comprised in his own library, and his collection of Lahontan seems to have been somewhat meagre.

Dionne, Narcisse E. In Le Courrier du Livre (Quebec, 1899), vol. iii, pp. 313–326.

Largely a compilation from preceding bibliographies, especially Pilling's.

Paltsits, Victor Hugo. Lahonton Bibliography, in the Thwaites edition of Lahontan's New Voyages to North America, an exact reprint of the English edition of 1703 (Chicago, 1905), vol. i, pp. li–xciii.

Paltsits's admirable bibliography has been issued also as a separate of forty-three pages. Collations and full bibliographical data are given by Mr. Paltsits, who lists editions as follows: French, 14; English, 6; Dutch, 1; Italian, 1; German, 1. Also abridgments and extracts as follows: English, 1 abridgment and 1 extract; Dutch, 2 extracts; English, 1 extract and 1 abridgment; German, 1 extract and 1 abridgment.

The titles of the first English editions of Lahontan were as follows for the two volumes, respectively:

New Voyages to North-America. Containing an Account of the Several Nations of that vast Continent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers; the Several Attempts of the *English* and *French* to dispossess one another; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former; and the various Adventures between the *French* and the *Iroquese* Confederates of *England*, from 1683 to 1694. A Geographical Description of *Canada*, and a Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their Government, and

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A Geographical Deſcription of *Canada*, and a Natural Hiſtory of the Country, with Remarks upon their Government, and the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* and *French* in their Commerce.

Alſo a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and ſtrange Opinions of thoſe People: With an Account of the Authors Retreat to *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and his Remarks on thoſe Courts.

To which is added,

A Dictionary of the *Algonkine* Language, which is generally ſpoke in *North-America*.

Illuſtrated with Twenty Three Mapps and Cutts.

Written in *French*

By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord Lievtenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, now in *England*.

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LONDON: Printed for *H. Bonwicke* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; *T. Goodwin*, *M. Wotton*, *B. Tooke*, in *Fleetſtreet*; and *S. Manſhip* in *Cornhil*, 1703.

Facsimile of title-page to Vol. I of Lahontan's *Voyages*, ed. of 1703. By courtesy of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

the Interest of the *English* and *French* in their Commerce. Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opinions of those People: With an Account of the Authors Retreat to *Portugal* and *Denmark* and his Remarks on those Courts. To which is added, A Dictionary of the Algontine Language, which is generally spoke in North-America. Illustrated with Twenty Three Mapps and Cutts. Written in *French* by the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *New-foundland*, now in *England*. Done into *English*. In Two Volumes. A great part of which never Printed in the Original. London: Printed for *H. Bonwicke* in *St. Paul's* Church-yard; *T. Goodwin. M. Wotton, B. Tooke*, in *Fleetstreet;* and *S. Manship* in *Cornhil*, 1703.

New Voyages to North-America. Giving a full Account of the Customs, Commerce, Religion, and strange Opinions of the Savages of that Country. With Political Remarks upon the Courts of *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and the Present State of the Commerce of those Countries. Never Printed before. Written By the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland:* Now in *England*. Vol. ii. London. Printed for *H. Bonwicke* in *St. Paul's* Church-yard; *T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke* in *Fleetstreet;* and *S. Manship* in *Cornhil*, 1703.

Baron Lahontan notes that:

To the Translation of my first Volume, I have added an exact Map of Newfound-Land, which was not in the Original. I have likewise corrected almost all the Cuts of the Holland Impression, for the Dutch Gravers had murder'd 'em, by not understanding their Explications, which were all in French. They have grav'd Women for Men, and Men for Women; naked Persons for those that are cloath'd an è Contra.

In his *Indian Bibliography,* Field notes:

The Baron LaHontan went to Canada in 1683, when only sixteen years old, and remained in that country nearly twenty years. He was required by his patron to write to him a detailed statement of the affairs of the colony in his letters, as a recognition of the yearly assistance that he received from him. In this correspondence he did not flatter the priests, and imputed the evils which the colony suffered from the war with the Iroquois to their counsels. Becoming aware that steps were being taken by the governor of Newfoundland to send him a prisoner to France he fled to Portugal, and thence to England. He says in his Preface, that had the King of France re-

stored him to his offices, he would have given his book to the flames. But the rich and powerful ministers Pontchartrain were inexorable, and in consequence the book was printed. LaHontan was in England while these volumes were printing, and in consequence of his supervision they are more correct than the French edition.

Alexander Henry, 1760

The Travels and Adventures of Alexander Henry are fully as readable as those of Captain Carver, Father Hennepin, or Baron Lahontan. Unlike the accounts ascribed to the authorship of these three travellers, Henry's accuracy has never been questioned. Henry's travels extended from 1760 till 1776, but were not recorded in print until 1809, when they were brought out in New York with the following title:

Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1776. In Two Parts. By Alexander Henry, Esq. New York: Printed and published by I. Riley. 1809.
P. 330 + 1 unnumbered page of errata.

The dedication, addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, Baronet, is dated Montreal, October 20, 1809. In his preface Henry states that:

A premature attempt to share in the fur-trade of Canada, directly on the conquest of the country, led the author into situations of some danger and singularity. These transactions occupied a period of sixteen years. The details [were] from time to time committed to paper.

In 1901, Dr. James Bain, of Toronto Public Library, published Henry's travels in a reprint edition of 250 copies, with admirable notes and bibliographical matter.

Jonathan Carver, 1766

The travels of Jonathan Carver were published for the first time twelve years after his journey of 5,000 miles. He spent three years in his wanderings through Wisconsin and into Minnesota. His book had a circulation that was phenomenal for that day, and advertised the Western country among

English-speaking people. It was in fact, the most popular book of its day. Schiller read it in a German version, and was inspired by it to write his poem, "Nadewessie Chief's Death Song." This poem has been translated into English by Sir John Herschel, Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, and Edgar A. Bowring.

Editions of Carver's travels have appeared from presses in Dublin, Edinburgh, London, Philadelphia, Portsmouth, New York, Hamburg, Boston, Leyden, and Walpole, N. H.

The Harper edition of the book is called *Carver's Travels in Wisconsin.*

Lists of the Carver editions have been printed in the following periodicals and books:

(Parkman Club *Publications*, No. 5.)

Captain Jonathan Carver, by John Goadby Gregory. Milwaukee, 1896. (Parkman Club *Publications*, No. 5)

Catalogue of Carter-Brown library, part iii.

Bibliography of the Algonquian languages, by J. C. Pilling. Washington, 1891.

Mr. Gregory's excellent paper on Carver, with critical comment, can be commended as the best narrative account of this traveller.