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THE
DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

WITH A FAC-SIMILE OF THE MAP OF LOUIS JOLIET, 1674

BY
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TO WHICH IS APPENDED A NOTE ON THE JOLIET MAP BY B. F. DE COSTA, D.D.
WITH A SKETCH OF JOUTEL'S MAPS.

*Reprinted from the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY,
March and April, 1883.*

NEW YORK
A. S. BARNES & CO.

1883

DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAVELS OF NICOLET, ALLOÛEZ, MARQUETTE
HENNEPIN, AND LA SALLE IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The pioneer of French travellers to the country west of the great lakes, and the first white man who is reputed to have reached a northern tributary of the Mississippi, was Jean Nicolet, who in 1634, or thereabouts, made treaties with the Indians at Green Bay, and ascended Fox River.

The "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, 1640," Paris, 1641, gives the earliest indication of this voyage, and a summary description is given in the Relation of 1642-43. These reports are reprinted in the "Relation des Jésuites," vol. i., Québec, 1858. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i., pp. 47-53, contains the portions of the above which refer to Nicolet, and a translation of the account in the Relation of 1640 is printed in Smith's "History of Wisconsin," vol. iii. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Paris, 1664, gives the first connected history of the life and exploits of this explorer. A translation of Du Creux's narrative is appended to Butterfield's "History and Discovery of the Northwest, by John Nicolet," Cincinnati, 1881.

Shea states, in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," that Nicolet descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. This opinion was adopted by Parkman in his "Jesuits in North America," p. 166, but his later judgment is given in the "Discovery of the Great West." A more careful examination of the evidence demonstrates the improbability that his travels extended farther than the Wisconsin, and in the opinion of Butterfield, the latest writer upon this voyage, he did not reach that river, but stopped at the country of the Mascoutins upon Fox River.

Benjamin Sulté, a Canadian historical writer, in writing upon Nicolet, in his "Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature," Ottawa, 1876, shows, for the first time, that this journey was probably made in 1634, instead of 1638 or 1639, as before thought.

Sulté's article, with notes by L. C. Draper, is printed in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. viii., pp. 188-194; also in the "Canadian Antiquarian," vol. viii., pp. 157-164.

Butterfield, who has carefully investigated the records, agrees with Sulté in assigning 1634 as the true date, and brings out additional, if not conclusive evidence to support this theory, in his monograph cited above. Margry, in the "Journal de l'Instruction publique," 1862, under the caption, "Les Normands dans les Vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi," describes Nicolet's travels and Gravier's "Découvertes et établissements de La Salle;" HARRISSE'S "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de

la Nouvelle France," and Parkman's "La Salle," also give some account of the expedition.

In 1642, Jogues and Raymbault, two missionaries, penetrated as far west as Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior. See account of this mission in the Jesuit Relation of 1642. Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 45-47, contains a reprint of the narrative of this journey. See also Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 137, for notice of the undertaking.

The next recorded visit to the West is that of two French traders, who wintered upon the shores of Lake Superior in 1658. See the Jesuit Relation of 1659-60, and the extract in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 53-55, and translation in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii., p. 20. Father Ménard began a mission at St. Theresa Bay, Lake Superior, in 1661. See Lallemand's letter in the Relation of 1662-63. A translation of this letter is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. See also Perrot's "Mémoire sur les mœurs des sauvages," Paris, 1864; Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 49, and a note by Shea in *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 175. Ménard's letter, written just before his departure for Lake Superior, with notes by E. D. Neill, may be found in the "Minnesota Historical Society Collections," vol. i., pp. 135-138.

In 1665, Claude Allouez, another missionary, began a mission at Chegoimegon, Lake Superior. See the journal of his travels in Le Mercier's Relation of 1666-67, a translation of which is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. Marquette took charge of this mission in 1669, and Allouez went to the Baie des Puantes (Green Bay), and in 1670 made a visit to the Mascoutins on Fox River. Harrisse thinks he crossed to the Wisconsin at this time. In reporting his operations, Allouez describes the "Messi-sipi" from information given by the Indians. See Dablon's Relation of 1669-70, p. 100. Translation in Smith's "Wisconsin," vol. iii.

Allouez spent many years among the Indians upon Green Bay, and in the Illinois country. See the Jesuit Relations covering the years 1669-79. The full titles of these Relations are given in chronological order in Harrisse's "Notés pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France." Dr. Shea printed in the Cramoisy series the abridged Relations for 1672-79, and Martin's "Mission du Canada" prints them for the first time in full. Shea gives a life of Allouez in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." See also notes upon him in Margry's Découvertes, etc., vol. i., pp. 57-72; also in Bancroft, in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., and in Shea's "Catholic Missions in the United States." Gravier and Parkman also give some account of his travels.

In June, 1671, St. Lusson, in the presence of a large number of Indians, took possession of the country on the lakes in the name of France. The "Procès verbal" of the ceremony is in Margry, vol. i., pp. 96 *et seq.*

Perrot, a noted Canadian *voyageur*, in 1670-71 travelled along the shores of Green Bay. Perrot's journal, which records the daily events of his life among the Indians from 1665 to 1726, was edited for the first time at Paris, in 1864, by Father Tailhan. It is entitled "Mémoires sur les mœurs et coutumes et religion

[sic] des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale." Tailhan's notes add value to the work. See regarding Perrot, Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. iii., p. 165, and *Historical Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 205.

A description of the geography of the country as known previous to the exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette is given by Dablon in the "Relation de la Nouvelle France, les années 1670 et 1671," Paris, 1672. See the Quebec reprint in "Relation des Jésuites," vol. iii. The Relation, as printed in 1672, gave a map of the great lakes; for a description of which see Parkman's "La Salle," p. 450.

In 1673 Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet navigated the Mississippi in canoes to the Arkansas. Father Marquette's narrative of the voyage, in an imperfect form, was published by Thevenot in his "Recueil de Voyages," Paris, 1681. Thevenot also published it as an independent work, with the title, "Voyage et découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique septentrionale." In this latter shape it was reproduced by Rich, at Paris, in 1845. The map accompanying this version, and which is inserted in fac-simile in Bancroft, is said not to be by Marquette. The authentic map was first published in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," where the two maps are compared. The Thevenot text appears translated in French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," pt. 2, pp. 279-297, and Spark's "Life of Marquette," in the "Library of American Biography," vol. x., in a measure, a translation of it.

Marquette's complete journal, prepared for publication, in 1678, by Claude Dablon, Superior of the Canadian Missions, remained inedited until Shea published it in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853, giving the original text and a translation. This version, known as the *Ste. Marie* text, was reprinted in 1855, with important annotations, by Shea, under the title, "Récit des voyages et des découvertes du R. P. J. Marquette, en l'année 1673, et aux suivantes; la continuation de ses voyages par C. Alloüez, et le journal autographe, du P. Marquette en 1674 et 1675." [Albanie: Imprimerie de Weed, Parsons et Cie.] 1855 (10), 169 (2), pp. Map, 12mo. Martin's "Mission du Canada, Relations inédites (1672-1679)," vol. ii., contains a modified version of the *Ste. Marie* text. Hennepin's spurious "New Discovery," London, 1698 and 1699, has, as an appendix, a poor translation of the Thevenot production.

Joliet, while on his way to Montreal to report his discoveries, lost his memoranda and maps. He was enabled, however, to draw up a brief recital from memory, which, with a map, he presented to Frontenac in 1674.

Two versions of this narrative are printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 259-270. Dablon despatched to his Superior at Paris an account derived from Joliet's verbal testimony, which may be found printed in Martin's "Mission du Canada," vol. i., pp. 193-204. A translation is given in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. v., pp. 237-239. A letter sent by Joliet from Quebec, October 10, 1674, briefly recounts his late adventures. It may be found in Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.]

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de la Nouvelle France," pp. 322 and 323. A narrative based upon Joliet's report is appended to Hennepin's "New Discovery," London, 1698.

Joliet made several maps, showing his discoveries, only one of which has been edited. Gravier's "Étude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par L. Joliet en 1674," contains a fac-simile of the map in question. A letter from the discoverer to Frontenac is inscribed upon it. Gravier considers this map, apparently with good reason, to be the earliest representation of the course of the Mississippi from personal knowledge.

Frontenac's letter announcing the successful result of Joliet's mission is printed in Margry, vol. i., p. 257, and a translation is inserted in the "New York Colonial Documents," vol. ix., p. 116. See the following for notices of Joliet: Faillon's "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada," vol. iii.; Ferland's "Notes sur les registres de Notre-Dame;" Margry's articles in the *Revue Canadienne*, December, 1871, January, March, 1872. French's Historical Collections, second series, has a brief biography. The works hereafter cited upon the history of the discovery of the Mississippi necessarily include a history of the Marquette-Joliet expedition.

We now come to La Salle, Hennepin, and Tonty, 1669-87. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614-1698," Paris, 1879-81, contains the documents which the editor collected in the archives of France. This work now comprises four large octavo volumes, three of which are mainly devoted to documents upon La Salle's explorations. The contents of these three volumes are arranged under the following heads: 1re partie, "Voyages des Français sur les grands lacs et Découverte de l'Ohio et du Mississippi (1614-1684);" 2me partie, "Lettres de La Salle;" 3me partie, "Recherche des bouches du Mississippi (1669-1698)." The more important of these papers are indicated hereafter in their chronological order. The fourth volume of this collection embraces the documents relating to D'Iberville's colony, at the mouth of the Mississippi, 1698-1703.

In 1669 La Salle, accompanied by Dollier and Gallinée, set out from Montreal to discover the Mississippi. They proceeded in company to the western extremity of Lake Ontario. At this place La Salle, professing illness, parted from the missionaries, ostensibly to return to Montreal. Dollier and Gallinée continued their journey along the northern shores of Lake Erie, thus taking a course hitherto untravelled, and reached Sault Ste. Marie in May, 1670, having spent the winter on the shores of Lake Erie. Gallinée's journal, entitled "Récit de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée," is printed in Margry, vol. i., pp. 112-166. The Abbé Faillon, who first discovered the records of this journey, gives a synopsis of Gallinée's ~~recital~~ ^{recital}, with a fac-simile of his map, in the third volume of his "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada."

O. M. Marshall's pamphlet, entitled "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas," Buffalo, 1874, contains a textual translation of this document. The Société historique, of Montreal, published in 1875 an edition of this journal, with notes by the Abbé

Verreau. Margry prints in his collection, vol. i., pp. 342-402, a narrative which he calls "Récital d'un ami de l'Abbé de Gallinée." This purports to be notes, taken by the writer, who Margry thinks was the Abbé Renaudot, of conversations had with La Salle at Paris in 1678, in which he recounted his adventures in Canada from 1667 to 1678. In it is stated that after leaving Dollier and Gallinée, instead of going to Montreal La Salle kept on until he reached the Ohio, and later went to the Mississippi by way of the Illinois. Parkman prints extracts from this paper in his "Discovery of the Great West," but does not credit it wholly; he, however, admits that La Salle discovered the Ohio, and most likely the Illinois. It is upon this document, that Margry bases his claim that La Salle was the first to reach the Mississippi.

The following writers take issue with Margry: Brücker, "J. Marquette et la Découverte du Mississippi," Lyon, 1880, and in the "Études religieuses," vol. v.; HARRISSE, in "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle-France," Paris, 1872; in an article entitled "Histoire critique de la Découverte du Mississippi," in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxii., pp. 642-663.

Shea, in whom Margry finds perhaps his most strenuous opponent, discusses the question in an address read on the bi-centennial of Marquette's voyage, published in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. vii., pp. 111-122. He has, however, published a pamphlet, in which he examines the matter more in detail, entitled "The Bursting of P. Margry's La Salle Bubble," New York, 1879. Tailhan, in notes to Perrot, and the Abbé Verreau in his edition of Gallinée's journal, also refute Margry. Colonel Whittlesey's tract, forming No. 38 of the Western Reserve Historical Society's publications, entitled "Discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, 1669-70," is an inquiry upon the subject. Margry presents his arguments in full, in articles upon "Les Normands dans les vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi," published in the *Journal général de l'Instruction publique*, Paris, 1862. See also a paper by him in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 555-559; his pamphlet, "La Priorité de La Salle sur le Mississippi," Paris, 1873; a letter in the *American Antiquary*, vol. i., pp. 206-209, Chicago, 1880, and in remarks in the preface to his "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i.

Gravier in his "Découvertes de La Salle," Paris, 1870, in the "Compte rendu of the Congrès des Américanistes," 1877, pt. i., pp. 237-312, and in *THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, vol. viii., p. 305, supports the Margry theory.

In August, 1679, La Salle having completed his arrangements and obtained letters patent from the king for another attempt upon the Mississippi, set sail in the Griffon, upon Lake Erie, and arrived at Michillimackinac about two weeks later. The Illinois was reached in January, 1680, but owing to adverse circumstances, La Salle being compelled, for want of supplies and other causes, to make twice the journey between the Illinois and Canada, the exploration of the Mississippi was not accomplished until April, 1682. The adventures of La Salle's party upon the great lakes and in the Illinois country, previous to the voyage down the Mississippi in

1682, are recounted with minute detail in the "Relation des Descouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de La Salle, 1679-81," printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 435-594.

Margry considers this paper to be the official report drawn up by the Abbé Bernou from La Salle's letters. The account of the journey to Fort Crevecœur in 1679-80, given in this narrative, is nearly identical with the description of the same voyage in Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane." For this reason Margry charges Hennepin with plagiarism, which calls out a defence of the latter by Shea, in his edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana," where the two narratives are compared. Membre's journal in Le Clercq's "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, which is reproduced in English in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," and Tonty's Memoirs, which will be more fully described farther on, also report this stage of the explorations. Hennepin's spurious "Nouvelle Découverte" also contains an account, which does not differ materially from that given in the "Description de la Louisiane."

Mathieu Sâgean, who claimed to have been with La Salle in 1679-80, dictated from memory, in 1761, a report of his adventures in Canada. See Parkman's La Salle, p. 658, concerning Sâgean's pretensions. Shea published Sâgean's narrative in 1863, with the title, "Extrait de la Relation des aventures et voyage de M. Sâgean."

In February, 1680, Hennepin, by La Salle's orders, set out from Fort Crevecœur for the upper Mississippi. He ascended that river to the Sioux country, and discovered St. Anthony's Falls. Hennepin's first work, "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, relates the events of this expedition, and also gives an account of La Salle's journey from Canada to the Illinois in 1679-80. Shea gives in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi" the portion of this work relating the voyage to the upper Mississippi. Hennepin's works are held in disrepute, owing to undoubted plagiarisms and falsifications which characterize some of them. Shea, however, shows in the preface to his edition of the "Description of Louisiana," New York, 1880, that this charge applies only to the "Nouvelle Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and other works made up from these two last, and that they were probably published without Hennepin's sanction. Parkman agrees with Shea in considering the "Description de la Louisiane" to be an authentic work.

For criticisms upon Hennepin, see Sparks' "La Salle;" Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West;" HARRISSE'S "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," p. 145; and the preface to Margry's *Découvertes*, etc. Shea's early judgment upon Hennepin, which he has modified as indicated above, is given in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." E. D. Neill, in a pamphlet entitled "The Writings of L. Hennepin," lately published by the Minnesota Historical Society, dissents from Shea's exculpation of Hennepin, and declares that no evidence has been produced to clear him from the charge of plagiarism.

The bi-centenary of Hennepin's discovery of St. Anthony's Falls was celebrated

by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1880, and the proceedings on the occasion will be reported in the next volume of its collections. The account of a pretended voyage by Hennepin down the Mississippi, taken from the spurious "New Discovery," London, 1698, is inserted in "French's Historical Collections," part i., pp. 195-222; also in volume one of the "Archæologia Americana," published by the American Antiquarian Society. The latter work also contains an account of La Salle's last voyage, taken from the same unreliable source.

Shea's edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana" contains a bibliography of the numerous memoirs, issued under Hennepin's name; where also may be found a translation of La Salle's letter of August, 1682, reporting the voyage on the upper Mississippi. Du Lhut, who, in 1679, visited the Sioux near Lake Superior, and later descended the St. Croix to the Mississippi and rescued Hennepin from the Sioux, gives an account of his adventures in a "Mémoire sur la Découverte du pays des Nadouecioux dans le Canada," which is printed in Harrisse's Notes, pp. 177-181, and translated in Shea's Hennepin.

The "Procès verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, à l'embouchure de la mer ou Golphe du Mexique, 9 avril, 1682," in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 186-193, gives the principal incidents of the voyage down the Mississippi from the Illinois. This document may also be found in Gravier's "La Salle," and in English in Sparks' "Life of La Salle," also in French's "Historical Collections," part i., and with the title, "Narrative of the Expedition of La Salle to explore the (Mississippi) Colbert River, in 1682," in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 17-27, New York, 1875.

La Salle's letter, written at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, printed in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 164-180, a translation of which is given in THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, vol. ii., pp. 619-622, describes the journey to the Missouri.

The procès verbal of the act of taking possession at the Arkansas, March 13 and 14, 1682, in Margry, vol. ii., p. 181, reports another stage of the voyage. Membre's journal of the entire expedition, first printed in Le Clercq's "Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, is reproduced in English in Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi." Shea has lately brought out an English translation of Le Clercq under the title, "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," New York, 1881, two vols. 8vo. He there compares Membre's narrative with Hennepin's "Nouvelle-Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and also points out the variations between it and the account published by Thomassy in his "Géologie pratique de la Louisiane."

Thomassy's document is entitled, "Relation de la Découverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi." Parkman considers it to be the "official report of the discovery made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membre," and says that the Le Clercq narrative is based upon it.

To which Shea replies, that it "seems strange to assume that the fuller document given by Le Clercq must be drawn from a shorter form."

The two documents are essentially identical, and afford trustworthy data upon the voyage.

According to Boimare, a manuscript copy of Membré's journal exists in the library at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Henri de Tonty, who was with La Salle from 1678-83, reports the explorations during that time, in a memoir written at Quebec in 1684, which is published for the first time in Margry, vol. i., pp. 571-616. Another narrative by him, entitled "Mémoire envoyé en 1693 sur la Découverte du Mississipi, par de La Salle en 1678, et depuis sa mort par le sieur de Tonty," is printed in its integrity in Margry's "Relations et Mémoires inédits," pp. 1-36, Paris, 1867. A translation of it is included in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 52-83, and also in Falconer's "Mississippi," London, 1844. These two memoirs formed the basis of the work published under Tonty's name, but which he disavowed, entitled "Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amérique septentrionale de M. de La Salle," Paris, 1697.

This work was reproduced under the title of "Relation de la Louisianne" in Bernard's "Recueil de voyages au Nord," Amsterdam, 1720 and 1724.

An English translation was published at London in 1698, with the title, "An Account of La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries," and is reproduced in part in the New York Historical Society Collections, vol. ii., pp. 217-341.

Parkman says that the "Dernieres découvertes" is "a compilation full of errors."

Margry prints in vol. i., pp. 547-570, of his Collection, a memoir entitled "Récit de la découverte que M. de La Salle a faite de la rivière de Mississipi en 1682." The author of the paper was Nicolas de La Salle, who wrote it in 1699, at the request of the French authorities, to serve as a guide to D'Iberville in his search for the Mississippi. Margry says that the writer bore no relationship to the discoverer.

La Salle's memorial of 1684, proposing an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, printed in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 17-30, and in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37-44, also in the second series of French's publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi," briefly indicates his discoveries up to that time.

The French documents, collected by Brodhead in the archives of the Departments of Marine and of War, and printed in the ninth volume of the "Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," Albany, 1855, include official correspondence which reports the movements of the explorers from time to time.

Shea promises an edition of a journal by Peñalossa, which will show the mercenary motives which inspired La Salle. Margry prints some documents concerning Peñalossa's propositions to lead a party of buccaneers from St. Domingo to unite with La Salle in an attack on the Spanish mines in New Mexico.

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE TO THE GULF OF MEXICO AND ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI—1684-87

In 1683 La Salle returned to France and presented, in two memorials to the king, propositions for an expedition to colonize the Mississippi, and take possession

of the Spanish mines in New Mexico. The first memorial, which gives a brief account of his previous achievements, is in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 17-30. A translation is in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37-44; also in the second series, pp. 1-15, of the same publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi." The second, which defines his schemes at greater length, is printed in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 359-369; in English, in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 25-34. The accessory official documents relating to various features and stages of the expedition are included in the second and third volumes of Margry's Collection. We have two narratives by members of this expedition, which relate its history from the time of departure from France down to and after the death of La Salle. The first to appear in print was Douay's, which was published by Le Clercq in his "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691. Shea printed a translation of it in the "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853. A comparison of Douay's journal with Joutel's narrative is made by Shea in his edition of Le Clercq, published at New York in 1881.

Joutel, who seems to have been next in command to La Salle, kept a journal, which is published for the first time in its integrity in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 89-534. An abridged and modified version of this narrative was published at Paris in 1713, under the title, "Journal historique du dernier Voyage que feu M. de La Salle, fit dans le Golfe du Mexique." Joutel complained that changes were made by the editor in retouching the work for publication. The text published by Margry is much fuller than the printed edition. An English translation of the Paris production, under the title, "Journal of the Last Voyage performed by M. de La Salle," etc., was published at London in 1714, and in 1719 another edition was brought out as "Joutel's Journal of his Voyage to Mexico and Canada." A reprint of the London edition is printed in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 85-193. An edition in Spanish was published at New York in 1831, with the title, "Diario histórico del último Viaje que M. de La Salle hizo para descubrir el desembocadero y curso del Mississippi." Charlevoix says that Joutel was the most reliable of La Salle's followers, and Parkman thinks that he "gives the impression of sense, intelligence, and candor throughout," while Douay, in the latter's opinion, did not always write honestly. Jean Cavelier, an older brother of La Salle's, who, after the latter's assassination, escaped to Canada in company with Joutel and Douay, is said to have drawn up a report of the expedition for M. de Seignelay, the Minister of Marine.

Parkman possesses a manuscript which he says is a portion of the first draft of this report. Dr. Shea edited Parkman's document under the title, "Relation du voyage entrepris par feu M. Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, pour découvrir dans le golfe du Mexique, l'embouchure du fleuve de Missisipy. Par son frère, M. Cavelier" À Manate [N. Y.] 1858, 54 pp. 16mo, and printed a translation in his collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861.

Margry gives in his Collection, vol. ii., pp. 501-509, a portion of a journal kept by Cavalier. Both these narratives from Cavalier's pen are very imperfect, the former failing for the latter part of the expedition, and the journal stops before the landing in Texas. La Salle's assassination, which took place in 1687, was witnessed by Douay, who gives an account in his journal. Joutel relates the event from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and Tonty states what he learned from the survivors of La Salle's party. See also "Relation de la mort du Sr. de La Salle, suivant le rapport d'un nommé Couture à qui M. Cavalier l'apprit en passant aux Akansas," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 601-606.

A letter written by La Salle, March 4, 1685, erroneously dated at the mouth of the Mississippi, is in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 559-563, and a translation is appended to Shea's "Early Voyages." The "Procès verbal fait par La Salle avant de conduire son frère au Mississippi, 18. avril 1686," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 535-549, relates La Salle's operations in Texas, including his first two journeys from the Texas colony to find the Mississippi by land.

The Spaniards, in 1689, visited the site of La Salle's colony, and made prisoners of the survivors whom they found among the Indians. Two of these captives escaped to France, and their testimony in regard to the fate of the colony is given in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 610-621.

Parkman cites the official journal of this Spanish expedition, which is inedited. It is entitled "Derrotero de la jornada que hizo el General Alonzo de Leon para el descubrimiento de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, y poblacion de Franceses." Buckingham Smith's "Coleccion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida," pp. 25-28, contains a narrative by a member of the Spanish company, entitled "Carta en que se da noticia de un viaje hecho á la Bahía de Espíritu Santo, y de la poblacion que tenian ah los Franceses," which is also inserted in French's "Historical Collections," second series, pp. 293-295. Barcia, in his "Ensayo chronológico para la historia general de la Florida," Madrid, 1723, gives an account, from an unknown source, which is translated in Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi."

This closes the list of principal contemporary narratives of the first explorations by the French of western territory. Margry's Collection contains many documents of minor interest, but important, which have not been noted. A journal by Minet, the engineer who returned to France with Beaujeau in 1686, in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 589-601, and Tonty's "Lettres sur ce qu'il a appris de La Salle, le voyage qu'il a fait pour l'aller chercher," 1686-1689, in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 551-564, must, however, be mentioned.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT—PART II

Charlevoix's "Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, is the first historical work of value to treat of the early explorations. Charlevoix was familiar with the country traversed by Marquette and La Salle, having, in 1721, followed the latter's route to the Mississippi. Shea published at New York, in 1866-67, an English translation of this work, and in the notes which he added, embodied the results of his extensive studies upon the early history of America, showing the latest knowledge possessed of the first travellers.

In 1844 Sparks issued his "Life of La Salle," for the materials of which he depended upon the printed narratives of Hennepin, Joutel, Tonty, and the recitals of Le Clercq's "Premier Établissement," etc., being unable to obtain any of the MSS. which are now accessible. Sparks' "Life of Marquette" appeared in 1845, and soon after Falconer's work "On the Discovery of the Mississippi," which contained translations of important MSS., was published at London.

In 1853, Shea's valuable "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi" was brought out at New York. The contents of this work have been perhaps sufficiently indicated in the notices of contemporary journals, which are reproduced in it. In 1860 Thomassy published "Géologie pratique de la Louisiane," in which he presented some important inedited documents. This writer contemplated writing a history of La Salle's exploits from the MSS. in the French archives, and, as a preliminary, issued in separate form the documents which he had collected, under the title, "De La Salle et ses relations inédites," Paris, 1866. In 1869 Parkman published the first edition of his "Discovery of the Great West," forming the third volume of the series of historical narratives upon "France and England in North America." In the latest edition, published in 1879, the title was changed to "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West." In the writing of the later edition the author had the use of additional documentary material, since printed by Margry, which caused a revision of some portion of the work. Gravier's "Découvertes [etc.] de La Salle," Paris, 1870, and the supplementary monograph published by him in 1871, add little that is not in Parkman's work. The later publication corrects some errors and deficiencies in the first. Dr. Shea's contributions to the history of the first explorations of the West, beside his "Discovery of the Mississippi," New York, 1853, consist mainly of notes to the many important original narratives which he has edited, notably those of Hennepin, Le Clercq, and Charlevoix.

The following works contain among the first travellers, accounts of the country traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle :

La Hontan, who travelled in 1689 and subsequent years, wrote "Nouveaux Voyages," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Although adventures related by La Hontan are in many cases imaginary, yet, says Parkman, he "had seen much, and portions of his story have a substantial value." J. Gravier, in 1700, went from the Illinois country to D'Iberville's colony in Louisiana. See "Relation de Voyage en 1700 depuis le Illinois jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississipi," New York, 1859 (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*). The "Relation de la Mississipi en 1700, par MM. de Montigny, De St. Cosme et Thaumur de la Source," New York, 1861, (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*), narrates the experiences of a party of the missionaries under the guidance of Tonty. An extract from Gravier is given in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 79-93. St. Cosme's and Gravier's narratives are also included in Shea's collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861, where also may be found Le Seuer's journal of a voyage from Louisiana to the Sioux country in 1699-1700. An extract from Le Seuer is given in La Harpe's "Journal Historique," Paris, 1831, and in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3. A journal by Pénicaut, who accompanied Le Seuer, is included in his "Annals of Louisiana, from 1698 to 1722," in French's Historical Collections, new series, pp. 33-162, New York, 1869. The memoirs of D'Iberville's expedition to the Mississippi, in 1699-1700, contain descriptions of the lower Mississippi and throw light upon La Salle's movements in that region. The principal documents concerning D'Iberville's enterprises are printed in the fourth volume of Margry. A brief report by D'Iberville of his voyage on the Mississippi in 1699, is printed in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 19-31. An anonymous narrative entitled, "Historical Journal; or, Narrative of the Expedition under D'Iberville, to explore the Colbert (Mississippi) River, 1698-99," is published in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 29-119. Both of these papers are included in Margry's collection, volume iv. Sauvole was a member of D'Iberville's company; see his "Journal Historique" in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3, pp. 223-240.

Father Marest's letter on his mission at the Illinois, dated 1712, published in the "Lettres édifiantes," vol. ii., and reprinted in Kip's "Early Jesuit Missions," pp. 191-227, New York, 1846, describes the scenes of his labors.

In 1721, Charlevoix, the historian, made a journey from Canada across the lakes to the Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. He was requested by the King of France, to write an account of his travels. The descriptions of the country published in vol. iii. of his "Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, afford perhaps the best views of the primitive West which we have.

The English editions of his travels are entitled "Journal of a Voyage to North America," London, 1761, and "Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières,"

London, 1763. See also French's Historical Collection, pt. 3, pp. 119-196, where his journal is reprinted from the English editions.

On reaching the subject of *Maps*, we find that Harrisse's Notes sur la Nouvelle France contains a section upon the "Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, depuis la découverte jusqu'en 1700," which affords an extensive list of published and unedited maps.

Parkman gives a descriptive account of "Early unpublished maps of the Mississippi and the great lakes," in the appendix to his "Discovery of the Great West." Thomassy's Géol. pr. de la Louisiane, has an appendix upon the "Cartographie de la ancienne Louisiane, 1544-1858." Baldwin's "Early maps of Ohio and the West," Cleveland, 1875, and Peet's article, "The discovery of the Ohio, Early maps," in Amer. Antiquarian, vol. i., pp. 21-35, Cleveland, 1878, are useful studies of some early maps in the possession of Western historical societies. Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," Chicago, 1881, contains a chapter upon the first maps representing that place.

The following printed works contain some of the more important edited maps, bearing date in the original previous to 1700: Champlain's "Voyages," Paris, 1632, is accompanied by a map upon which Lake Superior is shown, and a "grande rivière qui vient du midy" is represented as flowing into the lake from the south. This map, which is reproduced in the later editions of Champlain, is of little value in a geographical sense for the western country. A map of "Nouvelle France," showing the great lakes, is in Sanson d'Abbeville's "L'Amérique en plusieurs cartes," Paris, 1656. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Paris, 1664, contains a map dated 1660, which shows the outlines of the great lakes. Bressani's "Relation abrégée de quelques missions dans la Nouvelle France," Montreal, 1852, contains a reproduction. Dollier and Galinée's map of 1670, showing their course in travelling to Ste Marie, is reproduced in Faillon's Histoire de la col. fr., vol iii., p. 305 (see Parkman's La Salle, p. 449, for description); Claude Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670-1671," Paris, 1672, contains a map made about 1670 (see Parkman, p. 450); a reproduction is published in Foster and Whitney's "Report on the Geology of Lake Superior," Washington, 1850; Marquette's map of 1674 accompanies the various editions of his narrative. The map in Thevenot's "Recueil" is by Liebaux, and not by Marquette. Gravier's "Étude sur une carte inconnue" contains a *fac-simile* of a map by Joliet, probably in 1674. A *fac-simile* of the map, printed for THE MAGAZINE at Rouen, under the superintendence of M. Gravier, is given with the present publication. This map is the first published map showing the great lakes in connection with the Mississippi.

Shea's edition of Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673 à 1679," New York, 1860, has a reproduction of a map made by the Jesuits in 1673, showing the missions upon Lake Michigan. Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, contains a map made upon data by Hennepin. The later editions of this work are also accompanied by a map. Parkman gives a reproduction of the

portion of Franqueulin's famous map, which shows La Salle's colony on the Illinois, and that portion showing the lower part of the Mississippi is reproduced in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." A map made by Minet, the engineer of La Salle's last expedition, which gives two separate views of the mouth of the Mississippi, is given in a reduced size in Gravier's "La Salle," and in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." Le Clercq's "Premier établissement de la foy," Paris, 1691; Hennepin's "Nouvelle découverte," and "Nouveau Voyage;" La Hontan's "Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique," La Haye, 1703; Coxe's "Description of Carolana," London, 1742, and Charlevoix's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, are accompanied by maps made nearly contemporaneously with the publication of the works in question. A *fac-simile* De Lisle's map of 1700, which indicates the course of the early explorers, is in Gravier's "La Salle" and in French's Collections, pt. 2. A map by Joutel, dated 1713, accompanies the printed editions of his journal (see sketch — page 19). Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," when completed, will include a volume devoted to maps now unedited. The third volume of this collection contains an outline sketch, representing La Salle's discoveries. A modern map, representing countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle, is given in Parkman's "La Salle."

We next give a list of publications which treat of the explorations of the Mississippi valley, arranged in chronological order. Works which have been cited under different headings of this article are, in most cases, not included in this enumeration.

La Hontan, "Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1722. Editions were also published in 1723 and 1753. Has some account of La Salle's travels in 1682. Barcia, "Ensayo cronologico para la Historia General de Florida," Madrid, 1723. The author relied upon the memoirs of Marquette, Joutel, and Tonty for the portion of his work relating to the French explorations. Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," Paris, 1724. Coxe, "Description of the English province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida; by the French, La Louisiane," London, 1742. The author disparages the French discoveries, and urges the English right to the country. Dumont, "Mémoire sur la Louisiane, contenant ce qui y est arrivé de plus remarquable depuis 1687 jusqu'à présent," Paris, 1753, 2 vols. Bellin, "Remarques sur la carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale, comprise entre le 28e et le 72e degré de latitude," Paris, 1755, gives some account of La Salle's establishments. Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," Paris, 1758, 3 vols.; English translations were published in 1763 and 1774. Gayarré, "Essai historique sur la Louisiane," Nouvelle Orléans, 1830, 2 vols.; La Harpe, "Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane," Paris, 1831. This work is reproduced in French's Historical Collections, vol. iii. Conover, "Oration on the History of the First Discovery and Settlement of the New World, with especial reference to the Mississippi Valley," Cincinnati, 1835. Perkins, "Early French Travellers in the West," in *North American Review*,

vol. xviii., pp. 63-108. A review of Spark's "La Salle" and "Marquette. Colt, "The Devil's Hole, with an account of a visit made to it by La Salle," Lockport, N. Y., 44 pp., the third edition appeared in 1851. Gayarré, "Histoire de la Louisiane," Nouvelle-Orléans, 1846-47. Guérin, "Les navigateurs Français," Paris, 1846. Bradford, "Notes on the Northwest," New York, 1846. Kip, "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," New York, 1846, contains letters by missionaries giving descriptions of the newly discovered country. Monette, "History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi," New York, 1846. Gayarré, "Romance of the History of Louisiana," New York, 1848. Foster and Whitney, "Report on the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District, Washington, 1850-51, 2 vols., contains an account of the first Jesuit missions on Lake Superior. Gayarré, "Louisiana: its Colonial History," New York, 1851, and "Louisiana and its History as a French Colony," New York, 1852. Hart, "History of the Discovery of the Valley of the Mississippi," St. Louis, 1852; History of the Valley of the Mississippi," New York, 1853. Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," New York, 1854. W. R. Smith, "History of Wisconsin," Madison, 1854; only volumes one and three were published of this valuable work; volume three contains translations of the Jesuit relations, which describe the operations of the Jesuits in Wisconsin territory. Shea, "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854," New York, 1855. E. D. Neill, "Materials for the future History of Minnesota," St. Paul, 1856, also in the "Annals of Minnesota," 1856, and reprinted in Minnesota Historical Society Collection, vol. i. Law, "Jesuit Missions in the Northwest," in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii., pp. 89-111, 118-121, Madison, 1857. The author of this article makes the erroneous statement that missionaries had reached the Mississippi several years before Marquette's visit. Shea disproves this in an article entitled "Justice to Marquette," in pp. 111-117 of the same volume of the Wisconsin collections. Shea, "Indian Tribes of Wisconsin," in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii., pp. 125-128. Ferland, "Cours d'Histoire du Canada, 1534-1759," Québec, 1859. This author is highly esteemed as an historical writer. Shea, "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861. Ferland, "Notes sur les registres de Notre Dame de Québec," Québec, 1863. Neill, "Early French Forts and Footprints in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi," in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 1864, pp. 9-20. Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada," Villemarie [Montreal], 1865, 3 vols.; this work comes down only to 1671; but is of value for period covered.

French, "Biographical Sketch of La Salle," in Historical Collections of Louisiana, new series, pp. 4-7, New York, 1869. Gallaud, "Mississippi: a Brief History of its Discovery, in "Annals of Iowa," vol. vii., pp. 194-201, Davenport, 1869. Van Fleet, "Old and New Mackinac; with copious extracts from Marquette, Hennepin, La Hontan, and others," Ann Arbor, 1870; Brodhead, "History of New York," New York, 1871; the author gives briefly the latest knowledge upon the first explorations. The *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, Paris, 1872, contains controversial

articles by HARRISSE and MARGRY, both with the title "Histoire critique de la découverte du Mississippi." HARRISSE, "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France, 1545-72," Paris, 1872. In addition to the bibliographical matter in this work there is a brief historical summary of the early explorations. NEILL, "French Voyageurs to Minnesota," in the *Annals of Minnesota*, 1850, pp. 10-28, reprinted in *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, vol. i., pp. 17-36. DURRIE, "Early Outposts of Wisconsin," Madison, 1873, contains notices of the visits of Perrot, Alloué, MARQUETTE, and others. "Laval université, Québec, 200e anniversaire de la découverte du Mississippi par Joliet et le P. Marquette, Soirée littéraire et musicale, 17 Juin, 1873," Québec, 1873, 54 pp., contains a discourse by the Abbé VERREAU. PARRY, "Historical Address on the Early Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," Davenport, Iowa, 1873, 36 pp. SALTER, "Address commemorative of the 200th Anniversary of the Discovery of Iowa by Marquette and Joliet," in the "Annals of Iowa," vol. ii., pp. 501-515. SHEA, "Address on Discovery of the Mississippi, read on the bi-centennial of said Discovery, June 17, 1873," published in *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, vol. vii., pp. 111-122. MARSHALL, "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas in 1669," Buffalo, 1874, 45 pp. BALDWIN, "Early maps of Ohio and the West," Cleveland, 1875, 25 pp.; this forms one of the *Western Reserve Historical Society tracts*. FRENCH, "Biographical Sketch of L. Joliet," in his *Historical Collections*, second series, pp. 139, 140.

"Memoir sent by the King to M. Denonville, explanatory of the French Possessions in North America," in French's *Historical Collections*, second series, pp. 123-142. This document briefly recapitulates the French discoveries. BALDWIN, "Margry Papers, vol. ii.," in *Western Reserve Historical Society tracts*. United States Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, 1876. Volume iii. of this report contains an extract from Marquette's journal, and a reduced reproduction of his map. GRAVIER, "La route du Mississippi," in the *compte-rendu* of the second session of the *Congrès des Américanistes*, 1877, vol. i., pp. 237-312. WHITTLESEY, "Discovery of the Ohio River by La Salle," 1669-70, one of the *Western Reserve Historical Society tracts*.

HUHLBUT, "Father Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago," Chicago, 1878. JACKER, "La Salle and the Jesuits," in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. iii., pp. 404-426, Philadelphia, 1878. PEET, "Discovery of the Ohio," in *American Antiquarian*, vol. i., pp. 21-35. SHEA, "Address before the Missouri Historical Society at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of Marquette's Voyage, July 20, 1878; same. "Romance and Reality of the Death of Marquette, and the recent Discovery of his Remains," in *Catholic World*, vol. ii., pp. 267-281.

C. C. BALDWIN, "Indian Migration in Ohio," *Western Reserve Historical Society tract No. 47*; also in *American Antiquarian*, April, 1879. M. F. FORCE, "Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio," Cincinnati, 1879. MARGRY, "Was La Salle the Discoverer of the Mississippi?" in *American Antiquarian*, vol. ii., pp. 206-209, Chicago, 1879-81. O. H. MARSHALL, "Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679,"

Buffalo, 1879. Blanchard, "Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest," Chicago, 1880; gives a brief account of Joliet's and La Salle's voyages.

Brucker, "J. Marquette et la découverte de la vallée du Mississipi," Lyon, 1880. Thoulet "Cavelier de La Salle et la découverte du Mississipi, d'après l'ouvrage de M. Margry," in Bulletin de la Société de la Géographie, 6e série, tome xx., pp. 435-454, 534-556, Paris, 1880. Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," Chicago, 1881, contains translations from the journals of Marquette, Hennepin, La Salle, and of other travellers, which relate the incidents of visits made to the site of the present city. Neill, "Minnesota Explorers and Pioneers from 1659 to 1858," Minneapolis, 1881. J. Fiske, "Romance of the Spanish and French Explorers," in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1882. An article by the editor in *THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, March, 1882. Gravier's "Sketch of La Salle," in same magazine, May, 1882. Hurlbut, "Review of Gravier's Article," in same for September, 1882. Butler, "First French Foot-prints beyond the Lakes," [Madison, 1882], closes the list of the writings up to the present time. It has not been thought necessary to include general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's and Hildreth's, and others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The principal bibliographical works used in the compilation of this note are Boimare's "Notes bibliographiques et raisonnées sur les principaux ouvrages publiés sur la Floride et l'ancienne Louisiane" [Paris, 1855]; Faribault's "Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique," Québec, 1837; "Field's Essay toward an Indian Bibliography," New York, 1875, and HARRISSE'S "Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1872. O'Callaghan's "Jesuit Relations of Discoveries in Canada, 1632-1672," New York, 1847, has been used for the titles of the Jesuit reports.

The references in Parkman's "La Salle" have indicated many authorities, and the author's characterizations have been helpful. Gravier's "La Salle," Paris, 1871, contains a list of eighty-nine articles upon La Salle. The compiler of this article was unable to examine a copy until after completion of the list. The essential works in it were found to have been noted. Sabin's "Bibliography" is indispensable in verifying titles.

NOTE

THE JOLIET MAP—The Joliet map of 1674, which accompanies the article by Mr. Griffin, is of special value, as he has indicated, for the reason that it is the earliest map representing the Mississippi in connection with the great lakes. It is not, however, the first to distinguish Lake Michigan as a separate body of water, as the Sanson, Du Creux, as well as the Jesuit map of 1672, shows this fact. Du Creux's map shows better the relative position of the great lakes; Galinée's map gives the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Ontario with greater exactitude, and the Jesuit map of 1672 excels as regards accurate representation of the geography of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. This latter map is, perhaps, unsurpassed as far as concerns those places by any published map before 1700. Franquelin's map of 1684, which is unedited, shows the course of the Mississippi with some degree of accuracy.

On the Joliet map the Mississippi is called the Buada (see *THE MAGAZINE*, VIII. 156, 226). This map does not show the Mississippi valley water system so well as the map found in Magin's "Histoire Universelle," 1611. Joutel's map (page 20) fails essentially, while the map of 1611 shows the Alabama in its relation to the Mississippi in a way that proves the hydrography of the region to have been known. It resembles that of the last Government survey. The Joliet map does not show the course of the Ohio, but only a portion near its mouth, indicating that Joliet did not believe that La

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Salle descended the Ohio. This view is supported by a map which we have recently inspected in the collection of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow. This appears to be the original Joliet map. It is a large map, twenty-seven by forty inches, and has the rivers tinted blue. The mouth of the Ohio is indicated by a blue opening, and the river itself is drawn with a pen by an unskilful hand, extending it across a colored scale of miles into what represents the present region of western New York. Dr. John Gilmary Shea and General John S. Clark, of Auburn, inform us that they hold this to be the original Joliet map, and, further, that it disposes of the notion based upon copies of the map, used to demonstrate that La Salle descended the Ohio. One of these copies is in the possession of Mr. Barlow, but it does not show the Ohio properly as an addition by a later hand, but makes the river appear, falsely, like a part of Joliet's original sketch. The map which we lay before the reader is very valuable, and supports the view based upon Mr. Barlow's map, which, like all his material, he is ever ready, most courteously, to place at the use of scholars. Mr. Barlow has another large and beautiful map of about the same date, which shows, by putting the Bay of the Holy Spirit at the mouth of the "Buda," that the French recognized the Spanish River of the Holy Spirit as the Mississippi.

B. F. D.



A SECTION OF JOUTEL'S MAP. 1713.

