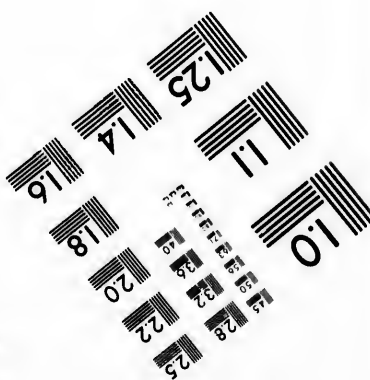
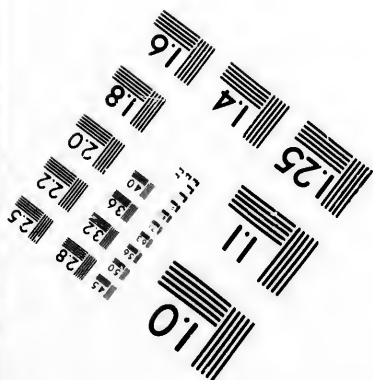
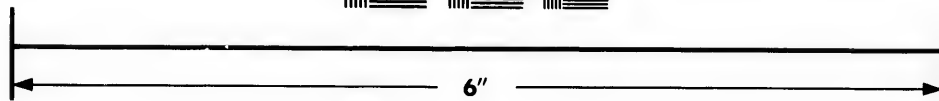
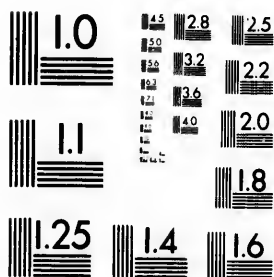


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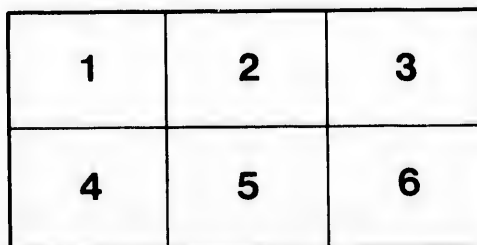
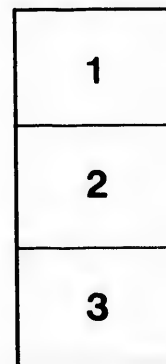
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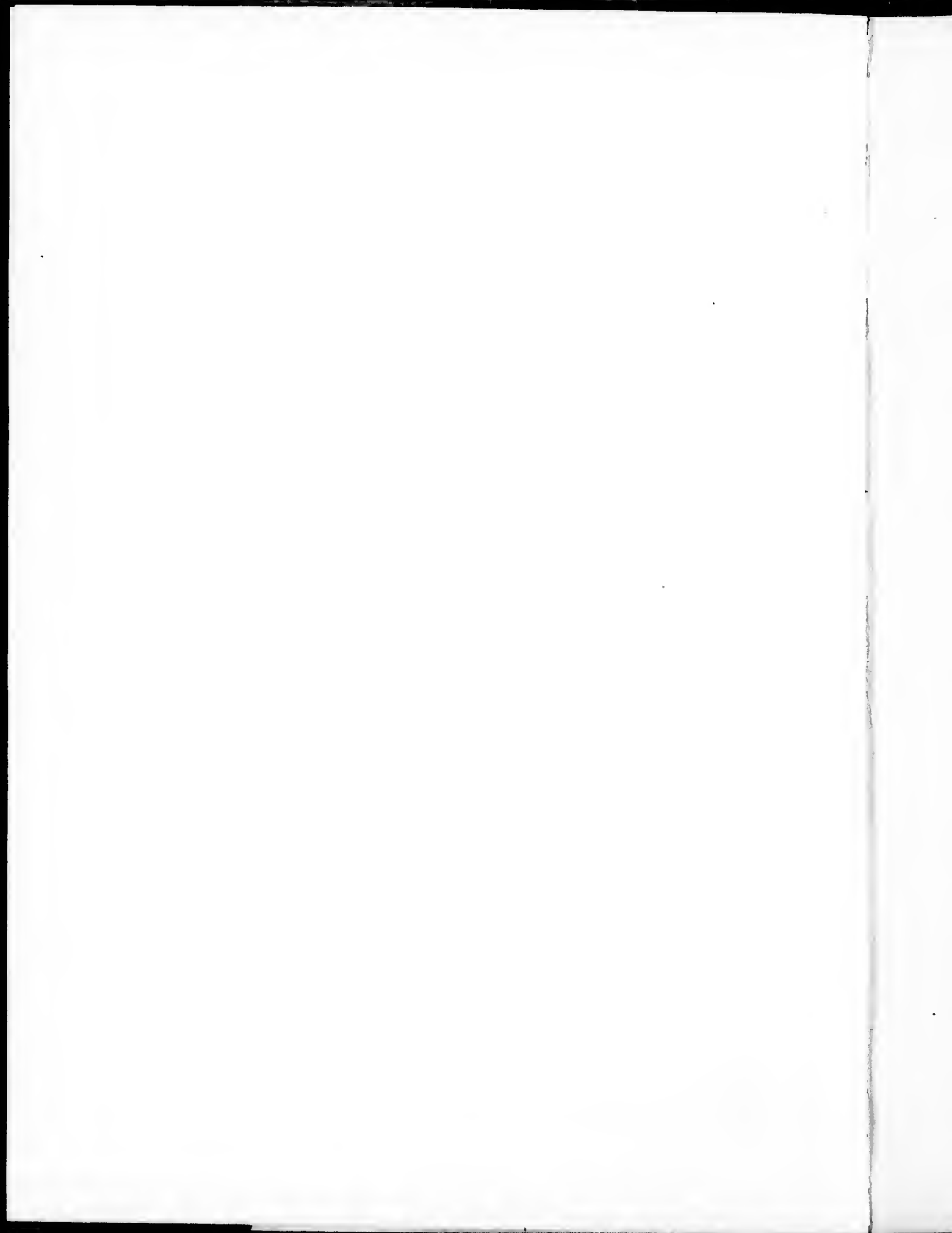
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II.—*The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Cartier to Chumplain.*

By W. F. GANONG, A.M.

(Presented by Dr. George Stewart, May 8, 1889.)

At its meeting in May, 1887, the present writer had the honor to lay before this Society, a paper on the first voyage of Jacques Cartier to Canada. At that time the importance of the bearing of this voyage upon the subsequent cartography of the Gulf had not become evident to me, but a more careful and comprehensive study since then of this in connection with other early voyages and with early maps, has made it clear that it is of the greatest importance. The first voyage of Cartier to the Gulf quite overshadows, from a cartographical point of view, his later ones, and indeed all of those of the Sixteenth Century. Its results largely moulded the maps of this region for nearly eighty years; and the various discrepancies and errors of those maps, as well as the differences of opinion and inaccuracies of some late writers, have been due to a lack of that true interpretation of Cartier's course which is the key to the situation. So marked and important is this, that I may be pardoned for repeating with greater emphasis what is in reality the text of this paper:—*The correct interpretation of Cartier's first voyage is the key to the cartography of the Gulf for almost the subsequent century.* This statement I hope to substantiate in the following pages.

In order that we may have a connected view of the whole subject, I must ask you to briefly review Cartier's itinerary as set forth in the paper¹ referred to. In this connection it will be necessary to mention the different and sometimes inconsistent views held by several writers, since these have directed the writings on the subject.

I.

VOYAGES OF CARTIER AND CONTEMPORARIES.

A.—*Cartier's First Voyage.*

Cartier, with two ships, left St. Malo on April 20th, 1534. He made land at Cape Bonavista, May 10th, and after spending some days in Catalina Harbor, visited Funk Islands to provision his ships with the birds there. He entered the Strait of Belle Isle early in June, and coasted along the Labrador shore as far as the present Cumberland

¹ Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, 1887, vol. iv. sec. ii. pp. 121-136.

Harbor, to the west of Shecatia Bay,¹ visiting and naming several harbors on the way. At Cumberland Harbor he turned back and retraced his steps to the port of Brest, the present Old Fort Bay.² Thence, on June 15th, he crossed to Newfoundland, making land in the vicinity of the present Point Rich. From this place he coasted to the south-west, visiting and naming several bays and capes, until he reached the present Cape Anguille, which he sighted in a storm on June 24th, and named Cape St. John.

Up to this point, Cartier's narrative is so clear that there never has been any doubt, except in a few minor instances, as to the course he followed. From this point until he reached Bay Chaleur, however, there has been great difference of opinion as to his route. As traced in the present writer's former paper, it is as follows:—

Leaving Cape Anguille, he came next day to the Bird Rocks and later to Brion Island, all of which he describes fully and faithfully. Then he approached North Cape (*cap du Dauphin*) of the Magdalene Islands, and on the 27th of the month coasted along the western side of the larger of the group, until Entry Island was reached, one cape of which was named St. Peter. The present Deadman's Island, off to the west, was named Allezay. The course was now laid to the west, and he sailed forty leagues before again coming in sight of land. On the morning of June 30th, he saw to the south-west what appeared to be two islands, but what proved later to be really firm land lying S.S.E. and N.N.W., on which was a cape named Cape Orleans. He entered the mouth of a beautiful but shallow river which he named River of Boats (*ripière de Barques*) and describes very fully the shores and banks of the region. The land, like two islands, was the high land near Grenville; the River of Boats was Richmond Bay; Cape Orleans was Cape Kildare; and the Cape of the Savages,³ visited and named by him later, was the present North Cape.

After landing at the latter point, he coasted nine or ten leagues along the land, finding

¹ All writers hitherto have considered Shecatia Bay to be the Port of Jacques Cartier, and a small inlet to the east of the mouth of the latter (*B. du Petit Port*) to be the River of St. James. They are so marked in the excellent French and English charts of the last century, which give both Cartier's and the modern names. The reason for my view is, that Cartier describes St. James as a very large river, "bonne ripière plus grande." This would by no means apply to the small inlet referred to, but it would apply well to Shecatia Bay which on the charts does look like a river. Again, the Port of Jacques Cartier was clearly a harbor, not a river, and Cumberland Harbor would be more likely to be spoken of as a harbor than Shecatia Bay. See good modern charts of the coast. It is worth noticing by the way, that Kingsford, in his History of Canada (i. 3), suggests that "Shecatia" is an Indianized survival of Jacques Cartier, an improbable supposition it seems to me.

² There is some question as to the exact locality of Brest. Thus Hind (Labrador, ii. 352), Packard (Bull. Am. Geog. Soc. xx. 352), Rev. M. Harvey (Ency. Brit. xiv. 177) say that Brest was on Bradore Bay, a few miles from Blanc Sablon, and that it was founded in 1500 (Packard), or 1520 (Harvey). Yet Cartier's narrative is quite clear on this point. Bradore Harbor he entered and called its islands the Islettes. He mentions no town there. Brest, he says, was ten leagues from the Islettes. The conclusion must be that Cartier's Port of Brest was really Old Fort Bay, and that the town of Brest, if on Bradore Harbor (where its ruins are said to be) must either have been founded later, or else was unknown to Cartier. The latter can hardly be credited.

³ It seems probable that this word survives, in an altered form, in Cape Tormentine on the Strait of Northumberland coast of New Brunswick. During the early part of the seventeenth century a large number of maps were published in Europe, which followed Champlain's 1612 or 1613 map, neither of which showed any trace of Prince Edward Island. Some of these retained Cartier's names, which, of course, had as a consequence to be on the mainland. Later, however, Prince Edward Island was added to them (following, no doubt, Champlain's 1632 map), but naturally the names were left where they were and not removed to the island. Hence "River of Boats," "Cape of the Savages," etc., appear on some maps on the New Brunswick coast, even with Prince Edward Island clearly shown. De Laet's map of 1632 is a conspicuous example, the name "C de Sauvages" being applied by him to Point Escumenac and "Fleuve de Barques" to Baie Verte. Some maps of the last century have "C of

it the next morning, July 2nd, to be one of the shores of a large bay which he named Bay of St. Lunario. His description of the place makes it clear that this bay was the head of the present Northumberland Strait.¹ He passed near Cape Escuménac and crossed the mouth of Miramichi Bay to which he gave no name. He described the latter as a triangular bay, running deep into the land, lying north-east and ranged with shoals. Continuing along the coast, with the weather stormy, on July 3rd, he rounded Point Miscou naming it Cape of Hope (*cap d'Espérance*),² and entered Bay Chaleur. He crossed at once to the present Port Daniel, where his ships remained for some days.

Among the more prominent of the late writers who have considered Cartier's voyage, are Dr. J. G. Kohl and Rev. B. F. De Costa. The former, in his greatly and justly valued work, "History of the Discovery of Maine,"³ gives a quite different account of Cartier's route after leaving Bird Islands. He confuses the narrative greatly, applying to the land coasted along immediately after leaving Brion Island, the description which Cartier gave of a land forty leagues to the westward. Yet he calls Brion Island our present Prince Edward Island, and says that Isle Allezey and Cape Orleans were names given to places thereon. He does not locate the River of Boats, but speaks of "the triangular gulf which he named Saint Lunario," the present Miramichi Bay. The answer to this confused and impossible interpretation is found in Cartier's narrative itself, and must be evident to everyone who has carefully followed the preceding pages, or has read the original narrative.

Rev. Dr. De Costa, in Winsor's "America,"⁴ makes Allezey the present Prince Edward Island, entirely ignoring the fact that Cartier sailed forty leagues out of sight of land before he reached the place where was the River of Boats. Cape Orleans he places on the mainland and says, "next he found Miramichi Bay, or the Bay of Boats, which he called St. Lunario." Now nothing could be clearer than the testimony of Cartier's narrative on this point, that the River of Boats and Bay of St. Lunario were two entirely distinct places. No reader of the narrative can possibly accept such an interpretation.

Another version of this part of the course is that of Abbé Laverdière,⁵ as shown on

the Savages" altered to "C. Savage", and placed further down the coast, as on Poppel's celebrated map of 1733. On others "C. Savage" or "Savage Cape" is replaced by "Stormy Cape", and on French maps is translated into "C. Tourmente" and "C. Torment." On some maps such as those by Bellin in Charlevoix's History, it is marked Cape Tourmentin, which is of course the Cape Tormentine of to-day. On the (for its time) very accurate map of 1755 in the Memorials of the English and French commissaries, both "Stormy Point" and "C. Tormentine" are given and applied apparently as synonyms, and are placed moreover in exactly the proper position. From Cartier's "Cape of the Savages", applied to North Point of Prince Edward Island, to Cape Tormentine on the New Brunswick shore there appears to be an unbroken transition. [As this paper is passing through the press, I find that Deny's map of 1672, gives "La Cap de Tourmentin." This indicates that the intermediate steps are doubtless to be found upon still earlier maps.]

¹ There is a curious use of this word by De Laet in his *Histoire du Nouveau Monde* of 1640. He says "La Baye de Gennes [i.e., Chignecto Bay] . . . receives two rivers, one of which comes from the east, the other of which descends from the north, and is almost joined to near the strait of S. Lunario." This seems to imply that he meant the latter name to apply to Northumberland Strait. His map, however, applies it to the Miramichi, which he places opposite Chignecto Bay.

² Now Cape Despair in Gaspé. Old maps show the transition. See also, the *Canadian Review*, no. 1, 1824, p. 85.

³ *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* vol. i, 1869.

⁴ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv. 49. This work hereinafter quoted as "America."

⁵ *Le Canada-Français*, i. 689.

a recent map.¹ The course among the Magdalene Islands does not differ very greatly from that of the present writer,² but the long sail to the west is made to take Cartier to Miramichi Bay which, as usual, is called the Bay of Saint Lunario. Thence he is made to go southward to Richibucto River, which is made the River of Boats, and thence north again to Bay Chaleur. This is about the course which is given also in the Quebec Literary and Historical Society's reprint of Cartier's voyages (Vol. I, pp. 10, 11). It is remarkable how persistently he has been sent to the mainland and kept away from Prince Edward Island. This is no doubt because it has not been remembered that his directions were invariably not for the true but for the magnetic meridian. Forty leagues true west would take him to the New Brunswick shore, but forty leagues magnetic west would take him to Prince Edward Island. As to whether the interpretation of the course as given by the present writer is consistent and clear, or, in other words, the correct one, he must leave others to judge.

Cartier, leaving his ships at Port Daniel, explored in his boats to the head of Bay Chaleur, and, of course, did not find the passage to the west which he came to seek. On July 12th he left his anchorage and coasted to the east,³ leaving so clear a narrative that he is easily followed to Gaspé Bay. On the 25th he sailed away again to the east-north-east for about twenty leagues, which brought him to Anticosti. He followed the land to the eastward, giving us a clear account of his progress. To East Cape he gave the name of Cape St. Loys (or Aluise, i.e. St. Louis), and to Fox Point that of Cap de Memorancy.⁴ He kept on to opposite North Point, and named the strait between Anticosti and Labrador the Strait of St. Peter. Here the lateness of the season and other causes made him turn back and sail away for France. He followed the coast of Labrador, visiting Natashquan Point (which he named Cape Thiennot),⁵ to Blanc Sablon, and, passing through the Strait of Belle Isle, reached France on September 5th.

It is rather surprising that there has been a difference of opinion as to his course

¹ Carte de la Nouvelle France, pour servir à l'Étude de l'Histoire du Canada, etc. Par P. M. A. Genest, 1875.

² I had not seen this map when my former paper was written.

³ He visited the present White Head, near Bonaventure Island, and named it Cape Pratto. This name, De Costa says, he found there (America, iii. 186), implying that Cartier did not give it on this voyage. I quote this here to illustrate the difference of opinion which has prevailed as to Cartier's or his companions' previous knowledge of the Gulf. Many names Cartier simply writes, without saying whether he gave them or not, while many others he distinctly says he gave. I believe that *all* names on the south and west of the Gulf used by him he gave himself on this and his following voyages. This was apparently Dr. Kohl's view. We have no maps, no evidence of any kind to show that this region was at all known either to him or to his companions, while his actions and language throughout are those of an entire stranger. On the east coast of Newfoundland, however, and possibly in the Strait of Belleisle, some of the names were used before his time. Bonavista and Chasteaux appear to be among these. Compare America, iv. 72, last paragraph. As to the origin of the word Pratto, De Costa states (America, iii. 186) that Albert de Prato, a priest and mathematician, was on the coast of Newfoundland with Jean Ryt in 1527. He is probably the man referred to in Hakluyt (iii. 167) in the narrative of a voyage of 1527 to the east coast of Newfoundland and Cape Breton. Cartier may have known him, and named the cape for him. The name must not be confounded with "Plato," "Plateau" or "Flat Island," near Point Peter, on the opposite point of Mal Bay. The latter names were given on account of its shape.

⁴ Doubtless meant for Montmorency. This was the name of one of the noblest old families of France. At this time, Anne, Duke of Montmorency, a brave and illustrious man, was held in high honor in France by Francis I, and it was probably in his honor that Cartier named the cape. (See Encyclopedia Britannica, xvi 791.)

⁵ Most writers consider C. Thiennot to be Mount Joli, a little to the east of Natashquan Point. Yet Cartier tells us distinctly that C. Thiennot was a "low cape." Why, then, seek to place the name on Mount Joli? It may have been just at the mouth of Natashquan River.

after leaving Gaspé, for the narrative is here perfectly clear. Yet more than one writer has claimed that instead of crossing to Anticosti he sailed up the St. Lawrence to near Point des Monts. This is the view taken by Abbé Laverdière in M. Génest's map.¹ In the latter the course, as marked, follows the curve of the north shore of the Gaspé peninsula to near the present River St. Anne, then crosses to near Seven Islands, recrosses to near Matane, then runs nearly direct to the north of Anticosti, and along the Labrador coast to the Strait of Belle Isle. This view is taken also by the very courteous author of a short review² of my paper on Cartier's first voyage. I cannot help believing, however, that the latter has not examined the evidence in the light of facts, but has rather based it upon supposition. The chief reason advanced by the reviewer was, practically, that Cartier would never have gone to the east along Anticosti, when the great St. Lawrence was opening to him what would seem to him to be the western passage for which he was seeking. It is not in the light of what Cartier would have done with a modern chart of the Gulf before him, but in the light of what he, with his imperfect knowledge or want of knowledge, did do, that we are to read the history of his voyage. This matter is so clear that argument is hardly needed. There are at least three distinct lines of evidence showing that he did not go up the St. Lawrence on this voyage, but to the eastward around Anticosti.

(1.) The narrative itself is quite clear on this point. It says that he sailed away to the east-north-east; that he thought he was crossing the mouth of a great bay, the coast of which he could see from his ships; that the land he approached lay south-east and north-west, and that the passage across was twenty leagues. This is all unmistakeable. The "*Relation originale*" reads as follows: "*Le landemain, xxve jour dudit moys, le vent vynt bon et appareillastes du hable; et nous estans hors de ladite ruyere, fismes porter à l'Est Nordest, pour ce que depuis la terre de ladite ruiere estoit la terre rengée, faisant une baye en manière de demy cercle, dont auons veues de toute la conste de noz nauires; Et en faisant la routte, vynnmes querre ladite terre qui gisoit Suest et Nornoyst, e paraige de laquelle il pouoyt auoir de distance, depuys ladite ruiere, enuyron xx lieues.*" The edition of 1598 is less clear here as elsewhere, but its meaning is the same. His distances and directions from his landfall on Anticosti to East Cape, thence around and up the northern coast of Anticosti, are quite correct and clear, and leave no doubt that he reached North Cape and went but very little beyond it. Now, as to why he thought he was crossing the mouth of a bay, the whole coast of which he could see from his ship, when crossing to Anticosti, I can only suggest that he was deceived by fog-banks.³ Why is it, I may ask, that the position of the Bay of Fundy is represented by solid land upon nearly every known map up to the time of Lescarbot? Navigators and

¹ See ante, p. 20, note 1.

² See *Le Canada-Français*, i. 689-690.

³ "In the same manner, in modern times, Sir James Ross, in Lancaster Sound, believed he saw mountains where there were but fogs, and depicted this sound as land-locked, whilst it has the widest open water in the whole world." J. G. Kohl, *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.*, vol. i, 1869. "The reports of lands seen at a distance in these waters (i.e., Arctic Ocean, near Alaska) should be made with great circumspection, where clouds and fog-banks are constantly appearing on the horizon, and are so very deceiving," etc., and examples of such deceptions. W. H. Gilder, *Ice-Pack and Tundra*, p. 100. My friend, Dr. Benjamin Rand, of Cambridge, who has sailed in schooners in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, tells me that the region we are considering is a famous one for its mirages.

explorers passed it, and although it was almost certainly known to the fishermen, the explorers did not see its entrance.

(2.) In his second voyage he passed between Anticosti and Labrador (as no one has ever doubted), and, rounding the western end of Anticosti, saw the mountains of Notre Dame to the south. And by the two natives whom he had taken from Gaspé the year before "we were told that it was a part of the southern coast, and that there was an island to the south of which is the way to go from Honguedo [*i.e.*, Gaspé] to Canada." This was named the Island of Assumption. Cartier clearly shows that he had no suspicion previously that this was an island, for on his first voyage he had not gone far enough beyond North Cape of Anticosti to see the land to the south. Had he gone up the river south of the island the previous year, as he was now passing along the northern side, he would not have needed to be told by the natives that the land he had sailed all around was an island. But as he had not gone up the river south of the island, but supposed it to be all land, the information that it was an island was news to him.

(3.) But the most conclusive evidence of all is that Cartier tells us, in so many words, that he did not discover the southern entrance on his first voyage. In returning towards France in May, 1536, he passed down the St. Lawrence directly to Gaspé, "which passage," he says, "had not before that time been discovered."¹ Nothing could be more conclusive upon this point.

B.—*Cartier's Second Voyage.*

In his second voyage, Cartier left St. Malo with three ships, on May 19th, 1535, and he did not succeed in reaching Newfoundland until July 7th. He visited Funk Islands, and, entering the Strait of Belle Isle, waited at Blanc Sablon until the 26th for the arrival of the two ships which had been separated from his in a storm. On the 29th he sailed to the west, and twenty leagues beyond the port of Brest (now Old Fort Bay) passed two islands which projected beyond the others into the sea. These were named St. William's Islands, and would appear, from the distance given, to be in the vicinity of what is to-day called St. Augustin Chain. Twelve leagues further he found other islands, which he named *St. Martha's*. Among them, to the north, was a bay with many islands and apparently good harbors. This description applies well to the islands at Great Mecatina, to the north of which is just such a bay as Cartier describes. Fifteen leagues further brought him to another group of islands, which he named St. Germain, the description and position of which would place them at the St. Mary's Islands or those at Cape Whittle. This is confirmed by the fact that his course after leaving them was along a coast which ran east and west, a point to the south-east.² Seventeen and a half leagues further he met with other islands, but gave them no name. Seven leagues beyond this he came to Cape Thiennot, to which he had given that name on his first voyage. This was without doubt the present Natashquan Point. Some seven leagues or more further on he entered a harbor among four islands which stretch out into the sea. This he named St. Nicholas Harbor; it appears to be the Paehachibou (or Pashasheebou) of to-day.

¹ "Passasmes jusques a Honguedo [*i.e.* Gaspé], lequel passage n'auoit pas cydeuant esté descouuert." Bref Récit, p. 54, ed. 1863.

² The directions are magnetic and not true, of course.

On August 7th he left this port, and, to use the words of the narrative, "went to seek the land towards the Cape Rabast, which is distant from the said harbor [*i.e.*, St. Nicholas] about twenty leagues north-north-east and south-south-west. And the next day the wind was contrary; and because we found no harbors on the said land to the south, we took our way towards the north beyond the aforesaid harbour about ten leagues." This brought them to the bay which he named St. Lawrence (*Saint Laurent*), and which few doubt was the region of the present St. Genevieve and Hunting Islands.¹ This would place Cape Rabast on Anticosti somewhere near Charleton Point of to-day. It could not have been on the mainland;² for he sailed twenty leagues to the south-west after leaving St. Nicholas, and then went to the north to reach St. Lawrence Bay, which itself was only ten leagues beyond St. Nicholas.

On August 14th he left St. Lawrence Bay, and went to a cape twenty-five leagues to the west, where the land lay west, a point south-west. This must have been the present North Cape of Anticosti, as distances and directions clearly show. He remarks upon the great number of whales which he saw here. Here the two natives, whom he had taken at Gaspé the previous year, told him that the land on the south was an island (the first hint he had of the fact), on the south of which was a clear passage from Honguedo (Gaspé) up to Canada. The next day, August 15th, he passed the strait and saw the high land of Notre Dame Mountains to the south, and that day he gave to Anticosti the name of Assumption. West-south-west from its western end, twenty-five leagues distant, he mentions another cape, probably the present Mount Louis.³ He coasted along this southern shore until the next day, when, the wind coming west, he crossed to the northern shore. He now saw the river rapidly narrowing, the shores coming together, and his natives told him that he was at the beginning of the Kingdom of Saguenay, and near the mouth of a river which became fresh further on. Disappointed in the hope of finding here his western passage, he would not ascend the river until he had examined the northern coast between where he now was (near Point des Mouts) and his Bay of St. Lawrence, which coast, of course, he had missed by sailing along the southern shore.

On August 18th he coasted north-easterly to the Seven Islands, which he named the Round Islands (*les ystes Rondes*). Just beyond this was a river of fresh water, in which were seen fishes which had the forms of horses; this was the present Moisie River.⁴ On

¹ De Costa, following Kohl, makes the St. Lawrence the mouth of the St. John, which it clearly was not. This is but one of the many inaccuracies in De Costa's account, which a little care would have avoided.

² Some maps of the seventeenth century mark C. Rabas on the mainland, though none of the sixteenth show it. They are, without exception, so far as I have found, of those which, with Champlain's topography, use many of Cartier's names. In these respects they copy Lesarbot, who, as will presently be shown, made an effort to retain every name given by Cartier, and made many mistakes in placing them. It is worth noticing that this word "Rabast" is used by Cartier in the narrative just before he uses it as a proper name, "*Jusques au Cap de Thicénot qui se rabast, au Nor onaisit qui est environ sept lieues*," etc. (Bref Récit, p. 8). It is here used, apparently, in the sense of "lies" or "has the direction."

³ Or Cape Magdalen. Allefonsce says that the cape is "a very high land," and that it was south of Seven Islands. This would apply best to Mount Louis; but north-east and west-south-west of the west end of Anticosti, as he also places it, would rather better describe Cape Magdalen.

⁴ The horses were probably walrus, which, as Hind points out in his work on Labrador, were formerly abundant in this region. Hind also refers to the low lands in the vicinity of Seven Islands, as Cartier does. The river must have been either the Moisie or the Manitou, but most probably the former, which is the larger. It could not possibly have been the St. John, as they had a long sail to the eastward after leaving it before sighting Anticosti again.

the 21st he continued on to the eastward until he came in sight of Anticosti, and knew there could be no passage on that coast. Turning to the west again, he returned to Seven Islands, and on the 24th entered the mouth of the river proper. From this time until his return to the Gulf on his way to France in the spring his movements do not concern our present subject. But in May, coming down the river, he passed directly down to Gaspé by the passage which had not before that been discovered, went near Cape Pratto (the present White Head), and crossed thence to Brion Island. He appears to have coasted along the west, and afterwards the east of the Magdalens, from which he went¹ to Cape Lorraine, in Cape Breton Island. This cape was in 46.50 deg. N. lat. and three-quarters of a degree to the north he saw another cape, which he named St. Paul. He does not give us sufficient data for determining the position of these places; if Cape St. Paul be our Isle St. Paul,² Cape Lorraine could hardly be the present Cape St. Lawrence, but must have been some point to the south of it, perhaps at Grand Anse or Cheticam.³ On June 4th he saw the coast of Newfoundland, and entered a harbor which he named "Harbor of the Holy Spirit," which may have been La Poile Bay. Thence he went to Peter's Islands, and afterwards passing Cape Race (*Cap de Race*) to Harbor Rongnoze (undoubtedly Renewse Harbor of to-day⁴), and from this place laid his course for France, where he arrived on July 6th, 1536.

C.—Cartier's Third Voyage.

We have but few particulars of Cartier's course on his third voyage. As given by Hakluyt, he left St. Malo May 23rd, 1540, and after a long, stormy voyage entered the Harbor of Carpoint, in Newfoundland, and on August 23rd, reached the Port of St. Croix. On September 2nd, he sent two ships back to France, but the narrative does not tell us when he himself went, nor by what route.

D.—Roberval's Voyage.

In the account of the voyage of Roberval, we are told that it was by way of St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1542.⁵ We have a very fragmentary account of Roberval's voyage, and it contains nothing of value in connection with our present discussion.

¹ As M. D'Avezac points out (Paris edition of 1863 of *Bref Récit*, p. 64) some versions read "we named this cape," instead of "we reached this cape."

² Dr. Kohl (*Discovery of Maine*, p. 349) and De Costa (*America*, iv, 53 and 67) consider them to be the same, but think the name was given before Cartier, as it appears in this region upon at least two maps before Cartier's voyages—that of Maiollo of 1527 and of Viegas of 1534. But on the former "C. St. Paulo" is on Newfoundland, near St. Pierre, while on Cape Breton is a "Rio de St. Paulo." On the latter "S. Paulo" is on the strait between the island marked Cape Breton and the mainland. It does not seem at all certain, then, that the "S. Paulo" of these maps was the same as the "Saint Paul" of Cartier, and it appears likely that Cartier gave the name anew without knowledge or notice of its previous application in this region.

³ Cartier says at Cape Lorraine: "There is low land, and seems to be the entrance to a river; but there is no harbor of any value." This may help to locate it to one familiar with the locality. According to the charts, the description might apply to either of these localities. Near the latter are two hills, 1,130 and 1,220 feet high, and no height is marked at Grand Anse.

⁴ See Hakluyt, (iii, 155) where it is called "the next harbour unto the northward of Cape Race." Also *op. cit.*, p. 239, also Map of Avalon accompanying Murray's Geological Survey Newfoundland, London, 1881. Also Whitbourne's *Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land*, 1622, p. 53, where "Harbor of Renouse" is said to be six leagues north of Cape Race.

⁵ Hakluyt's account is now known to be erroneous in certain particulars. Cf. De Costa, *America*, iv, 56, 64-66,

E.—*Allefonsee's Cosmographie.*

There is but one¹ other contemporary account of the Gulf, or of voyages to it, which throws any light upon our subject. Jean Allefonsee, who accompanied Roberval to Canada as his pilot in 1542, wrote a work on cosmography, which is preserved in manuscript in the National Library at Paris. It has never been reprinted in full, but the parts relating to this region have been translated and published by Hakluyt,² Murphy³ and De Costa.⁴ Hakluyt's account is prefaced by a title which reads: "Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpent, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the River of Canada for the space of 230 leagues, observed by John Alphonsee of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval, 1542." This would imply that Allefonsee actually made the voyage along the coast himself, and this receives some confirmation from the statement of Le Clercq (in his "Établissement de la Foy"), mentioned by Murphy and De Costa, that Roberval sent Allefonsee along the Labrador coast to search for a western passage. This statement is also made by Champlain.⁵ He may have made the voyage, or he may not, but there is very little, if anything, in his account of the Gulf, which is not in the narratives of Cartier, and which, therefore, could not have been derived directly from Cartier himself (with whom, of course, he had acquaintance), or from Cartier's maps. He has certainly used Cartier's names almost exclusively, and if he did make a journey over the region he describes, named no places himself. The only differences between his place-names and Cartier's are as follows:—He uses the name Belle Isle for the island north of Newfoundland, still so-called, which Cartier had named St. Katherine's. He uses the name Grand Bay for the Strait of Belleisle, which Cartier had called Bay of Castles, but extends the term to include the eastern part of the Gulf also. He seems to apply the term Bay of Castles to Cartier's Port of Castles. He mentions the Isles de la Demoiselle, 36 leagues west-south-west of Blanc Sablon and 18 leagues north-east of Cape Thiennot. There are no islands exactly corresponding to this position, but the group at the present Cape Whittle, near St. Mary's Islands, seems to come nearest to them.⁶ It will be remembered that in this vicinity Cartier named a group St. Germain.

Allefonsee, in speaking of Anticosti, always calls it Ascension, instead of Assumption, as Cartier named it. He uses also the names Mountains of Notre Dame and Cape of the Mountains of Notre Dame, by the latter meaning probably Mount Louis.⁷ Cartier undoubtedly gave these names, for he first saw them and described them both on August 15th.⁸ Allefonsee uses the name Bay of Molues or Gaspé,⁹ which Cartier does

¹ Hakluyt (iii. 168-170) gives an account of the voyage of M. Hore and others to Newfoundland and Cape Breton, in 1536. Hannay (Hist. of Acadia, p. 21) thinks they were on the west coast of Newfoundland. The account contains no geographical information.

² Voyages, iii. 291-294 of 1810 ed.

³ Voyage of Verrazano, New York, 1875, pp. 38, 39.

⁴ America, iv. 69, 70, 74-76.

⁵ Laverdière's ed. of his works, p. 692.

⁶ It is not unlikely that there is some misprint in Hakluyt here. Unfortunately there are many such, and one should never depend upon his work in matters of detail when he can have the originals before him. In the case of this part of Allefonsee's work I have been forced to use Hakluyt, as I can find no other version whatever in the libraries near Boston.

⁷ See ante, p. 23.

⁸ See post, p. 58.

⁹ The earliest use of the word of which I can find any record.

not, applying it apparently to the present Mal Bay.¹ Cartier's Honguedo he changes to Ognedoc (on his map Ungnedor),² and describes very faithfully under this name Gaspé Harbor. He uses the name Seven Islands, to which Cartier at first gave the name of Round Islands. But Cartier himself afterwards called them Seven Islands (*sept ystes*) in the same narrative in which he called them Round Islands. Allefonsée's description of the river does not concern us at present, and his reference to Isle St. John will be considered further on.³ A complete list of Cartier's place-names, for use in the study of the descriptions of maps to follow, will be found at the end of this paper.

F.—Cartier's Previous Knowledge.

An important question connected with Cartier's voyages, especially his first, is: What previous knowledge had he of the region he was about to explore? How much of his course was real exploration, and how much merely revisiting places known to him? What maps or other records had he to aid him?

As to maps, we have no knowledge that he had any. No map is known to us which gives the topography of the Gulf in a recognizable form prior to those which show his explorations. It is quite certain, as Dr. Deane has shown,⁴ that the Cabots left maps showing their explorations. It is thought that the outline of the coast in this region on La Cosa's map of 1500 was taken from them. Some writers have thought that John Cabot, in his first voyage in 1497, circumnavigated the Gulf,⁵ a view which will have to be alluded to again⁶; but, if he did so, no map known to us down to 1534 shows any trace whatever of it. John Denys, of Honfleur, is said to have made a map of the Gulf in 1508, but if it ever existed at all, it produced no influence on later ones. Several maps prior to 1534 do show, however, very distinctly both entrances to the Gulf, such as those of Ruysch (1508), Maiollo (1527), Ribero (1529), Verrazano⁷ (1529), and several others. It is hard to believe that Cartier was ignorant of the entrance between Cape Breton and Newfoundland (we know he had previously been in Newfoundland), though he may not have known whither it led,⁸ or that it was more than a shallow bay. So far as maps are concerned then, we know of none which Cartier had to help him.¹⁰ Nor do we

¹ Abbé Laverdière, in his superb edition of Champlain's Works, p. 1084, points out that this word is an English corruption of Baie des Molues (or Morues). It is hence one of the oldest names in the Gulf.

² See sketches of Allefonsée's maps in America, iv. 74-77.

³ See post, pp. 45, 46.

⁴ America, iii.

⁵ Mr. Stevens (Historical Notes) thinks that La Cosa's map represents the Labrador coast of the Gulf, Newfoundland being entirely absent. This is not very complimentary to the Cabots as navigators, or else to La Cosa (whose accuracy Mr. Stevens otherwise highly praises) as a map-maker.

⁶ See post, p. 46, note 4.

⁷ Tracings of these may be found in America respectively as follows: iii. 9, iv. 39, 38 and 37.

⁸ In the narrative of his first voyage, however, he speaks as if he had not known of it. (See footnote 2 on p. 44. of this paper.) The earliest known map showing Newfoundland as an island, or rather a collection of islands, was Mercator's, of 1538. Cf. America, iv. 74.

⁹ The very improbable claim of the exploration of the Gulf by Alvarez Fagundes, a Portuguese, is referred to in America, iv. 37, 74.

¹⁰ The map of Gaspar Viegas, given by Kohl (Discovery of Maine, p. 248), shows the Gulf as a small, nearly circular bay, having no connection with the Strait of Belle Isle. But it is in MS. and bears date 1534, and we can hardly suppose Cartier knew much more than it embodies. It must be remembered also that the famous Gastaldi

know of any other records whatever that he could have possessed. If he had anything of the sort, they were probably derived from the fishermen who frequented the Newfoundland region.

It has been held by most writers¹ that Cartier himself was familiar with the Gulf. I cannot find that there is any direct evidence for this, though it is known that he visited the Newfoundland coast. His actions and language in the narrative are those of an explorer, except for the earliest part of the course. He mentions several places by name, but the first that he says he named himself was the Islets in Bradore Harbor. This region was well-known indeed to French fishermen, and doubtless Cartier would have taken among his men some such as pilots. After passing Brest on the coast of Labrador, he gave new names to all prominent places, as he did also throughout the west coast of Newfoundland. Again in the Magdalenes and on the coasts to the west, nearly every name he mentions, he says he himself gave. Would a man, familiar with the west coast of the Gulf, have gone coasting along Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick looking for a western passage, and then think he had found it when he reached Bay Chaleur? Would he not rather have skipped this part of the coast if he had known it? And if he knew the coast, would he have missed the mouth of the St. Lawrence by crossing to Anticosti as he did? Cartier very rarely tells us in his narrative why he did a thing—only that he did it. It is not worth while to speculate further on this subject, but it seems there is very little ground for supposing that he or his companions knew any part of the Gulf, except that near the Strait of Belle Isle.

II.

INFLUENCE OF CARTIER'S VOYAGES ON EARLY CARTOGRAPHY.

In reviewing the influence of Cartier's voyages on subsequent cartography and development of geographical knowledge, the first question which presents itself is, did Cartier leave any maps? None whatever are known, but there are three distinct lines of evidence to show that he did. (1) Upon *a priori* grounds we might infer it. The value of maps was fully recognized in those days, and it would be a part of Cartier's duty, as an official explorer, to make them, to illustrate his explorations to his master, Francis I. It is probable that these were in manuscript only. (2) We are told positively by Cartier's nephew or grand-nephew, Jacques Noel, of St. Malo, that there were such maps. In two letters² from the latter to his friend, John Growte, one of which is dated June 19th, 1587, and the other undated, but written only a short time later, it is said that Noel

map of 1550, (Kohl, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 et seq., and *America*, iv. 86, 88) is supposed to represent ideas current as to the Gulf before Cartier. If this could be proven, it would show much greater knowledge than we have any other evidence of. Dr. Kohl expresses the belief (*op. cit.*, p. 350) partly founded upon the Viegas' map, that "the Portuguese and French fishermen had circumnavigated the Gulf long before Cartier, which, indeed, is rendered probable by other reasons."

¹ Garneau, for instance, (*Hist. du Canada*,) says, "Dans ce premier voyage, il ne fit aucune découverte importante, les parages qu'il visita étant déjà connus en grande partie des pêcheurs, qui y avaient même donné des noms à plusieurs caps, comme le cap Royal, le cap d'Orléans, près de Miramichi, le cap de Montmorency," and Cartier distinctly says he named the former cape, and implies that he named the latter.

² Hakluyt, *Voyages and Navigations*, iii. 290, 291, ed. 1810.

had a book containing a map, "which is agreeable to the booke of Iacques Cartier," that it "is made in maner of a sea chart,"¹ and that his two sons had it with them in Canada. Again he says:—"I can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captain Iacques Cartier, my uncle diseased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne; saving of a certain booke made in in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur, which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the River of Canada." Some inscriptions on the maps are also quoted. (3) Some of the maps we are presently to consider, show plainly that they did not copy their topography, one from another, but must have taken it from a common source. That source could not have been Cartier's narrations, for aside from the inaccessibility of the latter (none of them having been published until after the dates of some of the maps in question), the maps are too accurate and too much alike to have been drawn from materials which have puzzled modern historians who had accurate charts of the Gulf before them. The appearance in these maps, also of certain words which occur in Cartier's narrations not as place-names, but as used in describing places, seems to indicate that they are fragments of inscriptions taken from some other map. Such inscriptions would hardly have been placed there by any other than Cartier. There can be no reasonable doubt, in the face of this evidence, that Cartier left maps, showing his explorations.²

In considering the cartographical work of old explorers and map-makers, we must endeavour to place ourselves as far as possible in their mental position. Sitting in our studies, with our correct modern charts before us, we cannot, from our standpoint, see why they did many things that they did, or did not do many things they could or should have done. We are always in danger of interpreting their actions from our age rather than from theirs. It is singular how the idea we get of the topography of a place from visiting it, differs from that derived from a chart. Islands a short distance off appear joined together, and in an archipelago we seem to be land-locked. To know an island is not a peninsula, we must go around it; that a bay is not a curved strait, we must go to the head of it; that a passage is navigable, we must go through it. Anyone who has long studied a map of a place of complex topography before an anticipated visit, will remember how surprised he was to find how little he knew of the place, and how different it was in most respects from what he had pictured. We must remember that Cartier and his companions visited the places; we, for the most part, study the correct maps. Then we must take into account other things which they experienced, but which the maps do not show us, mirages, fogs and misty weather, strong currents, storms. They were superstitious, badly educated, often careless in writing. Their maps were mostly made upon a very small scale, and an important place, however small in extent, had to be represented, so that small islands and rivers often appear vastly larger than they should and proper proportion is quite lost. In short, in considering these ancient narratives and charts, we must, as far as possible, place ourselves in the position of their makers and try to view things as they had to, not as we do. Then by a comparison of that standpoint with our own correct knowledge, we may gain truthful and therefore consistent results.

¹ Allefonsee may have had this or a copy to consult when he wrote his *Cosmographie*.

² Indeed, Dr. Kohl, (op. cit., p. 344) considers this so certain that he takes it for granted without discussion.

A.—*The Rotz' Map, 1542.*

The first map that I have been able to find, which shows certain traces of Cartier's voyages, is that by John Rotz, dated 1542.¹ It is also the only map known to me which shows his first voyage with no trace of the later ones. I have not been able to find any complete reproduction of this map, the original of which occurs in a "Boke of Idrography . . . by John Rotz," preserved in the British museum. The annexed sketch is copied from that in Winsor's "America," Vol. IV, p. 83.² No names are attached to this map and De Costa says³ they are omitted on the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Only the western portion of the gulf is given in Winsor's sketch, but Harrisse⁴ says some French names are placed on the east of Newfoundland. The figures and explanations are entirely my own. I need hardly mention that one cannot follow the explanations of these maps without a good modern map of the Gulf before him.



FIG. 1.—Map of John Rotz, 1542.

I shall omit, until a little later, a discussion of localities Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, merely saying in passing that I consider No. 1 to be Bird Islands; 2, Bryon Island; 3, the north-west coast of the largest of the Magdalenes; 4, Isle Allezey (Deadman's Island). It will be remembered that Cartier sailed from the Magdalenes to the west, i.e., magnetic west, which would be south of true west. There he entered the River of Boats (Richmond Bay), 5, to the north of which was Cape Orleans (Cape Kildare), 6, north of which again was Cape of the Savages (North Point), 7—all of these places being on Prince Edward Island.⁵ He then coasted along the north-west of Prince Edward Island, and being in the head of Northumberland Strait, thought himself in a bay, 8, the Bay of St. Lunario. North of this was

¹ Harrisse (Jean et Sébastien Cabot, par Henry Harrisse, Paris, 1882), pp. 197-200, mentions a "Mappemonde Harleyenne," of about 1542, from which or from the prototype of which Rotz copied the Newfoundland coast. I have not been able to find a copy of the map (which is preserved in the British Museum in manuscript), but Harrisse's description would lead me to think it contains little that is different from that of Rotz. Harrisse considers it earlier than the latter, and says of it "cette belle carte, la plus rapprochée, ce semble, des découvertes accomplies par Jacques Cartier," and again, "Le golfe et le fleuve Saint Laurent, la péninsule Gaspésienne, la baie des Chaleurs, présentent des contours très exacts pour l'époque."

² For further description of this map see America, iv, 82, also Harrisse, op. cit., pp. 201-204.

³ America, iv, 76.

⁴ Jean et Sébastien Cabot, p. 203.

⁵ For details see preceding pages 18, 19, or take subsequent p. 57, or the writer's paper in these Transactions, 1887, ii, 121-136.

a cape, 9, not named by him, the present Point Esequenac; 10 represents Miramichi Bay; 11, the Cap d'Espérance, the present Miscou Point, and 12, is, of course, the Bay Chaleur. At 13 is the exaggerated group of islands representing Isle Bonaventure and Percé; 14 is Gaspé Bay and Harbor. At 15 we have clearly what should be the southern entrance to the St. Lawrence, but which, it will be remembered, Cartier crossed, thinking he saw the land ranging in a semicircle all the way across; 16 would represent the point near which he reached Anticosti; 17, East Cape of Anticosti, Cartier's St. Louis; 18, Cape Montmorency and 19, St. Peter's Strait between the north of Anticosti and Labrador. Above that, the river widens out, as Cartier saw, in his first voyage, that it was beginning to do when he had to turn back. 16, 17, 18, 19 would therefore represent the eastern and northern part of Anticosti.¹

There is nothing on this map to indicate that its maker had any knowledge of Cartier's second voyage, but it corresponds exceedingly well with the facts of the first narrative. Is it not a fair inference, that it follows, at least for the most part, Cartier's own map of his first voyage? Rotz has a second map² quite different from the first, though of the same year, which shows the second voyage, but it has no special interest for us here.

B.—The *Dauphin* or *Henri II* Map, 1546.

The next map to which I invite attention here, is one which represents Cartier's explorations better than any other of the sixteenth century. It is the so-called "Dauphin or Henri II Map," and is now known to have been made by Pierre Desceliers in 1546. The original is a map of the whole world. It is reproduced by M. Jomard in his "Monumens de la Géographie," Plate XIX, 1, and from this the sketch on p. 31 is taken.³

All writers unite in praising the pains-taking, accurate and truthful character of the maker, and the beauty, clearness and great value of the map itself.⁴ It is considered to be a faithful picture of the geographical knowledge of Frenchmen at the time it was made. Desceliers was the contemporary and almost the neighbour of Cartier, and was undoubtedly personally familiar with Cartier's maps and records, even if he did not know Cartier himself. We proceed, then, with an expectation of finding in this map the geographical knowledge of the Gulf given to the world by Cartier, or in other words, nearly Cartier's own idea of its topography.

Let us look first at the group of islands to the west of the entrance of the Gulf, a group lying in the position of the Magdalenes. As to "ye aux margaulx," there can be no doubt; this is Cartier's own name applied to our Bird Rocks. "Ye brion" is equally

¹ Harris, (op. cit. pp. 203-204) says: "Si on ne voit pas l'île d'Anticosti sur la carte de Rotz, il faut attribuer cette omission à un simple lapsus." The explanation simply is that Rotz's map shows Cartier's first voyage only, and it was not until his second that he found Anticosti to be an island.

² "America," iv. 83.

³ There is also a reduced sketch in Kohl, *Discovery of Maine*, p. 351, and in *America*, iv. 85.

⁴ Dr. Kohl, (op. cit. p. 351,) says of it: "The map is not only one of the most brilliant, but also one of the most exact and trustworthy pictures of the world which we have in the first part of the sixteenth century. It gives accurately all that was known of the world in 1543, especially of the ocean, and the outlines of the coasts of different countries," and again, "The author of the map must have been a well instructed, intelligent and conscientious man. Where the coasts of a country are not known to him, he so designates them. For his representation of countries recently discovered and already known, he had before him the best models and originals."

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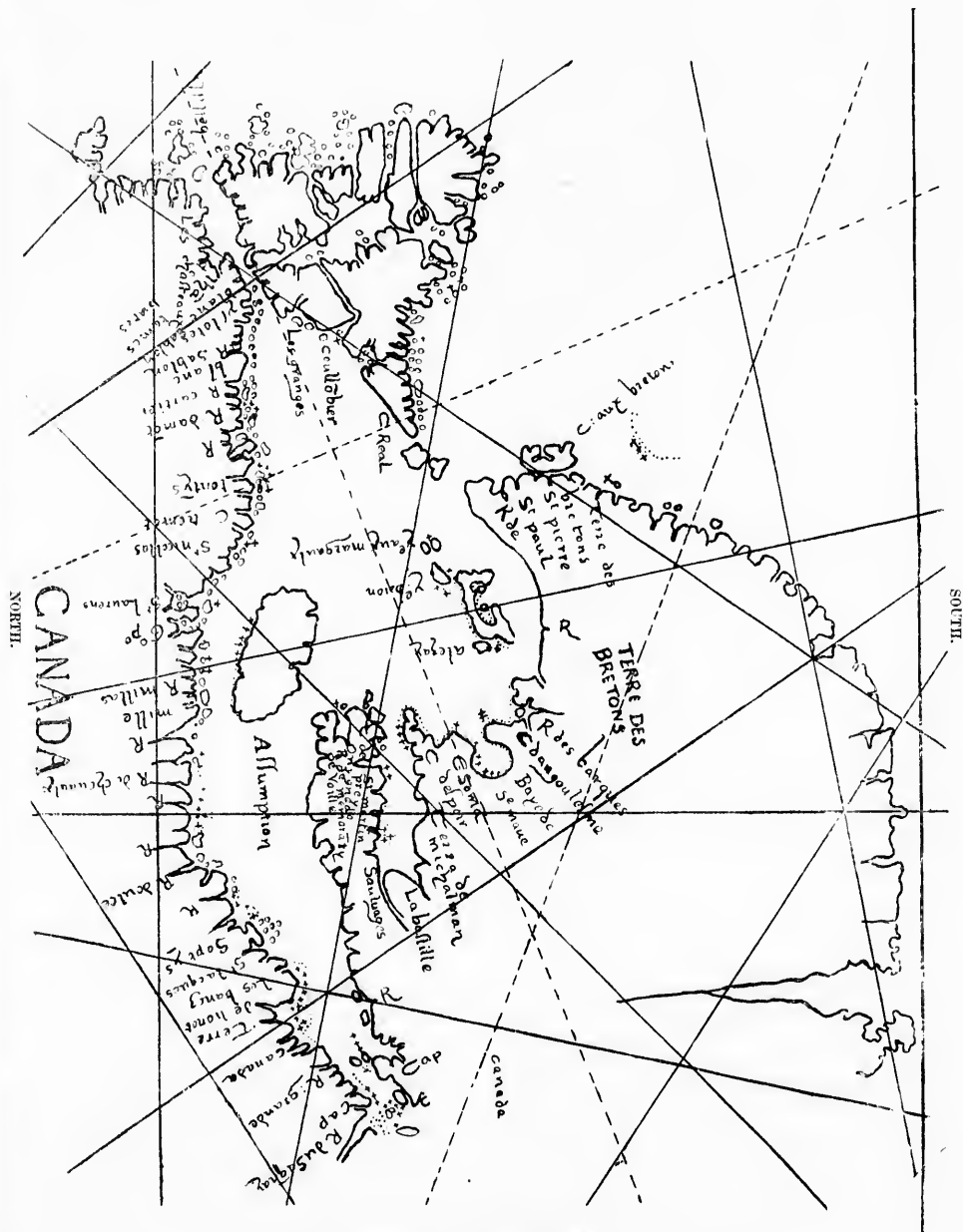


FIG. 2.—Dauphin or Henri II Map, 1546.

clear; it is the Brion Island of our charts. Alezay, I hope, has been shown to be Dead-man's Island. What can be the large, unnamed island, other than the large island of the Magdalene group, to which, in his narrative, strangely enough, Cartier gives no name? Its position and shape are both exceedingly accurate for the time, and for the hasty survey Cartier was able to give it. On two or three maps subsequently to be considered, the same island is marked "ille de sablões," and "I. dareas," both Portuguese forms for "Isle of Sands,"¹ and so Cartier described it. In his own words, "semble de loing que se soinet butterolles de sables, pour ce que se sont terres-basses et araineusses," i.e. "it seemed from afar to be little hills of sand, for it is a very low and sandy land." How well this describes the great island of the Magdalenes, composed as it is of four or five distinct rocky islands, joined by long lines of sand dunes, everybody knows. Does it not seem strange in the face of these facts, that this island has been considered up to the present, to represent Prince Edward Island? HARRISSE, for instance, so considers it, for in his description of another and very similar map by the same author, made in 1550, he says that what is clearly the island we are considering, represents Prince Edward Island of to-day. I call particular attention to this point, for it is connected with one of the most important parts of our present study.

Passing to the mainland, we meet with our familiar "R. des barques," and "C. dangonlesme" which stands, of course, in place of Cape Orleans. Cape of the Savages is not named, but running out to the north-east we see represented the reef, spoken of by Cartier, which ran half a league into the sea. These places of course appear to be on the mainland. It is hardly necessary to repeat that this is because Prince Edward Island was not known to be an Island, and is therefore shown as apart of the mainland. All of the topography of the Gulf in this region was given to the cartographers exclusively by Cartier, and no writer whatever has ever pretended that Cartier explored or passed through the Strait of Northumberland. The Bay of St. Lunario, really the northern end of the Strait, is clearly shown, but we have a new name for it. It seems to read "Baye de Se. mane," which I believe is a misprint, and meant to read "Se. Marie." It will be remembered² that Cartier found he was in his supposed bay on July 2nd, but as he had actually entered it on the 1st, he named it after the saint of that day, St. Leonarius. Now, July 2nd, is the day of the visitation of the Virgin Mary, and it seems as if this name had been substituted either by Cartier or the maker of this map, as an alternative for St. Lunario.³

The name "G. Soman" I cannot explain.⁴ Just north of it is a triangular indentation which is probably meant for Miramichi Bay, though it is separated from St. Lunario by a distance quite unusual in these old maps. "C. despoir" is perfectly clear,—Cartier's

¹ And HARRISSE describes, (op. cit. p. 231,) another map by the same author, made in 1550, in which what is clearly the same island, is called "I. des arenes."

² See these Transactions, v. 131-132.

³ An interesting possibility is suggested to us here. Cartier saw Miramichi Bay on the 2nd, and described it as a triangular bay, lying north-east, but gives it no name in his narrative. He had named so many places after saints, that we are tempted to wonder whether he did not call Miramichi Bay, Bay of St. Mary, and the name has got displaced on the map. I must say I have as yet seen no facts to substantiate this very hazy theory.

⁴ I have no doubt that anyone familiar with the old French, Spanish and Portuguese, familiar with Cartier's narratives, and who will allow for the abominably bad spelling and carelessness of early cartographers, could solve all the puzzling questions about these names, left unsolved in these pages.

Cape of Hope, our Point Miscou. The name "Terre de michalman," I shall discuss upon another page. "La bastille"¹ is a word of which I can find no trace either in Cartier's narrative or in any other map whatever. The only suggestion I have to offer as to its origin, is that it was given to the region at the head of Bay Chaleur by Cartier, to signify his intense disappointment at finding his hoped-for and expected western passage closed up. He named a cape at the entrance of the Bay, Cape of Hope, because he hoped he had found the passage; when he found the broad way narrowing, his hoped-for freedom to spread his sails for the west and far Cathay changing to close imprisonment, may he not have named it, in disgust, a second Bastille?

As Cartier was on his way back from the head of the Bay, he saw natives at Tracadish Point, a fact commemorated by the word "Sauluages" on our map. "St. martin" is clear, i.e. Cartier's name for Port Daniel; and "C. de prey" was his C. Pratto—why so corrupted I cannot say. "Onygnedo" was, of course, the Indian Hongnedo of Cartier's voyages, the Indian name for Gaspé Bay or the region thereabouts. The next word, "R. de Memoranty" is certainly a corruption of Cartier's "Cape de Memorancy," as will be seen by comparing it with the Mercator map of 1569, given below, and some others. It will be remembered that Cartier gave this name on his first voyage to a cape on the northeast of Anticosti, when he thought Anticosti was a part of the mainland, and on his map represented it as a projection of the Gaspé peninsula. The names Cape St. Loys, or Aluise, and Cape Memorancy would, therefore, be represented *on the mainland* in the maps of Cartier's first voyage. But curiously enough, in all the maps that I have seen, when Anticosti has been removed from the mainland, these two names have been allowed to remain.² This will be seen on the Mercator map given below. For the same reason St. Peter's Strait, really between Anticosti and Labrador, was thought by Cartier to be between the mainland and land to the north. But when Anticosti was found to be an island and so marked on the maps, the Strait of St. Peter was still left between the Gaspé peninsula and the land to the north of it; and so it appears in the Mercator map south of Anticosti instead of north of it. The last word on the Gaspé peninsula on our map seems to me to belong to Anticosti with St. Peter's Strait, and to have been kept on the mainland with it; "de voile," appears to indicate that here Cartier turned to sail back home.

Upon the Labrador coast many of the names are those given in his second voyage. There is none at the present Point des Monts. To the east of it we see "St. Jacques," to which "Lez banex" may also belong, for it appears on Mercator's map as "banc S. Jaques," but there is no mention of such a place in Cartier's narrative. It seems to be one more of the places named by Cartier or marked upon his maps, but not referred to in his written descriptions.³ "Sept ys" he did name, and the "R. douce" he referred to

¹ The Bastille of Paris (spelled also, and originally Bastille) was used as a prison before the time of Cartier. The admiral Chabot, whose place was filled by the Dauphin for whom this map we are considering was made, was imprisoned there. Or the name may have been given to some hill or rock resembling a castle.

² There is in this, it is hardly necessary to say, no shadow of an argument that Cartier went up the St. Lawrence, south of Anticosti, in his first voyage. Anticosti, like Prince Edward Island at a later period, was simply *added* to the cartography of the Gulf, without affecting the nomenclature on the mainland of which the island was previously thought to be a part.

³ Called "banc Iormino" on Diego Homem's map of 1558. There is a bank at Cape des Monts, and it is not impossible that this was the one referred to. Possibly one of Cartier's ships struck upon it on St. James' Day.

as a river of fresh water. It was in this he saw fishes like horses, so that this and the "R. de chevaulx" should not be removed from each other, but should be both given to the same river, as they are in Mercator's map. "Mille R. millas," I find no direct reference to in the narrative, and the only circumstance likely to be connected with it, was his meeting at this place with great numbers of whales, "Et n'est memoire de jamais avoir tant veu de ballaynes¹ que nous vismes cette journee." That "so many" should become "mille" and "R. millas," should be a corruption and misprint for perhaps "Balinas," seems a violent supposition at first sight, but it is no stranger a history than many geographical names are well known to have had. It receives considerable confirmation also from the fact that the Cabot map, to be referred to below, has commemorated the presence of the whales by the name "numinas salinas"² (or balinas), and as nearly every name on the Cabot map is on this, and as the two names under discussion are in nearly the same position on the two maps, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that they have the same origin.

"G o p o" I do not understand. "St. Laurens," "St. nicollas," "C. tiemot," are all familiar and in place; "tonty~~as~~" refers, without doubt, to the many islands he saw in this region. "R. damot" is, probably, a corruption of "Isle of Demons," found in this region upon some maps, and explicitly placed there by Allefonsee. "R. Cartier" is clear, but I do not see why "R. blanc sablon" has been placed here in addition to "blanc sablon."

Upon the west coast of Newfoundland we have but three names given out of all the number Cartier placed there, "Les granges," "coullobier" (Coulonbiers), "C. Real" (Cap Royal) are easily recognized. Yet even these three are far more than any other cartographer gives us up to Lescarbot. In the many maps of this region that I have examined, I have not seen another which places any names on the west coast of Newfoundland, and the three in this might readily have been supplied from narrative or hearsay. I shall return to this point again. The two islands nearly blocking up the entrance to the Gulf are, of course, a part of Newfoundland, which in earlier maps is represented as cut up into even a larger number of islands than is shown upon this. We notice "St. paul" on the north of Cape Breton.

This map, though in some details less accurate than that of Mercator, presently to be referred to, must be acknowledged to be, in general, the most accurate picture of Cartier's voyages which has descended to us from the sixteenth century. Its topography is, for that time, exceedingly accurate. Newfoundland, though broken up into many islands, has a more correct outline than in any other map of the century. The Magdalenes are proportionately too large, but want of proportion is a fault of all early maps without exception. Prince Edward Island is fused with the mainland, but so it is on all maps nearly up to Champlain's large map of 1632. Cape Breton Island is likewise fused with the mainland, as it is for a long time thereafter. Latitude and longitude are both very erroneous. These are its chief faults. Its general excellence must command our admiration.

¹ Cartier spells very badly. It is not to be expected that his chart would be more accurate in this respect than his narrative, or *vice versa*, or that they should always agree.

² The letter *e* added to "salinas" on the Cabot map (see next page) does not belong there; it is an error of transcription.

C.—*The Cabot Map, 1544.*

Contrasting strongly with it in most of these respects is the well-known map of 1544, attributed to Sebastian Cabot. This is earlier than the Henri II map it will be noticed, but there is nothing to show that the latter derived anything from it, or, indeed, that the maker of the Henri II map had any knowledge of it. That the two had the same material to draw upon seems quite probable, indeed, almost certain. But the Cabot map is less accurate in topography, gives some of Cartier's names, corrupts others, misplaces a few, omits the rest, and is in general quite unsatisfactory. Whether Sebastian Cabot did or did not make it, does not concern greatly our present purpose. It is very unworthy of him if he did. Dr. Kohl discusses this map very fully,¹ and concludes that "Cabot had no agency, either in writing the map or correcting it, or in any way superintending its publication."²

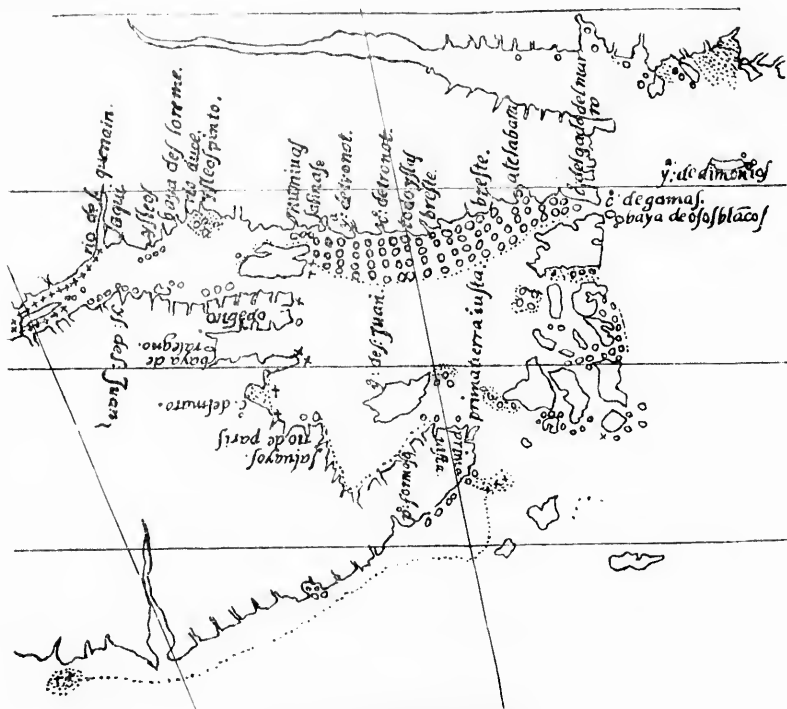


FIG. 3.—The Cabot Map, 1544.

The peninsula comprising Cape Breton is very well shown. To the north and west of it is a group of islands, the largest of which is called "I. de S. Juan." If, now, one will compare this group with that in a similar position on the Henri II map above, it is

¹ *Discovery of Maine*, p. 358-370.

² Ibid., p. 363.

impossible to resist the conclusion, allowing for the difference in topography all through the two maps, that they are the same. We see the same three small islands on the east, and the whole group is even more correctly in the position of the Magdalene Islands than it is in the Henri II map. Yet this "I. de S. Juan" has always been considered to be Prince Edward Island. I shall return to this subject later on.

Passing to the mainland we find the word "saluayos," evidently Cartier's "cap dez Sauuages," and "rio de paris," a Spanish corruption, appearing on many maps, of Cartier's "R. de Barques." It will be noticed that the two are transposed on this map; the former should really be north of the latter. "C. del maro" stands in the position of St. Lunario,¹ and is either a corruption of that word,¹ or possibly of "St. Marie" or "Se. Marie" of the source from which this and the Henri II map took it in common. The words "baya de raleguo" are probably some Spanish corruption for Bay Chaleur, and in "ongedo" we recognize Cartier's "Honguedo." On the northern shore of the Gulf we see "Rio de S. quenain," a curious form for "Saguenay." To the east of it occurs "Jaqui," which must be the "St. Jacques" and "banc St. Jacques" of the Henri II and Mercator maps; while "ylleos" may refer to Seven Islands, though those at "ysleos pinto" correspond better with them. "Baya de S. loreme" would appear to be intended for "St. Laurens," but if so, it is out of position, as it belongs opposite Anticosti; but "rio duce" is quite clear, though "ysleos pinto" I do not understand.

The next name is "numinas salinas,"² which I think, is intended for "numinas balinas," many whales. It was near this place that Cartier speaks of having seen so many: "Et n'est memoire de iamais auoir tant ven de ballaynes que nous vismes celle iournee," etc. "Ye de tronot" seems to be a repetition, of which there are many similar ones on the map, of "Co. de tronot," Cartier's Cape Tiennot. "Todo yslas" is the "toutyns" of the Henri II map, and in "breste" to the east of it we have another meaningless repetition; the most easterly "breste" is probably the "Brest" of Cartier. "Atelabara" may be a very much corrupted Spanish form for White Sand.¹ On the west coast of Newfoundland there are no names to be found. The name "prima vista" is fully discussed by Kohl, HARRISSE, DEANE and others. It refers merely to Cabot's supposed or real land-fall at this point.

Dr. Kohl says of names on other parts of this map that, "the Spanish terms and names are corrupted and disfigured in such an extraordinary way, that sometimes it is nearly impossible to make out what the author means;" and, again, speaking of certain names being repeated or duplicated, of which we have an instance in "breste" above, he says: "This doubling of names can be nothing else than an extraordinary blunder, or a mark of great negligence in the preparation of the map." From such errors he concludes that Cabot had nothing to do with it, but that some ignorant compiler had copied an original manuscript in a very careless manner, and had written, in bad Spanish, his construction of the language. Certainly our Gulf of St. Lawrence is very badly done. Aside from the names, the topography is poor compared with the Henri II map. Anticosti is too far up the St. Lawrence; islands are put in phalanxes along the Labrador coast;

¹ Cartier in the Relation Originale has St. Linaire for St. Lunario.

² See page 31, note 2.

³ It must be remembered that according to the 1598 ed. of Cartier's first voyage, there are two Brests on this coast one of which is an island. The more trustworthy Relation Originale, however, makes only one.

⁴ See *aren blanca* on p. 38.

Newfoundland is very badly shown, and even Cartier's Bay of St. Lunario and some other places are less well drawn than in any other map of the century. Latitude, however, is rather good for that time, though the longitude is as usual far wrong.

D.—*The Vallard Map, 1543-1547.*

A map which resembles the Cabot map very closely in many respects is the Nicholas Vallard map of between 1543 and 1547. It belongs to a manuscript atlas, and the only reproduction of it that I am acquainted with is that in Kohl's "Discovery of Maine," p. 354, from which the tracing below is taken.¹ Very little is known of the map except that its maker was a Portuguese, Vallard being considered to be merely the owner of the atlas and not its maker. Kohl, it is a little surprising to see, considers this a more accurate map than the Henri II. In this I cannot agree with him.



FIG. 4.—The Vallard Map, 1543-1547.

To the group of islands in the Gulf, no name is assigned. If one compares their form and position with those on other maps, he will see there is no escaping the conclusion that they represent this group, and not Prince Edward Island, as Kohl and others have supposed. The long island is too near the shore, it is true—a point that I shall consider presently. We find no names upon the mainland until we come to the north shore of the Gulf, though the topography has the usual form. Beginning at "le Saguenay" and going eastward, we meet with "banc lormine," where in other maps we have found "banc St. Jacques" and "St. Jacques." I do not know the meaning of this word, but it suggests the names of two of Cartier's ships on his second voyage, "la grande Hermine" and "la petite Hermine."² "7 Isles," "Rio douché," "G. lorens," are all clear. It must be remembered that this is a Portuguese map, and many of the names are to be expected to have a Portuguese form. "Rio grant" we have not met with before. Cartier does not mention a river in this region. He does speak of what he named Bay of St. Lawrence as being "une moult belle et grande baye," and this "grande" bay may have become

¹ Also copied in Winsor's *America*, iv. 87.

² French, *l'Hermine*. Portuguese, *lormine*? Compare Faillon, *Histoire*, i. 505. See antea, p. 33, note 3.

"grande" or "grant" (Portuguese form for "grande") river. "Sallinas" is the same word as "Sallinas" in the Cabot map. "C. trenot" is clearly "C. tiennot;" "terra bella" probably refers to the coast a few leagues (less than seven) east of Tiennot (Natashquan Point), which Cartier described in these words: "Et a la fin desdictes yslas, y a une fort belle terre basse plaine de grandz arbres & haultz."¹ The "goffre" may be a corrupted "Golfo."

"Arca blanc" would probably be *area* or *arcia branca*, Portuguese for "Blanc Sablon." "Branica" I do not understand unless it be another greatly corrupted repetition; "brest" is clear and also "chataux." On the west coast of Newfoundland are no names, and its outline is very poor. The many islands on the Labrador coast resemble those on the Cabot map.

E.—*The Homem Map, 1558.*

We may here look at another Portuguese chart, that of Diego Homem, made in 1558. This map is contained in an atlas in the British Museum, and has been reproduced by Kohl in his "Discovery of Maine," from which work the sketch below was taken. We notice some surprising topographical innovations here. Bay Chaleur and the St. Lawrence meet to the west and communicate with a great north-western sea. To this same sea are several openings on the Labrador coast. As Kohl says,² "He puts down a strait in every place where Cartier in his report had said he had looked for one, even if he did not find it." The west coast of Newfoundland is left unrepresented, the land merging into the sea. As to the names, Kohl says,³ "The whole draft of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is necessarily taken from Cartier, though our Portuguese author has badly changed and corrupted the names of his French original."



FIG. 5.—The Diego Homem Map, 1558.

The Magdalene group is represented by two islands, "briou," which, of course, should be "Brion," and "île de sablões." The latter word, as already pointed out, was used in its French form by Cartier in describing the greater of the Magdalene Islands. There can

¹ Bref. récit, ed. of 1863, f. 7b and 8.

² Op. cit., p. 379.

³ Op. cit. p. 379.

be no doubt, then, that these belong to that group. I do not know the meaning of "ilha de senesaus," unless this be the Portuguese name of some of the birds found by Cartier on Bird Islands. On the land to the west we have in "Ribeira de paris" the same corruption or form for "R. de bareques" that we had on the Cabot map. "Cap de bestus" stands for "C. des Sannaiges;" "baia de lunari" is clear; "micheomai" I shall consider later, under Miramichi. "Le lac de chaleur" is plain, and in "longue" we have a great corruption of "Honguedo." "I. simplor" is written for "Assumption." East of "Soquenai" we have "Sep: isles" and "Mibera." I believe the latter is meant for "Ribera," and alludes to Cartier's "Rivière douce," the present Moisie. "Le beau pais" may apply to the land along the coast to the east of Seven Islands, which Cartier described as "basses terres plaines de beaux arbres."¹ "La baie de S. lorenzo" is clearly "La Baye St. Laurens" of Cartier, but "mines de cuivres" (mines of copper), which occurs in two places on this coast, is quite new. I find no justification for its use anywhere in Cartier's narratives. Does it indicate a result of some later voyage known to Homem, or was it placed on a map by some maker for purposes best known to himself? "Pais de ternate" and "Cap de ternate" stand for "Tiennot" without doubt; "Salines" is the "sallinas" of the Cabot map removed too far to the east. "Todo illes" we have seen on other maps. "Cap de illes" may be one of the several groups of islands Cartier mentions as occurring in this region. On the whole this map is not an advance on some earlier ones, but rather a retrogression so far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence is concerned.

F.—*The Freire Map, 1546.*

There is still another important Portuguese map of this period which should be noticed, that of Freire of 1546. It is in manuscript, and has been reproduced by Kunstman in his *Atlas*.² In it, however, some of the names are so corrupted as to be almost unrecognizable. At the Magdalenes we see "I. broi," "I. allesai," "I. dareas," all of which are readily recognizable. Cape of the Savages is called "C. delimargi;" Honguedo, "homgaeda;" Rivière douce, "agoadoe;" C. Tiennot, "C. de tienoze," and so on. The west coast of Newfoundland is left undefined, shading off into the Gulf. This map illustrates the extreme of corruption of Cartier's names.

G.—*The Mercator Map, 1569.*

In the year 1569 we find a map which for completeness and correctness is rivalled only by the Henri II map. It was made by Gerard Mercator, a German, both drawn and engraved by him. It has been reproduced by Jomard in his "*Monumens de la Géographie*," and from that work the sketch is taken. After what has been said in the preceding pages, an explanation of its topography or names is hardly needed. Attention must, however, be given to one or two points.

The two islands nearly blocking up the entrance to the Gulf are, of course, a part of Newfoundland; and the large island to the west, the analogy of other maps will allow us

¹ Bref Récit, ed. 1863, p. 10 a.

² Accompanying *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*.

odd expression, meaning, probably, "coast to the west." It may be a part of some of the inscriptions which Cartier's maps probably contained. "S. Laurens," "S. Nicolas" and "C. Tienot" are clear, but "posilles" I do not understand, nor "acarty isles." I find no trace of these words in the narratives or on other maps. The other names on this coast are clear, "Isles a la demoiselle" being mentioned by Alle-fonsee. The west coast of Newfoundland literally shows no trace of Cartier's visit.

H.—*The Whytstet Map, 1597.*

This map appeared in 1569. From that time until after the close of the century no better one was published. All that followed until the time of Lescaubot and Champlain were either retrogressions, or were copies of this, or combinations of it with others we have



FIG. 7.—The Whytliet Map, 1597.

considered. As a type of the very best of the later maps of that century we take that of Whytliet of 1597, which is contained in his "Ptolemy" of that year. It will be seen that the topography, far from improving, has become poorer, while the nomenclature is almost

precisely that of Mercator. The maps treated of in the foregoing pages are the principal ones of the century.

I.—*The Lescarbot Map, 1609.*

In many respects Lescarbot's map of 1609¹ is more nearly allied to those of this than to those of a later period. While his topography is in special points more accurate than Mercator's or the Henri II map, it is in general little, if any, better in this respect. It makes one island of Newfoundland, but its outline is far from being as correct as it is in the Henri II map. For the first time Cape Breton Island is clearly defined and the Bras d'Or lakes shown. But there is no trace at all of the large island of the Magdalenes, and none at all of Prince Edward Island. He made a strenuous effort to retain all of Cartier's names, and I believe there is hardly one of the latter that he has not worked into his map. But having no accurate charts to guide him, and, of course, not possessing Cartier's originals, he has made hopeless confusion of the whole matter. He has not even used Cartier's narratives with care. He places on Cape Breton many localities which no one now doubts were on Newfoundland. Lescarbot's opinion as to the places named by Cartier is quite valueless. He derived much of the material of his map, of course, from Champlain; he never visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence himself. We have introduced, however, for the first time, some new names, afterwards appearing on Champlain's maps, which are the beginning of our modern nomenclature. Such are Anticosti, Mesamichis (Miramichi), Tregate (Tracadie), Campseau (Canso), Ile Percée, Ile Bonaventure and others. With Lescarbot, Cartier's nomenclature as a whole disappears from all good maps. It revives occasionally upon later compilations, sometimes with Champlain's correct topography, but such are off the line of advance.

With Champlain's maps, and particularly with that of 1632, begins our modern nomenclature; we have here a long step in advance and one never to be retraced. Since then the place-names and topography of the Gulf have not changed on our maps; they have simply developed.

J.—*Cartier's Own Maps.*

It is not impossible that Cartier's own maps may yet be found, but such a desirable event is hardly probable. We have no evidence that they were ever engraved, and even as early as 1587 his papers had been lost sight of. His nephew, Jacques Noel, writing to a friend, at that date, from Paris, said: "I can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Capitaine Iaques Cartier my uncle deceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: saving of a certain booke made in maner of a sea-Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said uncle."²

Yet from the data supplied by the maps we have considered we can form some idea of what those made by Cartier must have contained. These all bear evidence that, if not taken from Cartier's own, they derived their topography and names from some one or two which had been in turn really taken from Cartier's. Each map-maker copying the names, turned them into his own language as far as possible, and used his own judgment as to

¹ See reproduction in Tross' reprint.

² Hakluyt, iii. 290.

what ones he should adopt and what omit. It seems probable that Cartier's maps were on a much larger scale than any of the copies, and that they contained many more names than any of the latter. It is altogether likely, also, that they contained many short legends describing the character of the country, its natural productions, inhabitants, etc., and it is parts of these legends which appear on some maps as names of places which were not given by Cartier. Of this character are "numinas salinas" of the Cabot map, "le beau pais" of the Homem map, "coste du oist," "banc lormine" of the Vallard map, and many others. In nearly all cases there is some corresponding description in Cartier's narratives, applying exactly to these places. If they were not taken from legends on the maps of Cartier, it is necessary to suppose that the cartographers had access to Cartier's narratives—a highly improbable supposition, as the narratives were not published until after most of these maps were made, and we can hardly suppose his manuscripts to have been in the hands of so many map-makers.

I believe also that certain parts of the coast were left undefined on the maps showing his first voyage, which parts were filled in after the second. His first map was probably not unlike that of Rotz, given above, except that the Magdalenes and Cape Breton coast may not have been joined as in that map, but left undefined, the former on the south and the latter on the north. After the second voyage Anticosti was shown as an island, the River St. Lawrence appeared, and the Magdalenes and Cape Breton assumed distinct coast-lines. Upon these maps, doubtless, the west coast of Newfoundland was clearly laid down, though it does not so appear in any later maps of the century.

III.

CARTOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS SUGGESTED.

In the preceding pages there are three questions which I left for later discussion. They were the poor representation or want of representation of the west coast of Newfoundland, the identity of the part of the map of Rotz which I think represents the Magdalene group, and the identity of Isle St. John. For the discussion of these points we need to understand our whole series of maps.

A.—*Early Cartography of the West Coast of Newfoundland.*

The Henri II is the only map which gives the west coast of Newfoundland with any approach to accuracy. Even it gives but three names to this whole coast, to which Cartier applied two or three times as many. The Cabot, Mercator and Vallard maps give a totally incorrect coast line with no names, while those of Homem and Freire give no coast line at all, but instead represent the land shading off into the sea, as in a region totally unknown. Even Champlain, as late as 1632, in his explanation of his map of that year, says that the west coast of Newfoundland "n'est bien reconnue." The only reason I can think of for this is that Cartier's map of this coast was inaccessible to all of the makers of these maps, except to the first, and possibly even to him. It may have been destroyed by accident or for business reasons unknown to us. All of these maps appear to have been

drawn from similar or the same originals. Such may have been copied directly from Cartier's own notes and draughts, and in them this west coast may have been defaced in any one of a dozen possible ways.¹

B.—*Early Cartography of the Magdalenes and Cape Breton Island.*

I believe a somewhat similar reason is to be found at the basis of my second question, but in order to make it clear, I must introduce another map. This is the so-called Jomard map of uncertain date, but supposed to belong between 1550 and 1560. It is in manuscript and a much reduced copy, from which this sketch is taken, appears in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. IV, p. 89.



FIG. 8.—The Jomard Map, 155—(?).

No doubt it has suffered in the reduction from the original, and it has suffered in my transference from "America." But its strong resemblance to the map of Rotz given above must at once strike one. The two are identical in their topography as far as the Rotz map goes, except that the Jomard map has Anticosti separated from the mainland. Now what is the meaning of this immensely broad peninsula occupying the position of Cape Breton? And where is the group of the Magdalenes explored by Cartier on his first voyage? We may get some light on the difficulty, if we examine in connection with these our Hemi II map. There we find an island marked "ye aux margaulx" corresponding to No. 1 on Rotz and 5 on Jomard, "ye brion" to 2 on Rotz and 6 on Jomard, "alezay" to 4 on Rotz and 8 on Jomard, and a northern coast on the large island corresponding with the coast, 3 on Rotz and 7 on Jomard. My idea is that here we have the Magdalene group fused with the mainland, or rather with Cape Breton, just as Prince Edward Island was throughout the century. Rotz's map shows Cartier's first voyage only, with no trace whatever of his second. Now, on his first voyage, Cartier explored this group on its northern and western sides, and he knew nothing at all about the coast of Cape Breton² to the south, nor about the eastern coast of the Magdalenes. I believe, therefore, that on

¹ This tends to show that these early map-makers relied chiefly upon Cartier's maps in constructing theirs and made little use of the narratives. One could more easily reconstruct his course on Newfoundland from his narrative than in any other part of the journey.

² This is shown by the fact that he did not even know on his first voyage of the passage between Newfoundland and Cape Breton. In the narrative he says: (Relation originale, p. 20.) "Je présume mieulx que aultrement, à ce que j'ay veu, qu'il n'y aiet aucun passage entre la Terre Neufve et la terre des Bretons. Sy ainsi estoit, se seroit une grande abreviation, tant pour le temps que pour le chemyn, se se treuve perfection en ce voyage." Clearly he did not know the passage and therefore he could not have known the coast inside of it. What could he do but leave that coast unrepresented?

his map of his first voyage he left the northwestern coast of Cape Breton and the eastern coast of the Magdalenes undefined, as he had not been there, perhaps representing them as standing off into the sea, as was the custom among honest cartographers to signify a coast unknown. Rotz, however, in copying the topography, extended the two indefinite coasts to meet each other, thus making the Magdalenes a part of Cape Breton. Indeed it is not impossible that this may have been Cartier's own idea. On his second voyage, Cartier again visited these islands on his way home, and also visited the north of Cape Breton, naming two capes there. This enabled him to fix the coast line in this region and thenceforward to show it clearly on his maps. The maker of the Jomard map knew of Cartier's second voyage, as the Isle of Assumption and the topography of the River St. Lawrence show, yet for some reason he copied the error as to the Magdalenes, which was not inexcusable in Rotz, but was in himself. He may indeed have taken it from Rotz, or the two may have taken it from some other source in common; certainly their topography in this region is strikingly similar.

C.—*The Name "Isle St. John."*

Now I face the most interesting question in the early cartography of the Gulf, the origin, identity and history of the name "Isle St. John." Those who have followed me through the preceding pages will before this, I trust, have foreseen whither my line of thought is to lead me.

It has been held by nearly all writers that Prince Edward Island received the name Isle St. John, which it held from the time of Champlain until 1798, from John Cabot, it being the island sighted and so named by him June 24th, 1497.¹ So far as I have been able to find, after a careful study of the question, the evidence for this rests upon the following bases:—(1) Upon the name itself; Cabot somewhere in this region discovered an island and named it St. John; Prince Edward Island was called Isle St. John from very early times; it is not unnatural in the absence of further evidence to consider them to be the same. (2) Upon some statements, presently to be noticed, of Allefonsce, Roberval's pilot. (3) Upon the evidence of the Cabot map, which places a large Isle St. John in the Gulf. The first of these is connected with the last, and will be considered along with it.

Allefonsce several times distinctly speaks of an Isle St. John in this region, but never in a way to enable us to locate it beyond doubt. Thus he says,² "Turning to the Isle of St. John, called Cape Breton, the outermost part of which is in the ocean in 45° from the Arctic Pole, I say Cape of St. John, called Cape Breton," etc.; again, in the printed "*Voyages aventureux*," a work published after his death, and which must be consulted with caution,³ we read, "Having passed the Isle of St. Jehan, the coast turns to the west and west-southward as far as the River Norombergue" (i.e. the Penobscot). Certainly such phrases as these could not by any possibility whatever apply to our Prince Edward Island.

¹ Yet some have said that it was because the Cape St. John of Cartier was on it, the cape named by Cartier June 24th, 1534. This statement is made by no less an authority than Rev. E. Slafter, the scholarly annotator of Otis's translation of Champlain. (Prince Soc. Ed. Boston, i. 288).

² From De Costa's translation contained in *America*, iv. 69-76.

³ *America*, iv. 68.

They apply to Cape Breton fairly well, but they appear to me to refer really to the island which appears on so many old maps just to the east of Cape Breton of to-day and which has generally been taken to be Cape Breton Island itself. I have already pointed out that this island was probably intended for a part of Cape Breton only, the real Cape Breton being the large peninsula tolerably well shown upon nearly all of the old maps. Maps before Cartier nearly all show an Isle St. John on the Atlantic coast in this region, and it persists in some maps after Cartier.¹

But again, Allefonsee says, "Passing about twenty leagues west-north-west along the coast you will find an island called St. Jean, in the centre of the district, and nearer to the Breton region than Terra Nova. This entry to the Bretons is twelve leagues wide, and in 47° 30' north. From St. Jean's Island to Ascension [Anticosti] Island, in the Canadian sea, it is forty leagues across, north-west by west. St. Jean and Bryon and Bird Island are 47° north." The grouping of Isle St. John with Bryon and Bird Islands, together with its distance from Assumption (Anticosti) would place it where the Cabot map does, as the largest of the Magdalenes. Yet its latitude is made half a degree lower (if the MS. be translated correctly) than the entrance between Cape Breton Island and Cape Ray, when it really is on about the same parallel. Part of Prince Edward Island is south of the entrance, but in no other respect whatever does the latter correspond with Allefonsee's references to Isle St. John. We get no help from Allefonsee's maps, for the name does not appear, and the only island² he has shown in the vicinity of Prince Edward Island is a very small one without a name. These are all of Allefonsee's references to Isle St. John. What place he meant it for does not now concern us. It is enough that his own writings and maps show that he did *not* refer to our Prince Edward Island.

Our knowledge of the discovery and naming of Isle St. John by the Cabots, rests, so far as I have been able to learn, solely upon the Latin and Spanish inscriptions on the Cabot map, and upon the presence of the island itself on that map. There is no other evidence known bearing upon the question. Dr. Deane, in his splendid essay in "America," Vol. III, on the Voyages of the Cabots, has summed up all of our knowledge of the voyages of John Cabot and his son, and in that work I find no other references to Isle St. John, coming from the Cabots themselves. Dr. Deane translates the legend as follows:—"This country was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, MCCCXCIV. [1494] on the 24th of June, in the morning, which country they called 'primum visum'; and a large island adjacent to it, they named the island of St. John, because they discovered it on the same day." In the Latin inscription³ the words referring to the size of the island and its position are, "*insulā quandā magnā ei oppositā Insulā diui Ioannis nominarūt*," and in Spanish, "*prima terra vista, y a una isla grāde que esta par la dha tierra*." Isle St. John then, was simply opposite or before or near the first land seen⁴; we are not told in what direction, nor how far.

¹ Ouellet's description of the coast in 1537, shows no knowledge of the Gulf. He mentions an island of St. John, but gives out in the Atlantic near Cape Breton, close to the Straits of Canso." De Costa, *America*, iv. 73.

² *America*, iv. 75.

³ *America*, iv. 75. Dr. Deane in *Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* for April, 1867.

⁴ Several writers have maintained that the Cabots sailed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, turned to the south, went through Northumberland Strait, turned thence towards the Strait of Belle Isle, through which they passed. Such is the opinion of J. C. Brevoort, (*Historical Mag.* Mar. 1868, xiii, 131-135), and Frederic Kidder, (*N. E.*

We get a side light on the question in the statement that the land (either the first land seen, or the island) was sterile and contained many white bears ("Es tierra muy steril, ayenella muchos orsos blancos"); but the main fact is that the island was near the first land seen. This resolves itself into the question of Cabot's Landfall, which, in turn, becomes resolved very largely into the question of the authenticity of the Cabot map.

It is well known that upon the Cabot map, the words "prima terra vista" are placed at the north of Cape Breton Island.¹ Now, two views are open to us, both of which have had their adherents; which are, that the map is genuine, and made by Sebastian Cabot, or that it is a forgery. In the latter theory Dr. Kohl was an emphatic believer. Even Dr. Deane, who accepts the map as authentic, has to admit that: "The map itself, as a work of Sebastian Cabot, is unsatisfactory, and many of the legends on its sides are also unworthy of its alleged author." Dr. Kohl points out so many discrepancies, errors and imperfections in the map, that their weight is well-nigh irresistible.² There is certainly this to be said—there is nothing on the map in the Gulf of St. Lawrence region, except the words "prima terra vista" and "Isle St. John," which is not fully explained by Cartier's explorations. If Sebastian Cabot visited the Gulf, his map shows no trace of it whatever, except on this one word "Isle St. John." But if the map, as we have it, is what I believe it to be, the work of a compiler, who may have used in part material from some real, but now lost, maps of the Cabots, the solution is not difficult. The compiler used Cartier's maps, for all around the Gulf are Cartier's names, and Cartier's topography; for his own reasons he placed "prima terra vista" on Cape Breton. Off in the Gulf to the west on Cartier's maps was a group of islands, one of them very large. This corresponded in position and size with "Isle St. John" of the inscriptions, and it was so named, the name being added to substantiate as it were the "prima vista."³

This view receives the strongest confirmation from the fact that this Cabot map, of all the large number known to us of the sixteenth century, is the only one which marks "Isle St. John."⁴ All or nearly all others have in precisely the same position a large island or group of islands, but without exception, when names are applied to them, they are Cartier's names applied by him to the Magdalene Islands. An examination of the series of maps presented with this paper will, I believe, make this point quite clear.

Hist. and Genealogical Register, Oct., 1878, pp. 381-389). The latter gives a map illustrating Cabot's supposed course in the Gulf. These writers have very little basis for such a view, and it is emphatically contradicted by the La Cosa map, which, no one doubts, shows the Cabots' discoveries, and which shows no large island on the coast. What navigators the Cabots must have been to sail completely around Newfoundland, and not see it! Besides this, such an erratic course as attributed to them in the Gulf, is quite inconsistent with Cabot's purposes and aims. The whole difficulty is that Isle St. John of the Cabot map, has been assumed to be Prince Edward. The former paper takes no account of Cartier's influence on the map, indeed does not mention Cartier at all.

¹ See map, *antea*, p. 35.

² Discovery of Maine, pp. 358-377. See also Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, pp. 50 et seq., where some objections to the genuineness of the map appear to be very well taken.

³ It is not a difficult feat of the imagination to picture at that time, political reasons which might make it advisable for France and Spain to wish to prove that the Cabots did not make land on Newfoundland, where the best fisheries were. Sebastian Cabot was in the service of Spain, it must be remembered, when this map was made. Harrisso suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 95) that if Cabot's landfall was on Newfoundland or Labrador, Sebastian Cabot may have placed "Prima Vista" in Cape Breton, preferring to be known as the discoverer of the land that France was trying to colonize, rather than of the barren coast to the north.

⁴ That the name "Isle St. John" is copied upon no other map is very significant; it shows the estimation in which the map was held by Sebastian Cabot's contemporaries.

But the Cabot map has not been proven to be apocryphal. If it is all genuine, and the Cabots did sight Cape Breton as their land-fall, then the Island marked "Isle St. John" probably was their Isle St. John. But it is none the less true that this "Isle St. John" was not our Prince Edward; the topography of the map none can doubt is that of Cartier; if it be compared with other maps showing Cartier's influence it will be seen as before, that this is the same as on all other maps represents the Magdalene group, and Cabot's Isle St. John must have been the larger of the Magdalenes.

It has been claimed in the early part of this paper that Prince Edward Island is, in all these early maps, fused with the mainland, and in no way distinguished from it. This is the case, I believe, in every map of the century, that is, every engraved map. I have no doubt that the French fishermen had MS. maps showing, or that at all events they knew of, the existence of the island, but no official map showed it. Lesarbot's well-known map of 1609¹ shows no trace whatever of it, nor indeed does Champlain's 1612 map, unless the very small round island in the south of the Gulf marked "ille St. Jean" be intended for it. Yet Champlain knew of it as early as 1603, but by hearsay only. In "Des Sauvages" published in 1604, chapter xii, he tells us the story of the Sieur Prevert's attempt to find mines on the Bay of Fundy, by crossing overland from the Gulf, in connection with which he mentions "the Island of St. John, which is some thirty or thirty-five leagues long and some six leagues from the mainland on the south." This is the very first mention of the name "Isle St. John," as applied unquestionably to Prince Edward Island, that I have been able to find. The patent of De Monts of 1603, which names many important places in the Gulf, does not mention it. We admire the honesty of Champlain, who would not place the island from hearsay only, upon his 1612 map, but instead placed along the shore the legend, "l'auteur na point encore reconnu cette coste." It is, however, distinctly shown upon his 1632 map, and the latter is the first map² of which I have any knowledge, which shows Prince Edward Island in its proper shape and in its proper position.

That the south-western part of the Gulf, the basin in which Prince Edward Island lies, was very little known prior to 1600, is shown by documentary as well as cartographical evidence. De Laet, a writer of high repute, writing as late as 1633, in describing the Gulf, says that from St. Lunaire (which he, apparently, uses to designate Miramichi Bay or the head of Northumberland Strait), to Isle St. Lawrence (Cape Breton), "the coast is little known, and is difficult of access on account of the shallows." Champlain himself speaks of the region as being almost unknown. Still more satisfactory evidence, because coming much earlier, is found in Thevet's description of the Gulf. Though the latter's reputation for trustworthiness is none of the best, he certainly in general tells the truth, and the following passage bears on its face evidence of its own reliability. In the "Singularitez de la France antartique," published in 1558, p. 147, he says, referring to Cape Lawrence on Cape Breton:—"and going from the said cape towards the west and south-west, one coasts for about two hundred leagues, and it is nothing but sandbanks without any port or harbor." Cartier, in his narrative, speaks frequently of the shoals and sands

¹ Marcel (*Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1885, p. 7) describes a fine manuscript map of 1607, showing Champlain's explorations.

² I find later that Sir William Alexander's 1624 map shows it, but gives it no name.

of the coast.¹ It is so easy for us, looking down upon good charts in our studies, to see this island, that it is difficult for us to put ourselves in the position of those who first came to it. The early navigators had little to attract them to that region. Cartier showed there was no hope of finding a western passage there; the fishing was not so good as off Newfoundland nearer home; the shoals were dangerous and good harbours few. Is it any wonder that it was avoided?

How then did Isle St. John get its name? This I cannot answer, but three possible ways occur to me:—

(1.) Champlain had the Cabot maps before him, and thought its Isle St. John must be the same as the other large island mentioned by Sieur Prevert, and hence that the latter should have the same name. This, while a possible, is an extremely improbable explanation.

(2.) The name was given *de novo* by some of the French voyagers in the latter part of the sixteenth century, or immediately preceding 1603. This seems to me highly probable; the name St. John was a favorite with early explorers.

(3.) Another explanation which receives support from the maps, will be found by comparing the Mercator map with the Molineux Globe of 1592,² with Lescarbot's map of 1609, and with Champlain's of 1612. In the former, Cartier's Cape St. John, which really was on Newfoundland, has been transferred to Cape Breton, where it also appears on Lescarbot's map. Transferred still further, it has become C. S. Jean on the Molineux Globe, which stands almost exactly in the position of the little "île St. Jean" of Champlain's 1612 map. This appears to me hardly as probable an explanation as that given above, since Champlain knew it as a large island with this name as early as 1603.

Further material is needed to decide which of these three possible interpretations is the correct one.

IV.

VOYAGES BETWEEN CARTIER AND CHAMPLAIN.

After Cartier, there was no official explorer of the Gulf until Champlain; yet, that there were numerous private voyages in the interval there can be no doubt. Evidence on this point is constantly accumulating. Dr. De Costa quotes³ Gosselin's work on the marine of Normandy, as showing that French vessels engaged in the fishery went to Newfoundland during the twenty years subsequent to Cartier's voyages, and some of these probably visited the Gulf. The only actual narratives of voyages, however, that we have, are those contained in Hakluyt. He gives a narrative of a voyage to Isle Ramea (the Magdalenes) for the capture of walrus in 1591, and another to the same place in 1597, with some others relating to the Gulf and Cape Breton. They add very little to geographical knowledge, however, as the place names used in them in most cases cannot be identified.⁴ It is interesting to note, however, that the names used in these narratives

¹ There is geological evidence to show that the coast in this region is steadily sinking, and that the water must have been even shallower in its harbors in Cartier's time than it is now.

² America, iii. 213.

³ Ibid., iv. 60, 62.

⁴ They are considered further on p. 55.

are incorporated in the charts of Dudley's "Arcano del Mare" of 1647, but the poor topography of the latter does not help us in locating them.

All the accounts of voyages given by Hakluyt are of voyages subsequent to 1580, and it is probable they were numerous after that date, few before it. In this connection, a passage in the "Briefe and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America, written by Captaine Carlile, in April, 1583," given by Hakluyt,¹ is of the greatest importance. It reads as follows, in connection with the voyages of Cartier:—"Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions, comming aboarde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee lived foure yeeres. . . . This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, vntil of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those marchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret vnto themselves, from any others of their own Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourscore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey. . . . This shippe made her returne in such sorte as that this yeere they have multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of fourscore tunnes." In Hakluyt's "Discourse on Western Planting,"² written in 1584, we read: "The Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons or the Duche, or some other nation, will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already," etc. And again, in the same, we read:—"And nowe our neighbours, the men of St. Malo, in Brytaine, in the begynnyng of Auguste laste paste, of this yere 1584, are come home with five shippes from Canada and the countries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence . . . they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte." In 1587, two sons of Jacques Noel, nephew of Cartier, were in Canada, and Noel had been there himself.³ All of these facts, together with others, show the existence of a trade in the Gulf, and Champlain's first voyage up the St. Lawrence in 1603, was to a region annually visited by traders. During these years some new names appeared in the Gulf. The patent of De Monts, of 1603, mentions, in addition to well-known places, "Bayes de Saint-cler, de Chaleur, Ile Percée, Chischedec, Mesamichi, Lesquemin, Tadousac,"⁴ etc.

Yet, none of these voyages made any impression upon the maps of the time. Whytliet's of 1597, shows no trace of them, nor have they produced any influence that I can see, until the map of Lescarbot, of 1609, and Lescarbot derived his knowledge from Champlain. In other words, there was no advance in a cartographical knowledge of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, given to the world, between Cartier and Champlain. We see here illustrated the fact that the cartography of a new region advances not by steps, but by leaps. It took an explorer to make or improve a map. Cartographers, in their studies in

¹ Hakluyt, iii, p. 233.

² Hakluyt, iii, 291.

³ Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. Documentary History, 1877, ii, 102.

⁴ Lescarbot. Identity of these places is considered in the Appendix.

Europe, had few or no data other than these given them by Cartier. They could but alter and confuse his topography and nomenclature, they could not improve them. So the errors and imperfections of Cartier's first surveys remained until they were corrected or improved by Champlain. In view of these facts then, it does not seem too much to say that Cartier's voyages, and particularly his first, are the key to the cartography of the Gulf for the remainder of the century.

APPENDIX I.

THE HISTORY OF CERTAIN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

The following geographical names, occurring in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are connected with the foregoing subject:—

CANADA.—A bibliography of the discussion on the origin of this name is given in Winsor's "America," Vol. IV, p. 67, and some additional references in Taylor's "Names and Places" p. 400. There cannot be much doubt that the interpretation usually given is the correct one. It is worthy of note that the name appears on the Henri II map (given before, p. 31) in three distinct places.

CAPE BRETON.—Undoubtedly the oldest French name on the Canadian east coast. It appears on maps anterior to Cartier's voyage, both as Cape Breton, applied to a single cape on the island, and as *Land of the Bretons*, placed on the mainland. The island itself was not clearly distinguished until the time of Champlain.¹ It has borne the names of *Bacculan*, *Isle St. Lawrence* and *Isle Royale*.

ANTICOSTI.—The history of this word is given by Rev. E. Slafter, in a note in Otis's "Translation of Champlain" (Prince Society, Boston), Vol. I, p. 233, and by Dr. N. E. Dionne, in his "Etudes Historiques" (Quebec, 1880), pp. 69 and 70. Rev. Eugene Vetromile, in "The Abnakis" (New York, 1866), says the name means "open fields, that is, opened by being burned," but this writer's statements must be taken with great caution. Thevet said, in 1586, that the savages called it *Naticousti*. This was corrupted to *Antiscoty* on one of Champlain's maps, and thence to Anticosti. De Laet, in 1640, called it *Naticottee*. Ferland in his "Canada," and Dionne in "Etudes Historiques," state that the Montagnais call it *Natashkouch* or *Nataskouch*, which means, "lieu où l'on va chercher l'ours." Cartier called it *Assumption*, so naming it on August 15th, 1535. Allefonsée calls it, by mistake, *Ascension*.

CAPE RAY.—It seems quite probable that this name is a corrupted survival of Cartier's *Cape Royal*, the present Cape Gregory. Its Spanish equivalent is *Cape Real*, and in this form it appears upon many early maps. In the Henri II map, for instance, the only map of the sixteenth century

¹ Captain Southack, who made a survey of the north and east American coast at the end of the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century, claims in an inscription on his map, published about 1730-33, that he was the first white man who ever went through the Strait of Canso. This is clearly an error, as the strait is distinctly shown on Lescarbot's map of 1600 and all later ones. It may have been put in on the authority of the Indians, but such is quite unlikely.

which shows the west coast of Newfoundland at all well, Cape Real is placed nearly in the position of Cape Ray. On later maps, until the time of Lescarbot, it is either moved out of place to Cape Breton, or omitted altogether. It is especially significant that the only map showing the west coast of Newfoundland should place it nearly in the proper position. Some maps, after Lescarbot and apparently independent of the latter, have *Cape Ray*. Lescarbot himself has *C. de Raye*. Still, this is but a possibility; there is little positive evidence to sustain it. Mr. Reade (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., VI. ii. 22) states that it is said to be derived from the Basque "arraico," pursuit or approach. I have seen no maps whatever which support this.

NOTRE DAME MOUNTAINS.—There can hardly be any question as to this name. Cartier gave it on August 15th, 1535. See *antea*, p. 23.

CHISCHEDEC.—Not now used, but frequently found in maps of about the time of Champlain. It appears in DeMonts' Patent of 1603. It was applied, according to Hind (Labrador, II., 26) to Seven Islands. Others have said it applied to the mouth of the St. John River.

LESQUEMAIN.—This word appears in old documents. According to Laverdière, (Champlain, p. 1090,) it is equivalent to "Les Escoumies," the present Esquimaux in the St. Lawrence.

LABRADOR.—This word is not used in Cartier's narratives, though it appears in the title of the 1598 edition of his first narrative. It is supposed to have been added by the translator. There are, at least, six theories as to the origin of this word.

(1) The generally accepted and altogether probable one, that given by Dr. Bourinot, in 'Canadian Monthly,' April, 1875, and by other writers, that it was originally "Terra Laboratoris," land of the laborer, because Cortereal brought fifty men thence to Europe, who were described as well fitted for slaves. This is sustained by all the evidence of old maps.

(2) A tradition which says that Bradore Bay took its name from La Bradore, a Basque whaler, who entered it before the sixteenth century, and that from the bay (called Bradore to-day) the name rapidly extended to the whole country. Cartier did not use Bradore for the bay, though he entered it and gave a name to its islands; nor so far as I know does the name appear on any map of the sixteenth century. Labrador, applied to the whole country, does appear, however, very early. There is no cartographical evidence to sustain this theory.

(3) That given by M. Jules Marcon in his "Sur L'Origine du Nom D'Amérique" (Bull. Soc. Géo., 1888, p. 57 of the reprint), attributes to it an Indian origin. "Ce beau nom *Bradore* ou *Bradour*, sonore et admirablement approprié, est un mot des Indiens des bords du golfe Saint-Laurent; il signifie 'baie étroite et profonde', s'avancant dans les terres et il correspond exactement au nom norvégien de *fiord*." M. Marcon, however, does not give us any authority for his statement.

(4) The latter writer mentions that some have thought the name was given in irony, because of the sterility of the land,—a land of labor should be fertile, and here the name was given in derision.

(5) Another interpretation, which seems to have escaped notice, is hinted at by John Ogilby, in his "History of America" (1671). He says: "The denomination of *Terra de Laborador* or *Laboratoris* seems probably enough conjectured to be from the cultivability (if one may so term it) of the soil, or its aptness for Cultivation or Tillage; that is because, by the painful Hand of the Laborer or Husband-man, it may be rendered so fertile as to yield all sorts of Grain and Fruits; haply in Allusion to the fruitful Countrey of *Campania* in Italy, vulgarly known by the name of *Terra di Lacoro*." A very old Portuguese map of 1520, one of the earliest on which the name appears (given by Kohl, "Discovery of Maine," p. 179), gives some authority for such a suggestion as Ogilby's, for the region is there called *Do Lacrador*. Otherwise, there seems no ground for this theory.

(6) That given by Mr. Reade, in these Transactions, VI. ii. 22. "Labrador is claimed to be a remembrance of the Labourle district which gives a distinctive name to a dialect of the Basque language." I have seen nothing on old maps to substantiate this.

GASPÉ.—There are two explanations of this word. Sir William Dawson (Canadian Naturalist, III., p. 323), calls it a Micmac word, meaning "as nearly as possible, the 'land's end,'" and suggests that it may be identical with the termination "gash" in names of points in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Vetronile (The Abnukies, p. 46) derives it from "Gachepé or Kech'pi (the end)," very appropriately, to signify the extreme end of Micmac territory and the last promontory between St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleurs. De Mont's commission of 1603 has *Gachepé*, and Champlain and De Laet use both *Gachepé* and *Gaspé*. On the other hand, Abbé Laverdière (Œuvres de Champlain, p. 1085) derives it from "Katsepioni, qui est séparément," referring to a rock known as Le Forillon, just off Cape Gaspé. In Howley's 'Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland' (p. 99) it is said to be from the Abenakis word "*Katespi*, which means *separately*, or that which is separated from the mainland," thus agreeing in the main with that given by Laverdière.

The very earliest use of the word that I know of is by Allefonsee in his *Cosmographie* of 1542. As translated by Hakluyt, it is spelled *Gaspay*. If it be an Indian word, either Allefonsee or Cartier must have obtained it from the Indians. Now, it seems highly probable that at the time of the visits of Cartier, the Indians resident there were neither Micmacs nor Montagnais, but Hurons (see N. E. Dionne, "Études Historiques," Québec, 1880, pp. 57-60, and Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, II. ii. 77, 80, Faillon, Histoire, I, 524). If this be so, it is rather to the Huron tongue that we are to look for the meaning of the word, not to the Micmac, and both of the interpretations given above may fall in the light of new evidence.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Probably the very oldest geographical name given by Europeans on the American continent, which has survived to the present time. It probably dates back to the first voyage of the Cabots in 1497. Cartier does not appear to use the word for the island itself, though he speaks of the coast of Labrador as *Terre Neufue*. He was the first, so far as we know, to prove that Newfoundland was an island; before his time the name had to appear on the mainland. On the map of Rayssch, of 1508, *Terra Nova* appears on a peninsula certainly meant for Newfoundland. On that of Cosa, of 1500, it appears as *Tierra Nueva*, but, as no peninsula or island is shown, it covers a considerable tract on the mainland. Cosa's map in this region is supposed to have been derived from the Cabots' maps. The name also appears in other records, as mentioned by Kohl (Discovery of Maine, p. 186), the most interesting of which is the entry in the privy-purse accounts of Henry VII in 1497 of "10 pounds to him that found the new isle." Other later entries speak of the *Nor Islande*, *Nor Isle*, and one in 1503 of the *Norfound island*. It appears, then, that our word "Newfoundland" is a direct descendant of the name given to this region by the Cabots. It was used in its present form at least as long ago as the time of Champlain.

ISLE ST. JOHN (See ante, p. 45).—It bore this name until 1798, when it was changed to Prince Edward Island, in honor of the father of our Queen, by an Act of the Provincial Legislature, which was confirmed by the King in 1799. The name "Northumberland Strait" is, however, much older.

ST. LAWRENCE.—This name rapidly extended to the whole Gulf, and later to the river. Early names for the former, or parts of it, were *Grand Baie*, *Golfo Quadrado*. The river was called *River of Canada*, *River of Hochelaga*. Purchas states (Pilgrimage, p. 863) that the river was also called the *Strait of the Threer Brothers*, though the statement does not appear to occur elsewhere.

GRAND BAY.—This name was very clearly applied to the north eastern part of the Gulf by Allefonsee and other early writers. Yet some have supposed it applied to the Bay of Fundy. (A. L. Adams, Field and Forest, Rambles, p. 15, N. Y. Hind, Rep. Geology, N.B., p. 18.)

ISLE OF DEMONS.—An uncertain, almost mythical locality, based chiefly upon the imagination of Thetvet. The legend is given by Parkman (Pioneers of France), and has been made the subject of one of Canada's best narrative poems, viz. "Marguerite or the Isle of Demons" by Mr. George

Martin (Marguerite and Other Poems, 1887.) Bourinot (Canadian Monthly, April, 1875), makes the Isle of Demons and the *Isles de Demoiselle* the same. Allefonsee, as pointed out, places the latter in the Gulf on the Labrador coast (p. 25), though old maps place the former in the region of Belle Isle. The legend is interesting and, Parkman points out, may have an historical basis, but these localities cannot be certainly identified.

MIAMICHI.—This is popularly supposed to be a Miemac word, meaning "happy retreat," such being the interpretation given by Cooney, Gesner and others in their histories of this region. Another idea is that it comes from "Miggumaghee" or "Megumaage," which means Miemac-Land. On the other hand, Dr. Silas Rand, our greatest Miemac scholar, does not know its meaning or origin, nor does Mr. Edward Jack, who is familiar with the language of the Micicte Indians. One of the most intelligent Indians of the Micicte tribe, Newell Paul, has told me that the word is not Indian at all. Mr. Jack writes that there is no such word in the Abenaki language to his knowledge, and that the Indians call the Miramichi *Les-tu-goo-chic*, or Little Restigouche. Dr. Rand, in his Miemac Reader, gives it the same name, *Lästegoochechik*. Were the word "Miramichi" used by either Miemacs or Micictes, these two men would certainly know of it.

The word has had a most interesting history, but so far I have not been able to reach a satisfactory conclusion as to its origin. On maps of the last century, the river is usually called *Restigouchi*, which is clearly the same word as Dr. Rand and Mr. Jack give, with the *r* softened to *l*, as it always is in the language of these Indians. Passing back to the seventeenth century, the *r* disappears and is replaced by *s*, so that it reads *Misanichi*, *Missanichi*, etc., though occasionally the *r* does appear. Lescaurbot has *Misanichis*, De Laet *Mesamichi*, Champlain *Mesumichy*. DeMont's commission of 1603 has *Mesamichi*. Moreover the word in all of these cases is applied not to the river, but to a place or port. Lescaurbot speaks of it as a port where the French were accustomed to dry fish, and he also tells us that it is an Indian word.

So much is certain: but I believe the word can be traced still further back. On a map, dated 1594 in the "Histoire de la Navigation de Jean Hugues de Linseot," and on another dated 1596, in De Bry's "America," we find the name *Machanue* (which may be misprinted of course,) and indeed in the latter might almost be read *Machamie*, occurring in the position of our present Miramichi. Moreover, its position is made certain on both maps by the presence of the little circle and tower used conventionally on both to indicate a town, settlement or port, and this circle is placed on what is clearly very near or exactly on the present Miramichi River. I have not seen it again on any earlier map until that of Homem of 1558 (given antea, p.), where it appears exactly in its proper position¹ in the form *Micheomai*. The same form appears also upon Freire's map of 1546, though it might possibly be read there *pucheomai*. Lastly in the Henry II map (given antea, p. 38) we find a name *Terre de Michalman*, placed not at the Miramichi, but in what is now Restigouche County. Considering the great differences in spelling in these early maps, their corrupting of names, and changes from one language to another, together with the fact that an entirely new name very rarely appears, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that these are all the same word.

As it appears on the Henry II map, which so faithfully mirrors the explorations of Cartier, it would look as if the name had been given by him, or, at all events, was in some way connected with his voyages. Yet we search his narratives in vain for any trace of it, or anything that can be connected with it. No modern word either in French, Spanish or Portuguese, which at all resembles any of these forms throws any light upon it. Both Portuguese maps have *Micheomai*; the French map has *Michalman*. Some student who thoroughly understands these languages might help us here, or the Kohl collection of maps at Washington might give other forms of the name, or intermediate steps which would throw light on the question.

¹ The little bay at the right of the name is meant for Miramichi Bay, the "Baía de lunari" just below being the head of Northumberland Strait.

An explanation which suggests itself is that the Indians whom Cartier met in different parts of Bay Chaleur, told him that the land to the south was *Megumaghee* Miemac-land, and Cartier, writing from memory, or not understanding their peculiarities of pronunciation, wrote it on his maps *Terra de Michalman* or something similar. This might afterwards be corrupted into a very different form by later map-makers. The objection to this view is that the word Miemac does not appear to be an aboriginal Indian word. It is usually given a French origin, being supposed to be the word "miemac," meaning jugglery and applied to them because of the number of their "nutmoins" or medicine-men. No writer previous to 1696, so far as I can find, has ever used it, the word "Souriquois" being universally applied to this people. Dr. Silas Rand writes me that the Indians use it themselves, but know nothing of its origin. Such writers as Lescarbot and Champlain would have heard it had it been used in those times by the Indians themselves. It is not impossible, after all, that Miramichi is a greatly corrupted French or Spanish word, and not Indian at all.

It is well known that the Miramichi was called also *River of the Cross* or *River of the Holy Cross* in the seventeenth century. This was because of the veneration which the Indians were said to have had for the cross, something which they claimed was very ancient. In this, some writers see the influence of Christian Norsemen. Cartier however did not notice this (a statement in *Standard Natural History*, VI, 149, to the contrary notwithstanding). He had too little communication with the Indians at Miramichi.

MAGDALENE ISLANDS.—The name Magdalene does not appear to have been used at all before the time of Champlain, and is not mentioned by him until the 1632 edition of his works and his map of the same date. For half a century before this, and perhaps longer, they had been known as *Isles Ramées*, or *Ramea*. Champlain himself applied the name *La Magdelene* only to the present Amherst Island, as did Denys in 1672, applying the names *Isles Ramées* to the remainder of the group. There appears to be nothing in Champlain's works to show where he obtained, or why he gave the name. In reading his works we notice two or three occasions upon which he might possibly have been at Amherst Island on the July 22nd, day of St. Mary Magdalene. In 1613 for instance, he left Tadoussac July 8th, and reached St. Malo on August 26th, and it may have happened that, on the 22nd, he was at this place or in sight of it and honored this conspicuous island by the name of the saint of the day.

Cartier gave no name to the group as a whole, and the name *Ramea* appears first, so far as I know, in the accounts of voyages to them between 1590 and 1597, given by Hakluyt. In these accounts are introduced a number of new names, none of which have survived, and none of which are, with certainty, identifiable. *Isle Blanche* and *Isle Duaron* appear to be the same, and to represent the modern Entry Island. Cape du Chapt, Isle Hupp, Harbor of Halabolina, are others that appear. It is worth noticing that the names all appear on the charts in Dudley's "Arcano del Mare," of 1647, though they are there certainly not applied as in the narratives given by Hakluyt. A group of small islands on the south coast of Newfoundland at present bears the name "Ramea Isles," and this may have been transferred from the Magdalenes to them.

APPENDIX II.

A TABLE OF THE PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED OR GIVEN BY CARTIER IN THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

CARTIER'S NAME	DATE	WHY GIVEN	PRESENT NAME	REMARKS
	1534.			
Blanc Sablon.....	June	Probably from presence of banks of sand..	Blanc Sablon.....	Perhaps not given by Cartier. Has persisted until the present.
Les Islettes.....	"	9th Evident.....	The islands in Bradore Harbor.	
Brest.....	"	10th Probably from Prest in France.....	On old Fort Bay.....	Probably not given by Cartier.
Toutes Isles.....	"	From their great number.....	Islands beyond old Fort Bay.	
Hable . . . Saint Anthoine.	"	12th For the festival of St. Anthony, which falls on the 13th.	Rocky Tay.	
Hable . . . Saint Sernan...	"	12th	Loister Bay.	
La ripuiere Saint Jacques.....	"	12th	Shecatia Bay.....	See different opinion on this point, antea, p. 18, note 1.
Hable Jacques Cartier.....	"	12th From Cartier himself.....	Cumberland Harbor.....	" " " "
Cap Double.....	"	15th From its appearance, a double cape.....	Point Rich.....	Properly the Highlands of St. John near Point Rich.
Les monts de Granches.....	"	16th Probably from his wife Catharine des Granches.	Portland Mountain and the range of which it is a part...	There is here a play upon words, the hills like a grange (Granche) suggesting the name of his wife.
Cap Pointu.....	"	16th From its shape.....	Cow Head.	
Les Coulombiers.....	"	18th From the shape of the small rocky islands.	Rocky Harbor near Bonne Bay.	
La baye Saint Julian	"	18th Doubtless for the day of St. Juliana Falconeria, which falls on the 19th.	Bonne Bay in the vicinity of Roche or Rocky Harbor.	
Cap Royal.....	"	18th	Cape Gregory.....	Perhaps survives in Cape Bay. See antea, p. 51.
Cap Delatte.....	"	18th Probably from some whiteness which it presents.	South Head.....	May possibly have been Guernsey Island, as it had a low island to the north of it.
Le cap Saint Jehan.....	"	24th sighted on the day of the nativity of Saint John.	Cape Anguille.....	The last land seen in Newfoundland.
Isles de Margaulx.....	"	26th Abundance of birds called <i>Margaulx</i>	Bird Islands	
L'île de Bryon.....	"	26th From Admiral Brion.....	Brion	Name has persisted until the present.

Cap du Dauphin.....	June 2 ^d No doubt, a compliment to the Dauphin, after Louis Henri II.	North Cape.....	"Because it was the beginning of good lands."
[Isles of Sand].....	" 7 th Most appropriate, as they are in great part sand.	Magdalenes.....	Not specially named by Cartier, though he speaks of their hills of sand. See antea, p. 32.
Le Cap St. Pierre.....	" 28 th For the day of St. Peter the 29 th	On Entry Island.....	There is a possibility that it may have been on Antberst Island.
Allezay.....	" 28 th	Deadman's Island.	
Cap d'Orléans.....	" 30 th Probably in compliment to the reigning family of France.	Cape Kildare.	
Ripuiers de Barques.....	" 30 th From canoes full of natives which he saw there.	Richmond Bay.	
Le Cap dez Sauvages.....	July 1 st From a native whom he saw there.....	North Point.....	May survive in "Cape Tormentine." See p. 18, note 3.
La baye Saint Limaire [should be Lunire, see these Trans. V, p. 122-123].	" 2 nd The day of St. Leonarius is July 1 st , on which day they had entered it.	Head of Northumberland Strait, between a line from C. Wolfe to Richmond and one from North Point to Cape Escumetic.	See these Trans. V, pp. 131-132.
[Triangular Bay].....	" 2 nd	Miramichi Bay.....	Not specially named by Cartier, but referred to by him as "a bay, in the fashion of a triangle."
Cap d'Espérance.....	" 3 rd From his hope of finding a western passage.	Point Miscon or North Point...	Has been corrupted and moved to Gaspé, where it is now Cape Despair.
La couche Saint Martin.....	" 4 th Day of St. Martin.....	Port Daniel.	
La baye de Chaleur.....	" 10 th From the great heat experienced.....	Bay Chaleur.....	The name has persisted until the present.
Cap de Pratto.....	" 12 th Perhaps for Albert de Prato, priest and mathematician.	White Head.....	See antea, p. 20, note 3.
Le Cap St. Loys.....	" 28 th The day of the festival of St. Louis.....	Heath Point (or east Cape?).	
Cap de Memorancy.....	" 29 th Probably in honor of Duke of Montmorency.	Fox Point.....	See antea, p. 20, note 4.
Le destroyt Saint Pierre.....	Aug. 5 th Because entered on the day of St. Peter, Aug. 1 st .	Strait between Anticosti and Labrador.	
Le Cap Thiennot.....	" 5 th After the Chief of a band of Indians seen there.	Natashquan Point.....	See antea, p. 20, note 5.

APPENDIX II.—Continued.
A TABLE OF THE PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED OR GIVEN BY CARTIER IN THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

CARTIER'S NAME.	DATE.	WHY GIVEN.	PRESENT NAME.	REMARKS.
Les ysles Saint Guillaume.....	1535. July 29th.....	St. Augustin chain (?)	
Les ysles Sainte Marthe.....	" 30th For the day of St. Martha, July 29th.....		Great Mecatina Island (?)	
Les ysles Saint Germain.....	" 30th For the day of St. Germain, July 31st.....		St. Mary's Islands (?)	
Le harro Saint Nicolas.....	Aug. 1st.....	Pachichibou.	
Le Cap de Rabast.....	" 7th Perhaps from its position		Charleton Point (?).....	See antea, p. 23, and footnote 2.
La baye Saint Laurens.....	" 8th For the day of St. Lawrence, Aug. 10th.....		The vicinity of St. Genevieve and Hunting Islands.	
L'ysle de l'Assumption.....	" 15th Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.....		Anticosti.	
[Mountains of Notre Dame]....	" 15th Because sighted on "Our Lady day of August,"		Notre Dame Mountains.....	The name has persisted until to-day.
Les ysles Rondes.....	" 19th Without doubt from their high and rounded hills.		Seven Island	Cartier also used the name "the seven islands" later in his narrative, so that he really gave the name by which they are still known.
[Riviere d'eau douce].....	" 20th Evident. See antea, p. 23.....		Moisie later.....	Appears on old maps both as "fresh river" and "river of horses." See p. 23.
Honguedo.....	1536. May 21st Given to him, no doubt, by the Indians....		Gaspé.	
Les Araynes	" 27th From their sandy character		Magdalene Islands.....	Used as a proper name to signify the low sandy islands.
Cap de Lorraine.....	" 27th Doubtless from Lorraine in France		Possibly Cape St. Lawrence...	May possibly survive, corrupted, in the present Cape St. Lawrence.
Le Cap de Saint Paul.....	" 27th Possibly the name found there by Cartier..		Probably the present St. Paul's Islands.	See antea, p. 24, and note 2.

¹⁵³⁵ Note.—In naming important places, when not actually discovered on a particular saint's day, Cartier frequently gave to them the name of the Saint whose festival or day was nearest. Days of St. Anthony, St. Julien, St. Lawrence and others are examples of this.

