

# MID-AMERICA

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### La Salle, 1669-1673

(Continued)

After having discussed the somber historical status of Pierre Margry as well as his purpose in establishing the fame of La Salle, his correspondence with Parkman, and the first of the false documents, his *Mémoire sur le projet du Sieur de la Salle*, it is time to turn to the second of the documents regarding the movements of La Salle during the few years specified above.

The *Récit d'un ami de l'abbé Galinée* is attributed by Margry to Renaudot,<sup>1</sup> and Parkman accepted the statement of authorship with some diffidence and not without qualms.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, it is a copy, by whom made and at what time made nobody knows, and it is a copy of a document devoid of the same essential information of authorship and time. In publishing it Margry places at its head "Recital of a friend of the Abbé de Galinée." He adds in a note, "and of the Abbé Arnauld. The name of this illustrious Jansenist which will be found in the text should naturally put us on guard against the author of the document, the original of which is found in a collection of papers all hostile to the Jesuits."<sup>3</sup> This admitted hostility, together with the data found in the second part pertaining to La Salle's discovery of the Ohio and his priority in the discovery of the Mississippi, was undoubtedly reason sufficient for Margry to fit it into the pattern he was weaving. It is clear, however, that the author had the relation of the Sulpician before him when he wrote, just as it is clear that respect for the truth was least among his concerns. Incidents that happened before the departure of the expedition of 1669 as narrated by Galinée are so disfigured in the Recital that no one will be accused of maligning its author

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<sup>1</sup> Margry, I, 345.

<sup>2</sup> *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 95, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Margry, I, 346.



in asserting that he was determined to be inaccurate, or, in plainer English, that he willfully lied.

The *Récit* is composed from ten or twelve supposed conversations which the friend of Galinée had had with La Salle when the explorer was in Paris.<sup>4</sup> Most of the aforementioned conferences, the author continues, took place in the presence of "friends of mine, all very intelligent gentlemen, most of whom having an excellent memory." He explains that he wrote these conversations on the spot (*sur-le-champ*), taking especial care to set down those details which one is most likely to forget, such as dates and names.<sup>5</sup> This meticulous and almost stenographic care appears to have been taken in vain, since the author informs his readers after a few pages, that he does not remember names, and finds it more convenient to omit dates. Such a method of presenting facts may be classified as a variant of the *sine ira et studio* type of historical writing. Rhetorical writers addicted to the method of making childish assertions of impartiality as preludes to unhistorical statements should surely leave no historian off guard as to their veraciousness, yet this and similar rhetoric has deceived many.<sup>6</sup> After the account was written, it was communicated to the other very intelligent hearers endowed with excellent memories, and these separately asserted that they well remembered how all this had been said by La Salle.

The document is divided into two parts. The first portion is merely a rehash of some Jansenistic lampoon, abounding in spite and breathing hatred.<sup>7</sup> The author, carried away at times by his

<sup>4</sup> That La Salle was interviewed by various persons while in Paris at this time is clear from the document published in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 1937, 167-177, and from Margry, II, 236.

<sup>5</sup> Margry, I, 345-346.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hennepin's assertion: "I here protest to you before God, that my narrative is faithful and sincere and that you may believe everything related in it." *Nouvelle Découverte*, Amsterdam, 1698, *Avis au lecteur*. Yet, the "narrative of which he speaks is a rare monument of brazen mendacity," Parkman, *La Salle*, 123.

<sup>7</sup> Why Parkman should have devoted to this a whole chapter, VII in his *La Salle*, is not easy to understand. Closing the chapter, he wrote: "Here ends this remarkable memoir, which, criticise it as we may, does not exaggerate the jealousies and enmities that beset the path of the discoverer." The difficulties referred to by Parkman were mainly the outcome of La Salle's character, who, to say the least, was a paranoiac, according to Marc de Villiers, *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique*, Paris, 1931, 178; he saw "enemies" lurking behind every tree in the wilderness. "La Salle was not the victim of the 'envious' not even of his numerous adversaries, but simply of his disorderly imagination," De Villiers, *ibid.*, 143. La Salle was "un peu frappé," as people who observed him in Rochefort remarked, Margry, II, 445. He attributed nearly all his reverses and misfortunes to his "enemies," Jesuits mostly and their crea-



rigoristic zeal, almost forgets that La Salle is supposed to be making the remarks, but he catches himself and hastens to drag in the explorer. We are not concerned with the contents of the first part, except for one short passage. "He (La Salle) is 33 or 34 years old. He has been traveling in North America for the past twelve years." It is presumably on the strength of this statement that the document is dated 1678; for the author, like Bernou, must see to it that La Salle is dispatched to Canada in 1666, in order to allow the explorer time to make trips to the north, which he never made, and to learn all of the Indian languages he was supposed to have mastered by 1669. "And the journeys he made," continues the narrator, "comprise the territory between the 330° and the 268° of longitude, the 55° and the 36° of latitude."<sup>8</sup> La Salle's facilities for taking longitude were woefully inadequate, it is true, but he knew better than to give such impossible coordinates. The 330th degree crossed the western part of the Newfoundland Bank, a few hundred miles out in the Atlantic. This longitude is also the line of demarcation agreed upon by Spain and Portugal in the discussion as to what was meant by the Treaty of Tordesillas. As will be seen, all sorts of fantastic geographical data, picked up at random by the author of this document, will be inserted in this narrative supposed to be La Salle's. The 268th degree on maps of this period<sup>9</sup> ran through the western part of Kansas. The 55th parallel crosses Labrador and the 36th is the latitude where Joliet had said that the Ohio emptied into the Mississippi. La Salle, Bernou, and Renaudot had indeed the narrative of Joliet and his maps, as well as Marquette's relations.<sup>10</sup>

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tures. The phobia of seeing the hand of "enemies" everywhere, except for its chronic and acute stage, was not peculiar to La Salle; it was common to the whole officialdom in New France, as will appear to any one who reads the official correspondence. The authorities in Paris listened for years to this enemy phobia, without once telling those who thus complained to examine their own conduct for causes of misfortunes. It was only after the French régime had ended that General Johnstone gave the answer that should have been given long before that time. He wrote to Montberaut from Mobile: "I am sorry you have so many enemies, and you are likely to have so many enemies for the time to come unless God shall work a change which is not likely to happen at your time of life." *AE, Mém. et Doc., Amérique*, 11:216.

<sup>8</sup> Margry, I, 347.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Louis Karpinski, *Bibliography of Printed Maps of Michigan (1804-1880)*, Lansing, Michigan, 1931, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Margry, II, 81, 95, 137, 166, 170, 179, 245. "You should have written the dissertation of M. de la Salle against Father Marquette and against M. Thévenot; at least you ought to have him annotate the relation of said R. N." Bernou to Renaudot, Margry, II, 74. G. J. Garrahan, "Some Newly



The second part of the *Récit*, entitled *Histoire de M. de la Salle*, begins with saying that La Salle left France when 21 or 22 years old. La Salle was nearly 24 when he went to Canada. The unbelievable manner in which the text of Galinée is tampered with needs not be treated here.

After having separated from the Sulpicians, we are told:

Meanwhile M. de la Salle continued his way on a river which goes from east to west and passes to Onontague (Onondaga), then to six or seven leagues below Lac Erie, and having reached the 280° or 283° of longitude and as far as the 41° of latitude, found a cataract which falls westward in a low marshy country, all covered with old stumps, some of which are still standing. He was forced to land, and following a ridge which might have led him far, he found some Indians, who told him that very far from there, this same river which lost itself in this low and vast country, united again in a single bed. He accordingly continued his way; but, as the hardship was great, 23 or 24 men whom he had conducted to that point, all left him in one night, regained the river and escaped, some to New Netherland, the others to New England. He then beheld himself alone four hundred leagues from his home, to which nevertheless he succeeded in returning ascending the river, and living by hunting, on herbs and what the Indians whom he met on the way gave him.<sup>11</sup>

If Bernou's account of La Salle's discovery and exploration of the Ohio in 1669-1670 is fanciful, this one, attributed to Renaudot, is so absolutely fantastic as to be absurd. Worthless as it is, it was made outstandingly so when used by subsequent writers, under the lead of Margry.<sup>12</sup> Every detail of this geo-

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Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IV, 1935, 279, note 38, says: "Bernou's attitude towards the (Jesuit) order is indicated in his letter of April 18, 1684, asking Renaudot to return 'his notes against Marquette.'" Father Garraghan bases this statement on the entry in Leland's *Guide*, 99, which is misleading. The notes are not Bernou's but La Salle's, and from the text, it does not necessarily follow that these notes are adverse, although when Bernou's request is compared with the quotation given above from his letter printed in Margry, we may be quite sure of the type of "notes" Bernou expected from La Salle. The passage reads: "Vous m'obligerez infiniment de m'envoyer par le 1<sup>er</sup> courrier extraord<sup>re</sup> ses (that is, La Salle's) notes in *Marquetam* quand elles seront faites. Il seroit bien necessaire aussi de luy en faire sur ma relation, vous me l'aviez promis mais vous ne m'en parlez plus." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:118 v.

<sup>11</sup> Margry, I, 377-378.

<sup>12</sup> When Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle*, 22, tells us that the contents of this document are "à peu près intelligible," he merely repeats what Parkman, *La Salle*, 22, had said, that the statements of the *Récit* "are in some measure intelligible." Chesnel, *Histoire de Cavelier de la Salle*, 37, states that "le fond du récit est vrai." This author does not hold the desertion en masse; there is one at least who did not abandon La Salle, "ce fut l'esclave Chaouanon, le fidèle Nica." Charles E. Slocum, in his article, "Sieur de la Salle," in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society *Publications*, XII, 1903, 107-113, says that "a very liberal translation of this excerpt (of the *Récit*) is necessary to make it intelligible." The translation is so very lib-



graphical romance is as imaginary as the old stumps of trees.

The Sulpicians had left La Salle on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, on the upper reaches of the Grand River, in the vicinity of the present Hamilton, Canada. The account under discussion was designed to bring him to the Ohio River whose headwaters were, if we take the Allegheny branch, to the southward. But the account transports La Salle suddenly eastward from Hamilton to a river rising east of Onondaga, in the Syracuse region, and then flowing westward 20 miles below Lake Erie, and transports him without further difficulty, even in mid-winter, to a waterfall hundreds of miles away. Thus La Salle, supposedly in quest of the Ohio, according to the *Récit*, which he reputedly gave to the friend of the Abbé de Galinée, proceeded to travel 250 miles away from the river he was seeking. Yet Gravier, using as a basis for his contention that La Salle went to the Ohio this same *Récit*, states that the explorer "made straight for it."

As has been observed, if La Salle went to Onondaga, "there was no possible passage by water in the direction of the waters of the Allegheny. All the waters between these two points flow either north into Lake Ontario or south into the Susquehanna or Delaware. No rivers or streams of any kind suitable for canoe navigation run east and west between these two points, and the entire distance is over the highlands of New York which divide the waters of the north from the waters of the South."<sup>13</sup>

The lack of geographical data noted previously in Bernou's account is more than compensated for in the *Récit*. The wealth of coordinates, however, appear somewhat strange when we remember that La Salle, who is supposed to have given all these details, could not compute the longitude, for Galinée had taken the instruments along with him, and that only trained astronomers, which La Salle emphatically was not, were able to determine the longitude in those days.<sup>14</sup>

It is apparent that the author of the *Récit* had Hennepin's map of 1683 before him. On this map the 280° is very prominent, it is the meridian of Fort Crevecoeur, which is on that same map on the 39th degree of latitude. Two degrees higher, on the same meridian, give a point north of the Madison-Milwaukee parallel;

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eral that it enables him to identify the rivers spoken of as the Maumee and the Wabash.

<sup>13</sup> E. L. Taylor, "La Salle's Route down the Ohio," Ohio Archeological and Historical Society *Publications*, XIX, 1910, 385.

<sup>14</sup> There is an error of 13 degrees in the longitude given by La Salle in Margry, II, 180.



if the longitude 283 and the latitude 41 are combined, the coordinates give a point somewhere on the *east* shore of Lake Michigan, all these places being far away from the Ohio.

La Salle's partisans cannot claim that the standard meridian is that of Ferro Island, as used after the experiments of Cassini, for the results of the observations of astronomers were only embodied in the maps of the cartographers at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Even granting such an anachronism, the coordinates would not bring La Salle near the Ohio, but to central Iowa in 1669-1670.

It may be recalled that this account is but another version of that of Bernou, according to which La Salle reached the 37th degree; according to the present one, he reached the 41st degree.

The waterfall spoken of by the Iroquois Indians in Galinée's account is again met with, but old stumps are now added to it for good measure. Another detail, introduced it seems to inspire confidence, is the number of La Salle's men deserting during this expedition. Twenty-one men had left Montreal in July, 1669. Galinée points out that none of the nine men hired to accompany Dollier and himself was willing to abandon the missionaries. The La Salle party, when it left the Sulpicians, numbered twelve men; some of these returned to Montreal. Perrot met him with five or six Frenchmen on the Ottawa River the following summer. Yet we are told that twenty-three or twenty-four men abandoned La Salle, deserting to New England and New Netherland from beyond the Louisville rapids.

The sources from which the author of this geographical romance culled his data are easily ascertained. The name of Onondaga was known in France since Champlain's time and is found in Galinée's account. The southernmost latitude of the *Récit* is that of Jolliet's account. The longitude 330 degrees was a byword in Europe during the seventeenth century. In his letter of September, 1679, ten years after this supposed desertion en masse on the banks of the Ohio, La Salle speaks of twenty men<sup>15</sup> deserting to New Netherland,<sup>16</sup> and in his letter of 1682, August 22, he specifies that twenty-two men abandoned him.<sup>17</sup> As the author of this "curious monument" did not know these details until the early part of 1683, we may safely assume that this

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<sup>15</sup> Margry, II, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Margry, II, 68, 70, 103.

<sup>17</sup> Margry, II, 225.



"remarkable paper" is posterior to this date.<sup>18</sup> Again, for the last detail, La Salle, in his interview with the naturalist Docard in 1678, is reported as having said: "They (the Indians) travel through trackless woods and without star or magnetic needle they seldom lose their way though they make journeys of 500 leagues. They go by the rising and setting sun. Frenchmen who have lived among them for a considerable time imitate them in this respect; and Mr. de la Salle has returned alone after having been deserted by the men who were with him at a place more than 350 leagues distant from his habitation."<sup>19</sup>

The evidence brought forward by Margry to show that La Salle discovered and explored the Ohio in 1669-1670, namely the account of Bernou and that attributed to Renaudot, is wholly fictitious. It seems unnecessary to discuss other documents allegedly proving the discovery of the Ohio at this time, such as Patoulet's letter of November 11, 1669. In this letter the official in Quebec said that Messrs. La Salle and Dollier, accompanied by twelve men, had set out to discover a passage which they expected to find communicating with Japan and China,<sup>20</sup> as if such text were evidence that La Salle discovered the Ohio,<sup>21</sup> and as if all this were not already known from Galinée's account. Nobody ever denied that La Salle went to discover a passage to China, but that he went down, or even near the Ohio in 1669-1670 is pure fiction resting on worthless evidence.

Another proof is also adduced, namely, the cartographical as distinguished from the documentary evidence, supposedly upholding the contention that La Salle discovered the Ohio. This cartographical proof consists in two sets of seventeenth century manuscript maps which will now be examined.

There were in New France in the latter part of the seventeenth century two outstanding cartographers whose maps are preserved in the Archives of Paris where they were sent, J. B. L. Franquelin and Louis Jolliet. Gabriel Marcel noted that biographical data on Franquelin were extremely scarce.<sup>22</sup> The two

<sup>18</sup> Bernou wrote to Renaudot, February 1, 1684: "You would render me a signal service if you could oblige him (La Salle) to write and send me a relation of his discoveries, beginning with his departure in canoe from Fort Frontenac after the defeat of his deserters." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89.

<sup>19</sup> *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII, 1937, 174.

<sup>20</sup> Margry, I, 81. The twelve men are those hired by La Salle.

<sup>21</sup> J. P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indians, A History of Aboriginal and Territorial Indiana and the Century of Statehood*, Chicago and New York, 1919, I, 100.

<sup>22</sup> G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrisse*, Paris, 1885, 13.



memoirs quoted by this continuator of Harrisse contain little about Franquelin himself, but there are several other memoirs in which this excellent cartographer outlined his own career.<sup>23</sup> Franquelin was born in France in 1653 and came to Canada with the intention of becoming a merchant in 1670 or 1671. In 1674, being the only one in Canada who knew how to make maps, he says in a memoir to Seignelay,<sup>24</sup> that he was employed by Frontenac and Duchesneau in that capacity. For the next nineteen years, the succeeding governors and intendants of New France commissioned him to draw the maps found today in the various dépôts of the French Archives. In 1683, he married a widow, Elisabeth Aubert.<sup>25</sup> Until 1686, Franquelin's work for the government was not paid for, and it is only from that year on, when he was appointed Royal Hydrographer, that he began to draw a salary of 400 livres a year.<sup>26</sup> All the while he had been drawing new maps or completing former ones as the knowledge of the geography of the continent progressed consequent upon further explorations by the French toward the West and the South.<sup>27</sup>

In 1687, he asked to be given the place of Villeneuve,<sup>28</sup> the engineer of the colony, as well as the pay attached to his position.<sup>29</sup> He made several journeys to France, notably in 1684<sup>30</sup> and in 1688. Although sent by the officials of Canada to bring to the mother country the maps he had drawn in the interval he had to pay his own expenses.<sup>31</sup> In the last journey, he brought the map of 1687.<sup>32</sup>

Franquelin was again in France in 1692. "Seeing that he could

<sup>23</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:278-294.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>25</sup> C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, Montreal, 1871-1890, IV, 102.

<sup>26</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:159 v.

<sup>27</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:285.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. AC, C 11A, 9:10 v., and E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, IX, 289. One of his maps is in SHA, 127-6-4.

<sup>29</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:10 v.

<sup>30</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:294 v. While in France at this time he was assigned as draughtsman to La Salle, Margry, II, 426-427, 437.

<sup>31</sup> Denonville and Champigny sent Franquelin to the Ottawa country in 1688 to make a map of that region. In lieu of pay, he was given a trade permit, but was forbidden to sell brandy in the Upper Country, BN, Clairambault, 879:280. Franquelin did not make this journey, but went to France instead.

<sup>32</sup> De Chabaud to de Lancet, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 2610:44 v., the passage from this letter pertaining to Franquelin is in Marcel, *Cartographie*, 14. The map dedicated to Seignelay, is in SHB, B 4040-6, it is the neat draft of that in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères.



not support his family in Canada," he says in his autobiographical memoir of 1694, "having spent all his money in the service of the King, in the hope that his services would earn him some reward, he resolved, last year, to call his family to France, with the intention of settling his wife and children on a small property he owned in Touraine. Alone, he would be able to subsist in Canada and to continue his services. But to top his misfortunes, he just learned that the boat on which his wife and children had embarked with their poor belongings had shipwrecked,<sup>33</sup> and now he found himself bereft of all that he held dear in this world."<sup>34</sup> He asked the Minister for the means to pay the debts he contracted during the last fifteen months he had been in France and to be given free passage to Canada, where he intended to make other maps, and to teach drawing in Quebec during the winter and piloting during the summer. But Franquelin did not return,<sup>35</sup> he remained in France and the place of Royal Hydrographer was given, in 1697, to his friend Jolliet.<sup>36</sup>

The Canadian besides being an explorer was also a cartographer, although his draughtsmanship is inferior to that of Franquelin. Jolliet's first map, made shortly after his return from the Mississippi, 1674, was sent by Frontenac to Colbert.<sup>37</sup> Others followed, such as that of Hudson Bay, in 1679,<sup>38</sup> and that of the Gulf and River of the St. Lawrence, in 1685.<sup>39</sup> On the strength of this cartographical work<sup>40</sup> Jolliet succeeded Fran-

<sup>33</sup> The *Corossol*, AC, C 11A, 12:350 v.

<sup>34</sup> BN, Clairambault, 879:294-295. Two of his children and his wife lost their lives, the two youngest seem to have remained in Canada; cf. Tanguay, IV, 102.

<sup>35</sup> AC, C 11A, 13:22 v.-23.

<sup>36</sup> E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississippi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'île d'Anticosti*, Quebec, 1902, 234. Franquelin made use of Jolliet's maps and memoirs for some of his maps. Thus Denonville wrote to the Minister, November 13, 1685: "J'ay faict designer par le Sieur Franquelin l'ouvrage du Sieur Joliet qui est homme assez applique et qui me paroist avoir for etudie le bas de notre fleuve," in *Collection de Manuscripts, contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, recueillis aux Archives de la Province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger*, Quebec, 1884, I, 346. Cf. HARRISSE, *Notes*, 166 and SHA, 126-1-3. Franquelin also redrew Jolliet's map of the discovery of the Mississippi, SHB, B 4040-11.

<sup>37</sup> AC, C 11A, 4:82.

<sup>38</sup> AC, C 11A, 9:281 v.; A. L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada . . .*, Paris, 1893, n. 23; Marcel, *Cartographie*, 23; *id.*, *Catalogue des documents géographiques exposés à la Section des Cartes et Plans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1892, 23.

<sup>39</sup> AC, C 11A, 7:117. This letter is printed in Gagnon, 118-119; AC, C 11A, 9:278 v., AC, C 11E, 13:135-36, Marcel, *Cartographie*, 14.

<sup>40</sup> AC, C 11A, 13:324 v.



quelin as Royal Hydrographer in 1697<sup>41</sup> and held this post until his death in 1700.<sup>42</sup> It seems that Franquelin was then reappointed to the post of hydrographer in Canada,<sup>43</sup> but it is not known whether he actually returned to Quebec.

With regard to the maps of Jolliet representing the Mississippi Valley, those which are undoubtedly drawn by the explorer and *which have not been tampered with* certainly do not show that La Salle went down the Ohio. Gravier, analyzing Jolliet's map of 1674, wrote that "the two travellers (Jolliet and Marquette) are satisfied with showing on this map the end of the Ohio, and say not a word of the discovery which was made of the river in 1669 by Cavelier de la Salle. In his later maps, Jolliet with a better knowledge will trace the whole course of this river and will recall the name of this explorer, but Marquette will ignore him until the end."<sup>44</sup>

Jolliet in his later maps did not credit La Salle with a journey the latter never made. The map of Jolliet of 1674, known as the "larger map," has indeed the full length of the Ohio, but this has been interpolated by a later, clumsy hand. C. A. Hanna, who could only judge of this interpolation from the reduced sketch of this map in Winsor, called attention, after Winsor, to this fact. He wrote: "The lines of the latter draughtsman cross both the vignette and the lines indicating the mouth of the River on the original."<sup>45</sup> Margry, while copying the documents in the

<sup>41</sup> Gagnon, 234, 238.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 238, note 1.

<sup>43</sup> Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 18, 1700, AC, C 11A, 18:12 and 31 v., Gagnon, 238, note 1. The date of Franquelin's death is not ascertained. Harisse, *Notes*, 215 and 218, erroneously surmised that Franquelin died before 1695; the letter of Callières and Champigny shows that he was still alive in 1700.

<sup>44</sup> *Etude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par Louis Jolliet, en 1674, après son exploration du Mississipi avec le P. Jacques Marquette en 1673*, Paris, 1880, 40. Gravier adds in note: "Il est d'ailleurs à remarquer que dans leurs *Relations* de 1666 à 1672, les PP. Jésuites ne trouvent pas une seule fois l'occasion de citer le nom de Cavelier de la Salle." It would have been much more remarkable if the Jesuits had mentioned La Salle's exploits several years before his arrival in Canada. The earliest possible mention of La Salle in the *Relations* should be that of 1672, after his return to Montreal following the fiasco of the 1669-1670 expedition. This was the year when the Jesuits stopped publishing their *Relations*. Furthermore there was not the slightest reason why the Jesuits should mention the doings of every trader who roamed the woods of the Iroquois country. La Salle broke into the news after his "indecent procedure," in Montreal, Easter, 1674; Parkman, *La Salle*, 95.

<sup>45</sup> *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 212-213. Harisse, *Notes*, 194, n. 203, merely mentions this map; Parkman, *La Salle*, 25, note 1, describes it, but does not call the reader's attention to this disturbing fact.



French Archives, also made tracings of maps,<sup>46</sup> and the same clumsiness of the interpolator is noticeable in his tracing of this map. With the arrival of the photostatic process of reproduction, one is better equipped than were those who studied before the invention. This map is in the Karpinski collection.<sup>47</sup> The interpolation is evident; the handwriting and the ink are clearly different. The draughtsman thought fit to insert five little figures that are supposed to represent Indian huts, and which are only found along this nameless river. The wording of the interpolation *Route du Sieur de la Salle pour Aller dans le Mexique*, gives an approximate date for the tampering. As La Salle did not think of going to Mexico until after 1680, the added legend was written after this date.<sup>48</sup>

The other map on which great store is set as proving La Salle's discovery of the Ohio is known as Parkman n. 3.<sup>49</sup> Parkman emphasized the weight of the data contained therein. He says: "About two years after Galinée made the map mentioned above (the historian had just described the Sulpician's map of 1670) ), another, indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country by some person whose name does not appear, but who

<sup>46</sup> A volume of maps was to accompany the six volumes of documents, *Smith College Studies*, VIII, 150. This project was not carried out. Margry was not satisfied with having to deal with Congress. He would much have preferred to deal with a publisher who would have accepted with his eyes closed more documents of the kind of the *Récit*. Parkman wrote to him February 7, 1892: "People have asked me more than once if the maps of your *Mémoires et Documents* had been published. I had nothing to answer. Will you kindly give me some information about this?" Letter of Parkman in the Ayer Collection. But Margry had taken the matter in his own hands the previous year. On July 21, 1891, after an interview with Lambert Tree, he wrote to this U. S. Minister to France, that from 1843 to 1851, he had gathered the documents published under the auspices of Congress. The number of volumes was inadequate, he says; the discovery of the West was not treated as it should be; "the text of this section is incomplete, but it is easy to remedy to this, if an English translation of the six volumes is to be made." Meanwhile those interested in the history of the West will find a valuable source of information in the maps of which he had made tracings. He wished Tree to publish those tracings. The American was willing to do this on condition that Margry "had each of the maps authenticated by the present custodian of the Archives" in Paris. Margry agreed, but said that he was then too busy to have this authentication made. He died two years later. His family sold his books, transcripts, and tracings to a bookdealer. The tracings were later bought by Edward E. Ayer, and are now a part of the collection in the Newberry Library.

<sup>47</sup> Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, B 4044-37.

<sup>48</sup> On his tracing of this map, Margry added in a note: "Dans une plus petite (carte)—known as Jolliet's smaller map—mais également de la main de Jolliet on lit *Riviere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du Lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique*." This map so generously attributed to the Canadian, is not Jolliet's but Bernou's.

<sup>49</sup> Winsor, IV, 215-217.



seems to have been La Salle himself."<sup>50</sup> In passing, it should be said that there is not a single La Salle map known to exist. The explorer drew some maps, but these seem to have disappeared.<sup>51</sup> Harris described what he judged to be a fragment of Parkman n. 3.<sup>52</sup> The authorship of this map and its date are of great importance for the question of La Salle on the Ohio.

In the Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, Paris, there are four maps without title, author, or date. The geographical regions represented are: on the first map, *Lac Ontario ou Frontenac*;<sup>53</sup> on the second map, *Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou Mer Douce des Hurons*;<sup>54</sup> on the third, *Fleuve St. Laurent, Lac Champlain, Nouvelle Angleterre, Nouvelle Yorck*;<sup>55</sup> on the fourth, Lake Superior.<sup>56</sup> Harris, listing these maps, says that they seem to be the work of Jolliet,<sup>57</sup> and M. de la Roncière thinks that they are all by the same author, who might be Jolliet.<sup>58</sup> The

<sup>50</sup> *The Discovery of the Great West*, 406. The quotation is from the fifth edition, Boston, 1871. The corresponding passage from the eleventh edition reads: "Three years or more after Galinée made up the map mentioned above, another indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country was made up by some person whose name does not appear," *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 450. It is evident that Parkman revised his judgment as to the date and the authorship of this map.

<sup>51</sup> Bernou in his letters to Renaudot often refers to maps made by La Salle, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:92; the abbé insisted that a copy be sent to him in Rome, *ibid.*, 98, Margry, III, 74; the explorer even "promised" to send a map to Bernou, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:115; Margry III, 78; but La Salle went away leaving no maps with Renaudot, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:127, 129; instead, when he left Paris in 1684, he took away Renaudot's copies of his relations, *ibid.*, 142, 169; these, however, were returned from La Rochelle, *ibid.*, 171 v. Only one very sketchy map seems to have remained with the Minister, Seignelay, *ibid.*, 245. For other references to La Salle's maps, cf. Margry, II, 301, 355, 429, etc.; the cartouche of Minet's map, SHB, C 4044-4. Margry thought that the map listed in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Ge DD 2987-8782, was a tracing of one of La Salle's maps. La Salle lost most of his papers in the shipwreck of the *Belle*.

<sup>52</sup> *Notes*, 195-197, n. 205.

<sup>53</sup> SHB, B 4044-43, facsimile in Pinart, n. 15.

<sup>54</sup> SHB, B 4044-44, facsimile in Pinart, n. 16. The map in BN, Ge D 8075 is a duplicate, there are a few additions by a different hand referring to changes in the location of Indian villages near Lac Skekouen ou Nipissing, cf. Marcel, *Cartographie*, 24. The Indian name Karegnondi given to Lake Huron is also found in Sanson's map of 1656. Anticipating what will be said below in the text, this name is a further indication of the sources Bernou made use of. The abbé made an extensive study of Sanson's maps. He wrote to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, to tell Coronelli "not to trust at all the Sanson maps of Hudson Bay and of the other parts of North America for they are worthless," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19; cf. *ibid.*, 55-55 v.

<sup>55</sup> SHB, B 4044-45, facsimile in Pinart, n. 14.

<sup>56</sup> SHB, B 4044-46. The map in BN, Ge D 8078 is a duplicate, in which the words *Lac Supérieur* are added in pencil.

<sup>57</sup> *Notes*, 198, n. 210.

<sup>58</sup> *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France, Bibliothèque de la Marine*, Paris, 1907, 237.



legends of Parkman n. 3, as given in Winsor<sup>59</sup> for Lake Ontario, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior, are exactly the same as those found in the three corresponding maps in the above-mentioned series of the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique. The only difference between the legends as given in Winsor for the course of the St. Lawrence, for New England, and for New York, is that they are less numerous than on the map of the Bibliothèque. The other two great lakes, Erie and Michigan, in Parkman n. 3, are also found in the same series on the Marine Archives with legends identical with those for the three other great lakes.<sup>60</sup> HARRISSE analyzed at great length the map of Lake Michigan, and for some unknown and unaccountable reason, asserts that the author is Jolliet.<sup>61</sup>

The author of the four maps referred to, which represent severally the three northern lakes and the course of the St. Lawrence is Abbé Claude Bernou, and he is the author also of the map of Lake Michigan, as a cursory comparison of the handwriting of the autograph letters of the abbé with the handwriting of the legends of these maps will reveal. The evidence for his authorship of the map of Lake Erie, based on the handwriting alone, is not as conclusive as for the other maps, for the legends are printed in block letters. But Bernou had certain peculiarities of spelling, such as writing the contracted plural article *aux* with an "s," *aus*, instead of with an "x," omitting the reduplication of letters in the body of words where such reduplication is the correct spelling, etc., all of which peculiarities are found in the spelling of the legends of these maps. Moreover, he is also the author of the map known as "Jolliet's smaller map."<sup>62</sup> This is also in the abbé's handwriting. Bernou reduced Jolliet's larger map to a smaller scale, transferred the letter on the left side of the larger map to the foot of the smaller one, and inserted along the Ohio River, the legend: *Riviere par ou descendit le Sieur de la Salle au sortir du lac Erie pour aller dans le Mexique.*<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 216-217.

<sup>60</sup> SHB, B 4044-48 and 50.

<sup>61</sup> *Notes*, 195-196, n. 205. M. de la Roncière, *Catalogue*, 237, is not as emphatic as HARRISSE; the former has *Oeuvre de Jolliet?*

<sup>62</sup> SHB, B 4044-49, facsimile in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec le texte explicatif*, Paris, 1892, n. 27.

<sup>63</sup> Jolliet's map of 1674 was redrawn by Franquelin and entitled *Carte Gnle de la France Septentrionnale*, SHB, B 4040-11, and dedicated to Colbert by Duchesneau. Several changes were made, notably the name of the Mississippi which is no longer called *Riviere Buade*, but *Riviere de Messisipi*; the letter of Jolliet is not reproduced on this map. What is known



Bernou was indeed very much interested in cartography, and particularly in the cartography of New France. He had been making maps, sketches, and tracings for a long time. He had tracings of most of Jolliet's and Franquelin's maps in his possession. Thus he wrote to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, asking him to give Jolliet's map of 1679 to Coronelli and to urge the Italian cartographer to finish the map of North America "which I helped to make."<sup>64</sup> The accuracy of the map Parkman n. 3 astonished the American in view of the period to which he supposed it belonged. However, the date of this map is not a few years after Galinée's map as Parkman believed, but after 1680, probably toward 1686, more than ten years later than the American thought, and at least five years later than Marcel thought.<sup>65</sup>

The six maps, those namely of the five great lakes and the course of the St. Lawrence, which are thus identified as Bernou's are so strikingly similar to the maps of Franquelin that one would be entitled to draw the conclusion that the abbé's maps are tracings of those of the cartographer. Bernou, however, has relieved us from drawing such a conclusion. Among his papers are found sixteen partial maps, that is, of sections of New France, which are so many parts of Franquelin's map of 1686.<sup>66</sup> He inserted, f° 140, the title and the author of the map on which he made those tracings: *Amerique septentrionale depuis environ 27 jusqu'à 62 degrez de Latitude. Par J. Bapt. Louis franquelin*

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as Jolliet's larger map with the arms of Frontenac, SHB, B 4044-37, the map with the interpolation, shows the course of the Mississippi down to the Ohio only. The letter of Jolliet is reproduced but with many changes, additions and omissions, a whole sentence of the letter is written under the Illinois River, and the Mississippi is now called *Riviere Colbert*. There are still further changes in Jolliet's smaller map, that is, Bernou's drawing of the larger map. The abbé evidently copied the letter from Jolliet's larger map, and touched up a few passages. The Wisconsin River is nameless, and the legend under this river in the larger map, *Chemin ou Riviere par lequel le S<sup>r</sup> Jolliet est entré dans la Riviere Colbert qui se descharge dans Mexique*, is omitted by Bernou. On the other hand the interpolated Ohio is linked to a nameless river,—missing in the original of Jolliet and in Franquelin's drawing—supposedly the Maumee, by a portage interpolated in Jolliet's larger map, and naturally copied by Bernou. The abbé, lest the meaning of the dots be overlooked, wrote the word *Portage* on his map. The "stump" of the *Ouabouskiou* in Jolliet's original map has grown to a full length river in Franquelin's map of 1681, SHB, B 4040-4, where it is labelled *Riviere Ouabouski-Quou ou Oüio ou Belle Riviere*, and rises south of Lake Erie, there is no portage between it and the nameless river—the Maumee—flowing into Lake Erie.

<sup>64</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19.

<sup>65</sup> *Catalogue*, 44.

<sup>66</sup> BN, Clairambault, 1017:133 v.-143. The map on which these tracings were made is in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, and it is a draft of that dated 1687, dedicated to Seignelay, in SHB, B 4040-6.



*geographe du Roy a Quebec 1686*. It is illuminating to note that Bernou at this date, namely in the late 80's or the early 90's when he made these tracings, did not add anything about La Salle going down the Ohio River to Mexico.

There remains only one question about Parkman n. 3: on which map was the tracing given to Parkman by Margry made? In 1870, when preparing his cartographical list, HARRISSE did not find this map in the French Archives.<sup>67</sup> He found only that of Lake Michigan, which he says has exactly the same legends as that geographical section of Parkman n. 3. When he examined the maps of the other lakes HARRISSE failed to realize that their legends were also identical with those of the corresponding sections of Parkman n. 3. The latter is not listed by M. de la Roncière, nor has the present writer found any reference to it in other cartographical lists. Of course, maps do disappear, but knowing Margry's antecedents, a suspicion may well arise that one might be in the presence of some more rigging on his part. This suspicion becomes a conviction when the legends of Parkman n. 3 as found in Winsor are compared with the legends of the maps of the four other lakes, namely, the conviction that the tracing given to Parkman is not a tracing of one map but of the six tracings of Bernou which were attributed to Jolliet. Margry made it appear as if it were one map, giving no date, no title, no author, no provenience, as usual. The proof that this took place is found on the maps themselves. Thus on the map of Lac Ontario there is a pencil note in Margry's handwriting: *Le 4 au dessous*; on the map of Lake Erie: *4 au dessous du 2 et 3*; on the map of Lake Michigan: *5 à côté du 3 entre le 7 et le 4*.

Finally, there are printed maps that show that Bernou revised his judgment about La Salle's descending the Ohio, if he is the author of the interpolation on Jolliet's larger map. It should be recalled here that the abbé knew more about La Salle and his travels than anybody else in France, with the possible exception of Renaudot, that Bernou had La Salle's interests and success very much at heart, and that he had written most of the memoirs presented to the government to forward La Salle's plans for further discoveries.

Mark Vincent Coronelli, the Venetian Conventual friar, was commissioned by Cardinal d'Estrées, in 1680, to construct a huge

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<sup>67</sup> *Notes*, 196.



globe of the world, which was later presented by the Cardinal to Louis XIV and is known as the *globe de Marly*.<sup>68</sup> Coronelli was a close friend of Bernou and Renaudot.<sup>69</sup> While preparing his globe he made several sojourns in Paris<sup>70</sup> and had all the information Bernou and Renaudot had about La Salle's travels. Coronelli returned to Italy in 1683, and went to Venice<sup>71</sup> to supervise the printing of his atlas.<sup>72</sup> The map of Louisiana in this work makes no mention of the Ohio. It shows the Mississippi River down to the fortieth parallel. The legend under Lake Erie reads: "*Il lago Erie, é altrimente chiamato Teioch-Rontiong, ò Conty, ò du Chat.*" This peculiar Indian name, Teioch-Rontiong, is also found in Bernou's map of the same lake.<sup>73</sup> With regard to the discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, since this map does not show the course of that river, nothing can be concluded, except that it indicates, besides what is found in the letters of Bernou to Renaudot, whence Coronelli derived his information.<sup>74</sup>

But in Coronelli's larger atlas, published in Venice the following year, the map entitled *America Settentrionale colle nuove scoperte fin all' anno 1688*,<sup>75</sup> the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico, near Matagorda Bay, as is the case with all the maps of the period, those of Franquelin, Minet, and so forth. Below the Illinois River, the Wabash flows directly into the Mississippi;<sup>76</sup> and below the Wabash, at about the same distance as

<sup>68</sup> Louis Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1759, Leland, *Guide*, 42; BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:25, 42; Margry, II, 276.

<sup>69</sup> BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7497:19.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, 44 v., 55.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 98 v., 104-104 v., Margry, III, 78, 84.

<sup>72</sup> *Citta, Fortezze, Isole, e Porti Principali dell'Europa*, Venice, 1688.

<sup>73</sup> The table of the inscriptions of the Marly globe, BN, Mss. fr., 13365, has, p. 76: "Les environs du Lac Erie autrement dit *Tehiocrontiong*, ou Conty, et du Chat, a l'extremite du Lac Frontenac ou Ontario et Skansadario, ont este trouves infectez par la nation des Andastogheronons qui a este detruite depuis quelques annees par les anglois a la sollicitation des Iroquois." The Coronelli-Tillemont map of 1688, has *Teiocharontiong*; Marcel, *Cartographie*, 11, lists a map in which one of the legends has: "Lac Erie dit par les Iroquois *Techaronskion*." Lake Erie is called *Techaronkion* in the account of the voyage of Courcelle to the Iroquois country, Margry, I, 172.

<sup>74</sup> Bernou wrote to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, that he wished for a prompt return of Coronelli "to perfect (the map of) America, in which he will make a very honorable mention of M. de la Salle," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89 v., cf. *ibid.*, 92, 98 v.

<sup>75</sup> *Atlante Veneto*, T. I, Venice, 1690.

<sup>76</sup> The Kaskaskia river is probably meant. Nicholas de la Salle, who accompanied his namesake in the 1682 expedition, wrote in a report, dated Toulon, September 3, 1698: "La Riviere Ouabache et la Riviere Oyau ont plus de 400 lieues *chacune* et partout navigables," (*Italics inserted*) ASH, 67: n. 15.



the latter is from the Illinois River, the mouth of the Ohio is given, but the course of the river eastward is shown by a double dotted line, with the following legend: *R. Ohio o la Belle Riviere, quale secondo la relatione de selvaggi ha la sua origine vicini al Lago di Frontenac.*<sup>77</sup> There is not the slightest indication that La Salle knew of this river, except what he had heard of the Indians more than ten years after the time when he was supposed to have explored the Ohio.

Summing up the data furnished by an analysis of the cartographical evidence examined, there remains not the slightest doubt that the legends of the maps indicating that La Salle descended the Ohio were interpolations on Jolliet's larger map, and that the other mention of La Salle going down the Ohio to Mexico is found on a map which had been held as Jolliet's whereas it is a copy made by Bernou. Parkman n. 3 is a composite map made up by Margry with partial maps whose author is Bernou, and their date should be after 1680. Late in the 80's Bernou no longer inserted the legend on the tracings he made of Franquelin's maps, nor did he give such information to Coronelli. The cartographical evidence then, those legends interpolated in earlier maps, left out in maps drawn later by Bernou, is worthless as documentary proof that La Salle was on the Ohio in 1669-1670.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

(NOTE. There are two remaining articles on La Salle in preparation, one on the discovery of the Mississippi and one on the Peñalosa Expedition. All four of these studies with maps and facsimiles will appear soon in book form. *Editor.*)

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<sup>77</sup> The inscription of the Marly globe, BN, Mss. fr., 13365:75, has: "La Riviere Ohio, ou la Belle Riviere, ainsy appelee pour sa beaute, par laquelle les Europeens n'ont pas encore descendu qu'a l'embouchure a 31 degrez 26 minutes dans la Riviere Mississippi, mais par les relations des Sauvages on croit qu'elle a sa source vis-a-vis du lac frontenac, d'ou on se rend par un portage dans la dite Riviere" (*Italics inserted*). Cf. Margry, II, 276; the map of Father Raffeix, *Parties les plus Occidentales du Canada*, BN, Ge D 8042, legend E, sketch in Winsor, IV, 233.