

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 17TH CENTURY MAP 'NOUVELLE FRANCE'

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ABSTRACT This paper presents an analysis of the manuscript map 'Nouvelle France' now located at the Ministry of Defence, Taunton, England. It is one of the few maps of New France that depicts the growth of geographical knowledge between the publication of Champlain's last map (1632) and those of Nicolas Sanson (1650–57), and it is the earliest surviving map on which an attempt was made to give the locations of native groups. As such, the map is an important historical document that can be used to approximate the human geography of native Canada prior to the dispersal of these groups by 1650. The evidence suggests that the map was drafted late in 1641 using Champlain's 1632 map, a 'Huron map' acquired or compiled by the Jesuit Father Paul Ragueneau in 1639 or 1640, and information supplied by two Frenchmen who had been in the Mohawk country from 1640 to 1641 as captives of the Iroquois. The native locations and names on the map were incorporated on Nicolas Sanson's maps of 1656 and 1657. Although the author of the map 'Nouvelle France' is not known, circumstantial evidence points to the surveyor Jean Bourdon who was active in New France from 1634 on.

INTRODUCTION

Before attempting the analysis of a historical map it might be prudent to remind oneself what historical maps are. With rare exceptions they are composed of fragments of information from a variety of sources available to an author. Some of these sources may have been recent to the date of a map and indeed may have prompted the drafting of a map, while other sources may have been collected much earlier in time. The presence of features on a map can be due to the particular interests of an author as well as the information he had. Such features are significant in tracing map sources, the identification of an author or a date. By contrast, the absence of features may be of no significance since they may have been caused by accident, carelessness or lack of information. The quality of a map can of course vary depending on the skill of a cartographer and whether he is producing a rough sketch or an engraving for publication. The final map therefore, is limited by the information available to an author at a point in time and his skill at portraying it.

In an analysis of a map such as 'Nouvelle France' ('Nouvelle France'), whose date and author are not known, one is limited not only by the fragmentary information on the map, but also by the fragmentary nature of the documentary material relating to the period when the map was produced. Since imperfect information produces uncertain results, one must keep in mind that there are no final answers but only alternate interpretations, even the best of which can fall apart under the weight of new evidence. Given the scarcity of data and the fact that the lettering on *Nouvelle France* was printed, it is therefore impossible to determine conclusively who made the map, although dating the map poses fewer problems. In spite of this cautionary note, this paper will make a case for a particular cartographer. It is recognized of course that the data are imperfect, that it was necessary to consider circumstantial evidence, and that alternate interpretations are possible.

The object of this paper is to present an analysis of the map titled *Nouvelle France*, believed to have been drafted in the early 1640s. This map appears to be one of the few of the eastern Great Lakes area made between Champlain's last

map (1632) and the maps of Nicolas Sanson (1650, 1656, 1657), that is not a direct copy of earlier maps but shows something of the gradual evolution of geographical knowledge during the post-Champlain period (Heidenreich, 1980: 35–42). It is also the first surviving map of New France on which an attempt was made to depict the distribution of native groups. Since it is more than likely that Sanson copied the native information from *Nouvelle France* for his maps of 1656 and 1657 (maps frequently used by researchers to study the location of native groups), it would be more prudent if researchers used *Nouvelle France* for such a purpose. Finally, *Nouvelle France* is the only surviving map to show the distribution of native groups of the eastern Great Lakes prior to the disruption caused by the Iroquois wars. As such it is a unique graphic account of geographical information which is given elsewhere in less precise written accounts. *Nouvelle France* is therefore an important document worthy of analysis. Before the geographical content of the map can be analysed it is important that an attempt be made to determine where the information on the map came from, when the map was made and who may have made it.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP NOUVELLE FRANCE

Nouvelle France is a manuscript map located in the Hydrographic Department, Ministry of Defence, Taunton, England (Figure 1). It was drawn on a fine-grained skin measuring approximately 58 by 84 cm. The dimensions of the map to the outer border lines are about 57 by 77 cm. There are no indications of scale, latitude or longitude. North is at the top of the map, although there is no north arrow. The cartouche containing the title in capital letters, NOUVELLE FRANCE, is in the upper left corner of the map. The scroll work surrounding the title is crudely drawn. At the base of the scroll is the face of a man, recognizably European through his goatee and curly hair ending about the level of his nose. Most of the information on the map was printed in capital letters, some of it in small letters. All the water bodies were stippled in small dots and drainage divides indicated by chains of small hills.

East to west the map covers approximately the area between the Saguenay River and the eastern reaches of a large lake ('Grand Lac') west of Lake Huron. From north to south the map covers the area between the headwaters of the Ottawa River and rivers flowing into Lakes Nipissing and Huron, to the mouth of the Hudson River and eastward along the Atlantic coast.

Internally the map is divided into three principal and six secondary parts. The central part of the map, outlined in a green wash, is what is known today as southern Ontario, south of the Kawartha Lakes system. Lake Simcoe ("Le lac Ouentara") and Nottawasaga Bay are recognizable. Three native groups occupy this area: "Hurons, divisés en 17 Bourgs"; "Nation du Petun, divisé en 8 Bourgs"; and "Nation-Neutre, divisée en quarante Bourgs". To the north of the Great



FIGURE 2. Portion of 'Carte de la nouvelle France...' engraved in 1632 for Samuel de Champlain's *Les Voyages De La Nouvelle France...*, Paris 1632. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

Lakes as far east as the Saint-Maurice River ("Les trois Rivieres") is the country of the 'Algomquins' containing some 26 native names. The limits of this area are given in a red wash. To the south of the Great Lakes is the country of the "Iroquois" and "Gens de Feu" containing some 17 native names. It too is outlined in a red wash. Along the eastern and southern periphery of these three areas are the 'Montaignets' in the northeast, 'Lacadie', 'La Nouvelle Angleterre', 'La Nouvelle Flandre', 'La Virginie', and 'Le Nouveau Mexic'. Each is outlined in a wash varying from light green to a reddish brown. None of the peripheral areas contain native names. Quebec, Tadoussac and "ile dorleans" are properly placed in the "Montaignets" area and 'Habitation des Hollandois' in 'La Nouvelle Flandre' approximately where Fort Orange would have been located.

Besides the Saint Lawrence ('Riviere de St. Laurens') and Saint Maurice Rivers ('Les trois Rivieres') the following are also named: 'R. des Nipisiriniens' (French River), 'R. des Iroquois' (Rivière Richelieu), 'R. de St. Francois', 'R. le Tardif' (probably Rivière Nicolet) and 'R. de Kinebequi' (Kennebec River). Identifiable lakes are 'Lac de Champlain' and Lake George (given as 'Lac'), 'Lac de Saint Louys' (Lake Ontario), 'Lac des Gens du Chat' (Lake Erie), 'La Mer Doulce du Lac des Hurons' (Lake Huron), 'Lac des Nipisiriniens' (Lake Nipissing) and 'Le lac Ouentara' (Lake Simcoe). Lakes whose identification is less certain are 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' (probably a fusion of Saginaw Bay and Lake Michigan) and "Grand Lac, que'on croit avoir sa descharge vers la chine" (Great Lake, which is believed to flow towards China) which is probably Lake Superior.

One trail ('chemin') is indicated from the south end of Lake George across the upper Hudson River beside two little lakes and then across the Mohawk River to 'Trois Villages d'Iroquois'. The Iroquois villages are each situated on a little hill. Two village symbols, different from those for the three 'Iroquois' villages, are given for the 'Sonontocronon' (Seneca).

It is evident that the main purpose of the map was to depict the political divisions of northeastern North America and in particular the distribution of native groups known directly, or through native accounts, to the French in the Great Lakes region. With its focus on the Huron, Petun and Neutral in Southern Ontario, it is likely that the map depicts a Huron view of their world. The names are all in Huron, although at times so mangled that one is forced to conclude that the cartographer was not familiar with any of the Iroquoian languages and had problems understanding or reading what he was copying. Although the cartographer was familiar with cartographic conventions, the map was not particularly carefully drawn by 17th-century standards.

SOURCES AND DATING OF THE MAP

In some of its features the map resembles Champlain's last map, published in 1632 (Figure 2). That it is not a Champlain map is obvious when one compares the rather crude draftsmanship of *Nouvelle France* to Champlain's only known manuscript map "description des costes ... 1607" (Heidenreich, 1976). The various geographical additions to *Nouvelle France* compared to Champlain's map of 1632 demonstrate that the former post-dates the latter.

The general physical geographical outline of the Algonquin portion of the map appears to have been generalized from Champlain's map published in 1632. The Saguenay and Saint-Maurice Rivers were taken directly from Champlain. The outlines of 'Grand Lac' and 'Lac des Hurons' as well as the number and general configuration of the rivers entering these lakes are also similar to Champlain's. The Ottawa River, a departure from Champlain's map, is probably a rough generalization of Champlain's detail. In the case of Lake Nipissing however, the author of the map created an eastern half to the lake (the part with 'siriniens' in it) not present on Champlain's maps. He seems to have achieved this by joining the east end of Lake Nipissing on Champlain's map with a line to the upper Ottawa River near where Champlain had written 'Sault' and then treated the area between this line and the Mattawa River on Champlain's map as an extended Lake Nipissing (see Figure 2). The number of Huron, Petun and Neutral villages were probably taken from Champlain's writings (Biggar 3:95; 6:244, 249). Sagard (1865:79) listed 25 villages for the Huron while Brébeuf (J.R. 8:115; 10:313) gave 20 and Lalemant 32, including the Petun (J.R. 19:127). Elsewhere Lalemant (J.R. 20:43) stated that the Petun had 9 villages, leaving 23 to the Huron. According to La Roche Daillon, in 1626 the Neutral had 28 villages as well as smaller hamlets (Sagard, 1636:883) while every other writer wrote that they had about 40 villages (J.R. 20:95, 105; 21:189). Only in Champlain's writings do we find the particular combination of 17 Huron, 8 Petun and 40 Neutral villages.

The major differences between *Nouvelle France* and Champlain's map pertain to the area outlined in red containing the 'Gens de Feu', the 'Iroquois', and the Lake Champlain corridor to the Hudson River. Lake Erie was widened from a river on Champlain's 1632 map to a lake, and 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' appears for the first time on a map as a geographical configuration with a name. Very few of the native names on the map appear on any documents prior to the late 1630s. The greatest difference between this and Champlain's map is the Richelieu River – Lake Champlain corridor to the Mohawk country. There is no evidence that the details of this route were known during the Champlain period. It is interesting to note that the cartographer did not identify the 'Trois Villages d'Iroquois' with the 'Agnieronon' (Mohawk) which is clearly what they were. The placement of native groups along the route to the Mohawk villages demonstrates not only that the cartographer had not travelled that route but that he had information which he was not able to evaluate with his knowledge. In fact this portion of the map looks as if the author tried to combine two sets of information, a map or description of the route to the Mohawk and a group of tribal names from another source. What he was not clear about was how to relate the two. Other parts of the map, especially the route from the St. Lawrence River to the Huron demonstrates a lack of familiarity with the geography of New France or an inability to evaluate existing information.

In order to demonstrate where the post Champlain information of the map came from, it is necessary to list the geographical contributions made by various travellers and writers after the Champlain period. Since the Lake Champlain

corridor and the native place names appear to be the best diagnostic features of this map, most of the attention will be given to them.

In the summer of 1632 the French returned to the St. Lawrence after a three-year absence during which Quebec had been occupied by the English. During the winter of 1633–34 Father Le Jeune travelled through the hill country south of the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and the Gaspé Peninsula with a Montagnais hunting party. In 1634 Fathers Brébeuf and Daniel went to the Huron and briefly visited the Petun. The same year Jean Nicollet was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Winnebago (Gens de Mer, Puants, Aouentsiouaenron). During the next few years the French were getting re-established at Québec and in Huronia. Although no further journeys were undertaken until 1640, the Jesuit Fathers recorded a great deal of geographical information from native accounts which they fused with their own observations and those gathered by earlier observers. This information is scattered throughout the early *Jesuit Relations* and was drawn together in an excellent summary by Father Le Jeune for the *Relation* of 1640 (J.R. 18:227–39). In order to prepare himself for this chapter on the geography and native distributions of the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence area, Father Le Jeune consulted with Jean Nicollet on the northern Algonquin groups (J.R. 18:233) and used 'une carte Huronne' (J.R. 18:234), brought to him by Father Ragueneau, for the southern groups. It is probable that this 'carte Huronne' was one of the sources for *Nouvelle France*. Curiously, the cartographer does not appear to have consulted with Le Jeune or read his *Relation*.

Le Jeune began his description with the Montagnais country as far as Trois Rivières. He mentioned five native groups, none of which are located on *Nouvelle France*. From there he proceeded up the Ottawa River ('Rivière des Prairies') mentioning nine groups along the river and the country between the Ottawa Valley and Georgian Bay. None of these appear on the map in a form used by Le Jeune. North of Lake Nipissing Le Jeune located seven more groups, none of which are on the map. Le Jeune then proceeded to describe Lake Huron and the waterways to the west in the following terms: "This sea (Lake Huron) is nothing but a large lake which, becoming narrower in the West, or the West Northwest, forms another smaller Lake, which begins to enlarge into another great Lake or second fresh-water sea" (J.R. 18:229). Residing around Lake Huron were seven groups, the last of which he called the 'Baouichtigouian' or 'people of the Sault'. Although some of these groups are on *Nouvelle France* their names are given in Huron while Le Jeune gave them in Algonquian. Beyond the Sault, around the 'little lake', were two native groups. Passing the 'little lake' to the "shores of the second fresh-water sea" Le Jeune listed seven groups, among them the 'Maroumine' (Menominee), 'Ouinipigou' (Winnebago), 'Nadouiesiu' (Sioux), 'Assinipour' (Assiniboin), 'Eriniouai' (Illinois), 'Rassaouaketon' (Nassauakueton-Ottawa) and the 'Pouutouatami' (Potawatomi). He added that the 'Quinipigou' are the 'Puants' and that their name derives from the Algonquian word 'ouinipeg' which means "bad smelling water, sea or salt water". Le Jeune then explained that because they live beside a sea ('une mer'), one about which the French had no knowledge, they should be called 'people of the sea' ('nation de la mer') (J.R.

18:231). What is interesting about this passage is that Le Jeune does not mention that there are two great lakes beyond Lake Huron. In his geographical description he seems to have described Lake Superior, yet five of the seven groups he listed lived on Lake Michigan. The other two, the Sioux and Assiniboine, could have been reached from either lake. In a later passage Le Jeune returned to this problem speculating that if one crossed the second great lake (Lake Superior) and went down a river which issued from this lake one would come to a sea which was theorized to be north of 'nouvelle Mexique'. This sea, he reasoned, probably had its outlet towards Japan and China (J.R. 18:237). According to Le Jeune all of this information was obtained from Jean Nicollet. Except for the 'Nadouessi', none of the groups mentioned by Le Jeune are on *Nouvelle France*. The fact that only one lake is mentioned as being west of Lake Huron suggests that, like Champlain (Heidenreich 1976: 94-95), Le Jeune and others did not know of the existence of two lakes and consequently assumed that all the native information from Lakes Superior and Michigan referred to the same single lake. Not until the *Relation* written by Father Ragueneau in April 1648 do we get a clear statement of the existence of two lakes (J.R. 33:61).

The southern portion of the *Nouvelle France*, covering the area south of the Algonquins, appears to have been taken from the map that Father Ragueneau brought to Father Le Jeune. In the *Relation*, Le Jeune mentioned 29 native groups in an arc south of the St. Lawrence from east to west, beginning with the 'Agneehrono' (Mohawk) and ending with the 'Attouendarankhronon' (Appendix I:A). On *Nouvelle France*, 16 of these names are given, although at times spelled differently. The omissions occur in area where space on the map seems to have been limited. From the differences in spelling between Le Jeune's list and *Nouvelle France*, as well as the omission of 13 names, it is obvious that *Nouvelle France* is not Ragueneau's 'Huron Map'. It is probable, however, that portions of that map were used to construct the geographical outline of *Nouvelle France*. Earlier it was stated that the Algonquin area of *Nouvelle France* was a rough copy of Champlain's map of 1632, while the area covered by the 'Gens de Feu' and 'Iroquois' (outlined in red) was different. This area, different and better than on Champlain's map, must have been copied from Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' (except the Lake Champlain route). Father Le Jeune does not mention two lakes in the west and wrote that the 'Puants' were on a sea of which the French had no knowledge. He therefore did not recognize the "Lac des Eaux de Mer" as a sea and consequently missed identifying Lake Michigan. Perhaps he, like Father Druillettes in 1660 (J.R. 45:219), thought it was a bay in Lake Huron. *Nouvelle France* therefore contains information the French did not know how to interpret; a 'Grand Lac' (Lake Superior), a 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' (perhaps Lake Michigan or Saginaw Bay) and the upper Michigan Peninsula with a creditable location for the "Aouentsiouaenronon" (Winnebago or Puants). Unfortunately we know little about the map brought by Father Ragueneau. Father Le Jeune calls it "une carte Huronne". What does this mean? We know that it covered more than the Huron country and that the native names on it appear to have been written in Huron. Could it be that the information on the map (the geographical outline and native names) was obtained from Huron informants; in other words, that it was in fact a Huron map

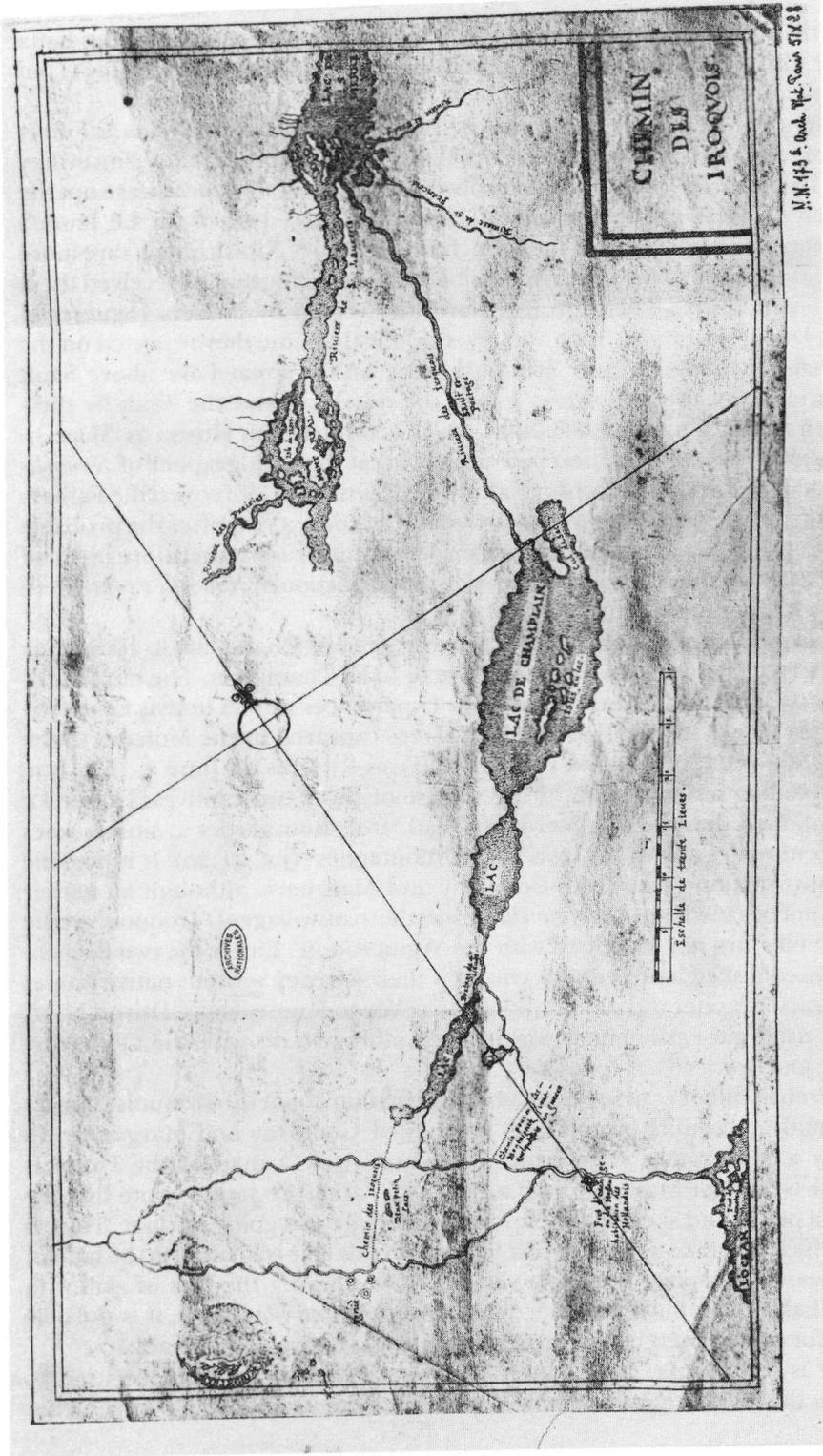
depicting their known world? This would help explain the location 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' of which Le Jeune said the French "had no knowledge" (J.R. 18:231) but the Huron easily could have.

It is not clear where the names on the Algonquin portion of *Nouvelle France* came from. Perhaps they were also on Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' since they appear to be in Huron. If so, Nicollet probably recognized that these were not the names used by these groups for themselves and replaced them for Le Jeune's *Relation*. Since the names west of the French River ('R. des Nipisiriniens') are more intelligible than those to the east, is it possible that the cartographer received these names independently? These groups were first visited by Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut late in September 1641 (J.R. 23:225). At that time they reported on the 'Naudouessis', 'Kiristinons' and 'Irinions' living on the great Lake above Sault Sainte-Marie. The fathers however called the inhabitants of the Sault by their Algonquian name, 'Pauoitigoueieuhak', which is rendered in Huron as 'Skiaeronon' on *Nouvelle France*. It is therefore unlikely that the cartographer of *Nouvelle France* could have spoken to Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut. Moreover, the Fathers did not return to the St. Lawrence colony until July 1642, a year after the probable date of the map. In the absence of other evidence this writer is therefore inclined to believe that all of the names from the Algonquin portion of *Nouvelle France* were taken from Ragueneau's 'Huron Map'.

The Lake Champlain corridor was first explored by Champlain in 1609 some undetermined distance down the west shore of Lake Champlain. The next Europeans to travel that route and report their experiences were Thomas Godefroy and François Marguerie De La Haye. Both were captured by the Mohawk in the autumn of 1640 (J.R. 21:23) and released at Trois Rivières on June 5, 1641 (J.R. 21:33). Preceding a description of the release of these two captives, Father Le Jeune mentioned that the 'Agnieeronons' had "trois Bourgardes ... situées assés proches les unes des autres sur trois petites montagnes" (J.R. 21:20). It is possible that this information came from Godefroy and Marguerie although an earlier source cannot be ruled out. On *Nouvelle France* the 'trois villages D'Iroquois' on the 'three little hills' are not identified with the 'Agnieronon'. Either the two Frenchmen produced a sketch or verbal account of their journey without native names which the cartographer did not know how to relate to Ragueneau's 'Huron Map', or he was using an earlier map which had nothing to do with the Godefroy-Marguerie journey.

The French did of course have some information about the Iroquois country based on native accounts prior to the journey of Godefroy and Marguerie. In April 1637 a Montagnais chief from Tadoussac drew a map of the Iroquois country for Governor Montmagny (J.R. 12:153). Father Le Jeune wrote that the chief took a pencil and sketched the country where he was going stating: "Here is the river which is to take us into a great lake; from this lake we pass into the land of our enemies; in this place are their villages." Considering the lack of skill with which the Lake Champlain corridor was drawn on *Nouvelle France*, it is possible that the information used by the cartographer was a native sketch map.

There is little other information on *Nouvelle France* that can be used to ascertain its date and origin. The only French settlements on the map are Quebec



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FIGURE 3. 'Chemin/Des/Iroquois'. Manuscript map; Archives Nationales, Paris, France, N.N. 173-6. Made circa 1646. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

and Tadoussac. Trois-Rivières, begun in 1634, is not indicated, and neither are Montreal and Fort Richelieu. The site for Montreal was chosen on October 15, 1641 (J.R. 22:203, 211) and building commenced the following spring. Fort Richelieu was begun on August 13, 1642 (J.R. 22:203-05, 275-77). The absence of both of these settlements suggests a date for the map prior to late 1641 or possibly early 1642. This is however not conclusive evidence since Trois-Rivières is missing as well. Other maps, discussed below, show that it was not unusual for settlements to be omitted on early maps.

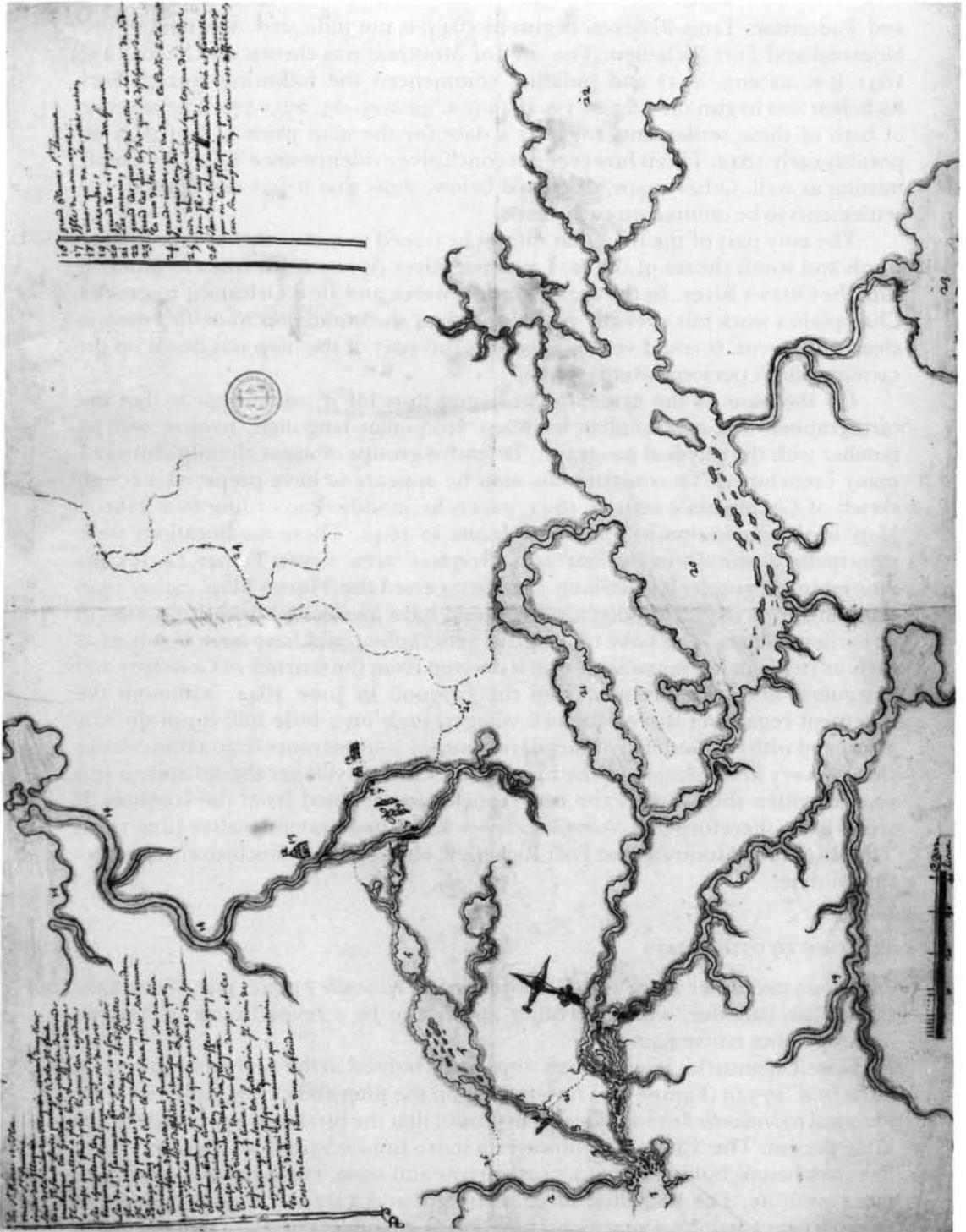
The only part of the map that cannot be traced to some other source are the north and south shores of the St. Lawrence River downstream from its junction with the Ottawa River. In the area around Quebec and Île d'Orléans it resembles Champlain's work but over the rest of the river the outline on *Nouvelle France* is clearly different. It could very well be that this part of the map was based on the cartographer's personal observations.

On the basis of the evidence presented thus far it would appear that the cartographer was not familiar with any Iroquoian language; neither was he familiar with the physical geography or native groups of areas already visited by many Frenchmen. To construct his map he appears to have prepared a rough sketch of Champlain's map of 1632, which he modified according to a 'Huron Map' in the possession of Father Le Jeune in 1640. These modifications were principally in the 'Gens de Feu' and 'Iroquois' area. Given Father Le Jeune's interest in geography it is unlikely that he received the 'Huron Map' earlier than the summer of 1640, for otherwise he would have mentioned the information in an earlier *Relation*. The Lake Champlain geography could have been obtained as early as 1637 but it is more likely that it derived from the journey of Godefroy and Marguerie after their return from the Iroquois in June 1641. Although the statement regarding three Mohawk villages, each on a little hill, is not directly associated with the Godefroy-Marguerie journey it seems more than a coincidence that the very first mention of the number of Mohawk villages should appear in a report written shortly after the two Frenchmen returned from the Iroquois. It seems likely therefore that *Nouvelle France* was drafted sometime after June 1641. The absence of Montréal and Fort Richelieu, although not conclusive, suggests a similar date.

RELATION TO OTHER MAPS

There are two other maps which are related to *Nouvelle France*; one of the Lake Champlain corridor, while the other appears to be a revised copy of *Nouvelle France* without native names.

The 'Chemin des Iroquois' (28 × 51 cm) is housed in the Archives Nationales, Paris (N.N. 173.6) (Figure 3). The lettering on the map and cartographic style are identical to *Nouvelle France*. There is no doubt that the two maps were made by the same person. The 'Chemin' is however a more finished product. Not only is the linework better, but it also has a north arrow and scale. Furthermore, the map is more accurate. The Richelieu River is straight and a set of rapids are indicated roughly near Chambly along with a notation of a 'Sault et Portage'. The 'cul de sac'



on the northeast corner of Lake Champlain corresponds with Baie Mississquoi, and a portage of four leagues is indicated between Lake George and Lake Champlain. Since Montreal is on the map, although Fort Richelieu which existed until June 1647 (J.R. 30:183) is not, the map must postdate 1642. One additional piece of information is a route between the Hudson River via Wood Creek to Lake Champlain. This route is described as "Chemin pour on Les Montaignetz vont quelquefois en guerre" (Road used occasionally by Montagnais war parties). Was this information obtained from the Tadoussac chief in 1637? Unlike *Nouvelle France*, the three villages of the Mohawk are clearly identified with the 'Agniè' (Mohawk).

The second map, untitled, covers the same area as *Nouvelle France* (Figure 4). Since it is in the handwriting of Jean Bourdon it has been attributed to him. The map is catalogued in Paris as SHM, Rec. 67, No. 44 and is 54.2 cm by 41 cm in size. Henceforth it will be called the 'Bourdon Map'. The map, oriented with south at the top, carries an elaborate legend of 26 items in the top two corners, as well as a scale and a north arrow. Item six identifies 'Lac St. Sacremen', named by Jean Bourdon and Father Jogues on May 30, 1646, while on their way to the Mohawk (J.R. 29:41; 28:197). Since they returned to Quebec on July 4, 1646 (J.R. 28:213) the map must postdate that event even though Montreal and Fort Richelieu, established in 1642, are not mentioned on the map.

To this writer, there is little doubt that the 'Bourdon Map' is largely an unfinished, free hand copy, of *Nouvelle France* or a common source. The configurations of the rivers and lakes, such as the odd shapes for Lakes Simcoe and Nipissing are too similar to be a coincidence. There are however some additions and improvements over *Nouvelle France*. The geography of the western Great Lakes is somewhat better than that on *Nouvelle France*, in that the unnamed lake (probably Michigan) south of the 'grand lac' (item 22 on the legend) has been left open at its western end whereas on *Nouvelle France* it is closed. A river and lake, "which it is said discharges into the sea of the north" (Hudson Bay), was however added. To the south of Lake Erie, Bourdon drew in a "grand rivière" flowing to the 'southern coast' and a smaller one from the Mohawk country to Lake Erie with a branch connecting it to the headwater of the 'grand rivière'. The origin of this information is not certain. It is probable that the 'grand rivière' is the Ohio River and that Bourdon and Father Jogues were told about it while among the Mohawk. In the area of the Lake Champlain corridor Bourdon departed from *Nouvelle France* and inserted a slightly revised version of 'Chemin des Iroquois'. Sixteen of the 26 items on the legend refer to this part of the map suggesting that what Bourdon was trying to do was to place the knowledge he and Father Jogues had obtained in 1646 into an existing geographical context. His revisions to the 'Chemin' include the Chambly basin, a series of hills at Chambly and between Lake George and the upper Hudson River, and two more sets of hills between the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, all indicating difficult terrain. On the west shore of

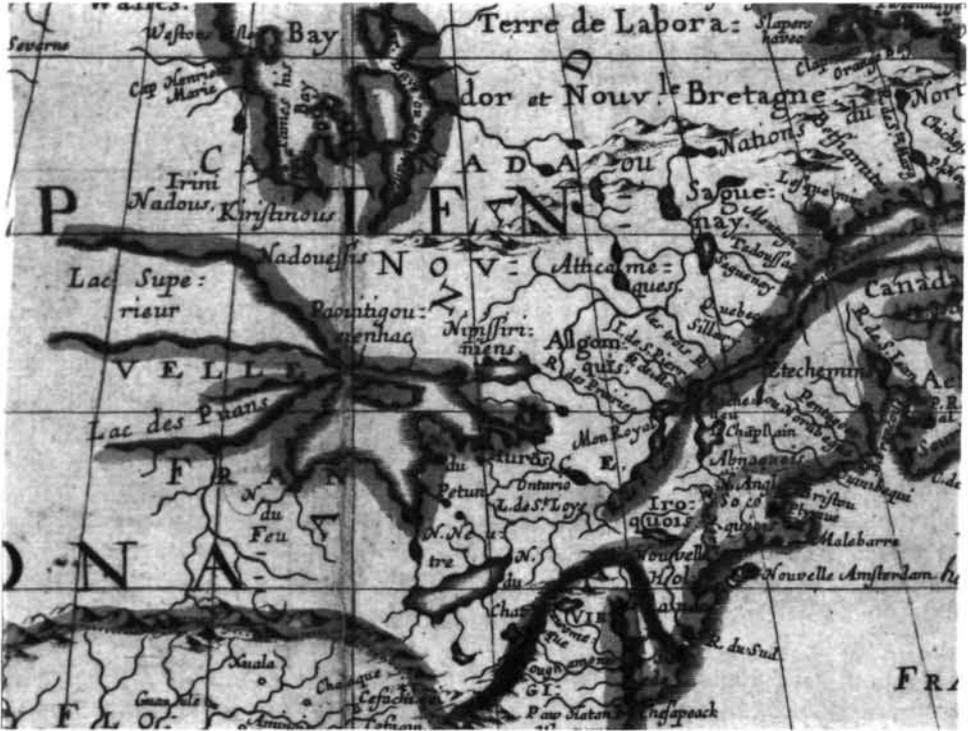


FIGURE 5. Portion of 'Amerique/Septentrionale' published in Paris 1650 by Nicolas Sanson. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

Lake Champlain he re-introduced a river and lake absent on the 'Chemin' but present on *Nouvelle France* and Champlain's map of 1632. He also returned to the outline of the Mohawk country on *Nouvelle France*. Routes used by the Iroquois to circumvent Fort Richelieu were indicated from Baie Mississquoi to Rivière St. François and from Chambly to the south shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal. These routes were first noted in 1643 when Governor Montmagny was chasing Iroquois war parties near Fort Richelieu (J.R. 24:287–295). In the absence of other information it is likely that this map was drawn by Jean Bourdon sometime after his return to Quebec in July 1646. In September 1646, Father Jogues mentioned a map he and Bourdon had drawn (J.R. 28:137). For reasons to be stated below, it is probable that this was not the "Bourdon Map", but rather the 'Chemin des Iroquois'.

INFLUENCES ON OTHER MAPS

By 1648 at the latest and possibly as early as 1646, the Jesuits had a much clearer concept of the geography of the Great Lakes than expressed on any earlier maps or documents. Part II of the *Relations* of 1647–48, written by Father Ragueneau on April 16, 1648, while among the Huron, for the first time clearly mentions all the Great Lakes, connecting waterways and major native groups (J.R. 33:61–67;

149–55). It is a masterful geographical description containing so many compass directions and notations of distance that one is inclined to believe that Father Ragueneau was taking these from a map. The maps most closely corresponding to his written description are those by Nicolas Sanson, *Amerique Septentrionale* (Paris 1650) (Figure 5) *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France* (Paris 1656) (Figure 6) and *Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1657) (Figure 7). Other maps with a similar geographical outline were published in 1657 (*Novae Franciae Accurata Delineatio*) and in 1660 (*Tabula Novae Franciae*). Of these the former was probably engraved for Father Francesco Bressani's *Breve Relatione* (Macerata 1653) while the latter appeared in Father François Du Creux's *Historiae Canadensis* (Paris, 1664) (Heidenreich and Dahl 1980:6). Although similar in their physical geographical outline, these maps are strikingly different from each other in what they include as place names and native groups as well as the spelling of these. This suggests a common base map of lakes and rivers which was adopted by all the cartographers and amended according to other information in their possession. It is probable that Father Ragueneau had the base map used by the above cartographers, when he wrote his *Huron Relation* in 1648. This *Relation* and the Sanson maps begin a new tradition of geographical description far superior to what preceded them. Precisely where this new information came from will not be debated here. What is fairly certain is that the native names in the Great Lakes portion of Sanson's maps of 1656 and 1657 came from *Nouvelle France*, or a close copy of it. It appears that Sanson had a base map which he obtained from Jesuit sources to which he added native names taken from *Nouvelle France*. Sanson even retained many of the spelling errors which the cartographer of *Nouvelle France* introduced when he copied Ragueneau's "Huron Map" (Appendix 1). Because *Nouvelle France* and the outline from which Sanson worked were somewhat different, Sanson misplaced some of the native groups. It is interesting to note that the "Aouentsiouaenronon" (Winnebago), missing on his map of 1656 were placed on the upper Michigan Peninsula where they are on *Nouvelle France*, for his map of 1657.

The last map which owes something to the succession of maps discussed above is *Plans des forts faicts par le Regiment Carignan Salieres ...* printed in Father Le Mercier's *Relation* of 1664–65 (J.R. 49:255, 267) (Figure 8). Although there are significant differences between this map and the others, the Lake Champlain corridor to the south end of "Lac du St. Sacramen" (Lake George) seems to be closely related to the "Bourdon Map".

In 1666 the entire geography of the Lake Champlain area was re-examined through the expedition on the Mohawk led by Prouville de Tracy. The ensuing map of the expedition is in the handwriting of Father Raffeix (no title; SHM Rec. 67, No. 56) who was one of the chaplains on the expedition (J.R. 50:147). It seems that prior to the expedition Raffeix examined the 'Bourdon Map' and made a tracing of the part between the lower end of Lake Champlain and the Mohawk villages (NMC 2486) (Figure 9).*

*It is unfortunate that we only have a tracing of the map by Father Felix Martin. I am not certain whether Father Martin copied the "Bourdon Map" thinking it to be by Father Raffeix, or whether he actually had a map by Father Raffeix.

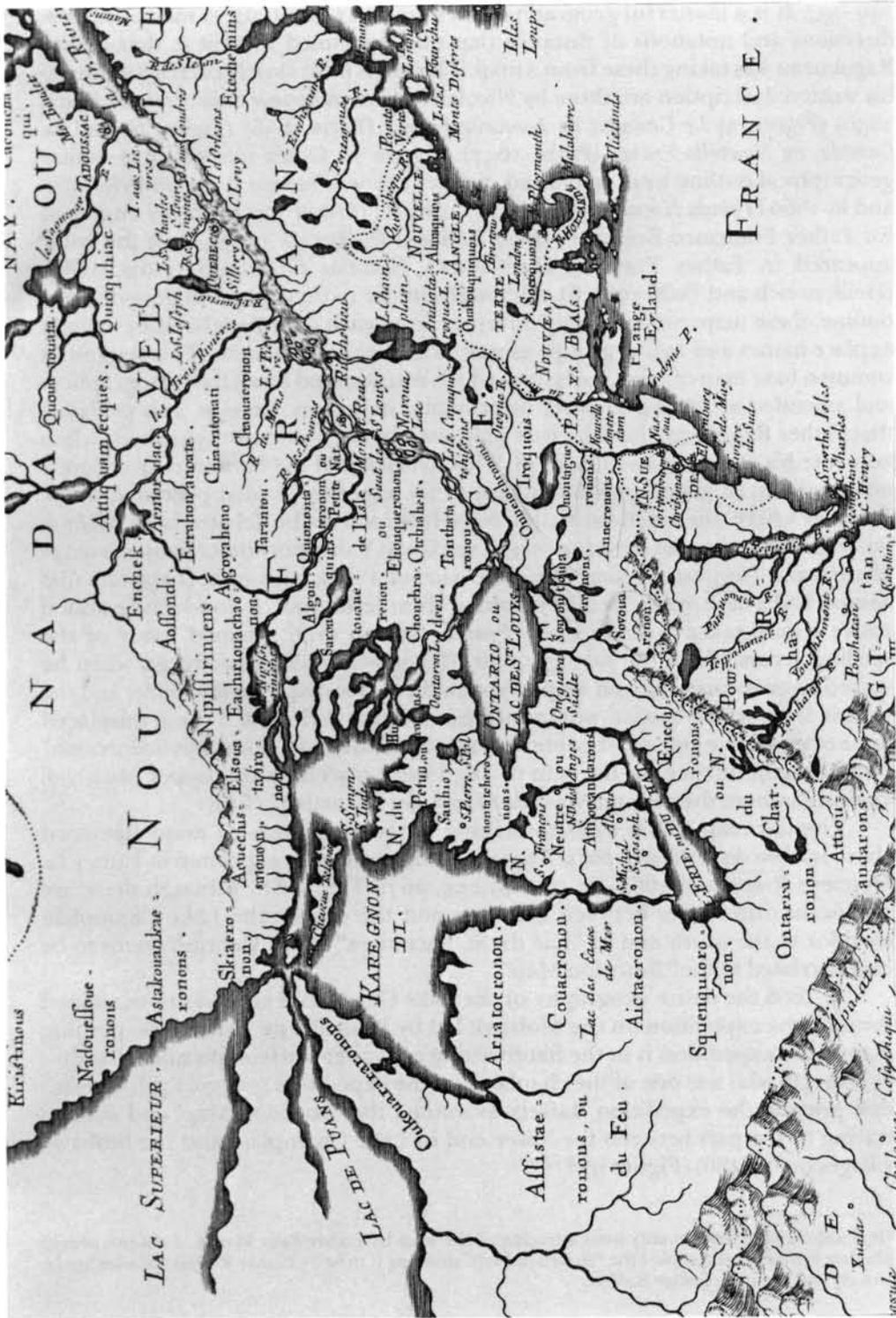


FIGURE 6. Portion of 'Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France' published in Paris 1656 by Nicolas Sanson. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.



FIGURE 7. Portion of 'Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France' published in Paris 1657 by Nicolas Sanson. There are numerous later printings of this map. The example reproduced here is from the atlas 'L'Amerique, En Plusiers Cartes...', Paris 1657. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

From the above it would seem that *Nouvelle France* and its successors had a modest influence on later maps for the Lake Champlain area.

EVALUATION

Nouvelle France appears to be a hybrid based on at least three sources of information; Champlain's map of 1632 and his published works; Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' described by Father Le Jeune in 1640; and a rough map or description of the Lake Champlain route probably obtained from Godefroy and Marguerie in June 1641. A likely date for the map is the latter half of 1641.

At the time the author drew *Nouvelle France* he had no knowledge of any of the Iroquoian languages and little knowledge of the geography of New France and its resident native population. Although he had some knowledge of cartographic layout, *Nouvelle France* was drawn with little skill. On the 'Chemin des Iroquois' the same author exhibited far greater skill suggesting either that he was learning his craft or simply took greater care.

Throughout the period under discussion there are only three maps mentioned in any of the surviving documents: the map drawn by the Montagnais chief in 1637, Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' (c. 1639–40) and the map prepared by Father Jogues and Jean Bourdon after their journey to the Mohawk in 1646. The Montagnais map and Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' no longer seem to exist

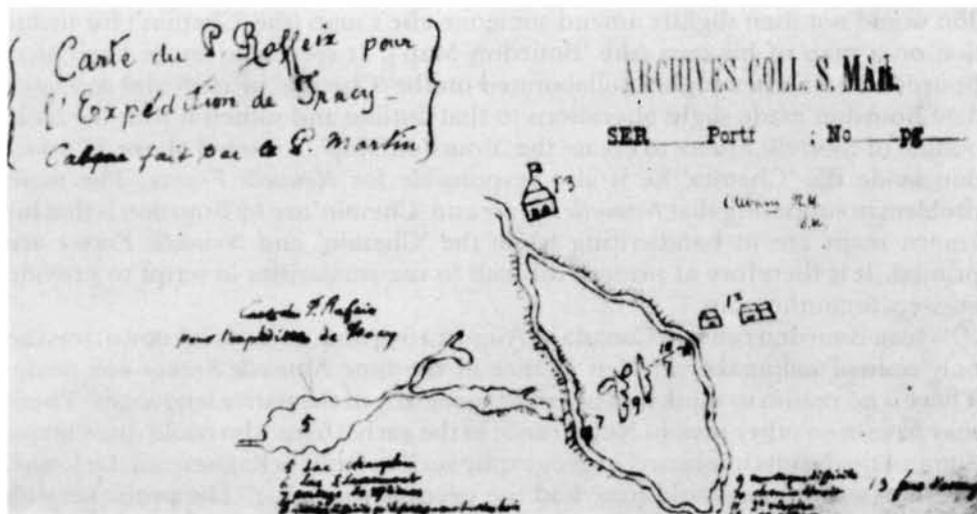


FIGURE 9. 'Carte du P. Raffeix pour l'Expédition de Tracy - Calque fait par le P. Martin'. Manuscript map in the Archives du Collège Sainte-Marie, Montréal, Québec. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

but the latter appears to have survived, in part, in *Nouvelle France*. It is possible that the former did as well. What can be said of the Jogues-Bourdon map? In a letter written 12 September, 1646, Father Jogues briefly mentioned that: "nous (Jogues and Bourdon) fismes une carte assez exacte des ces contrées ..." (J.R. 28:136). Based no doubt on this statement both the Paris and Ottawa Archives catalogued the *Chemin des Iroquois* as the Jogues-Bourdon Map. Both list the 'Bourdon map' as anonymous and "before 1664". Because the 'Chemin' and *Nouvelle France* were made by the same cartographer, this writer assumed as early as 1978 that *Nouvelle France* was also a Bourdon map (Heidenreich 1978:86). Father Jogues' letter is concerned with the Iroquois journey and Bourdon, a surveyor, was sent along "that he might become acquainted with the country" (J.R. 28:137). It is unlikely that the "fairly exact map" intended to document this journey would be a well executed route map from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk country, like the 'Chemin des Iroquois', and not a rough sketch such as the 'Bourdon Map' which covers a much larger area. For this reason the 'Chemin des Iroquois' has been attributed to Bourdon. Based on cartographic style, this would make *Nouvelle France* also a map by Bourdon and the 'Bourdon Map' an unfinished effort to place the Iroquois journey, represented by the 'Chemin', into the broader context represented by *Nouvelle France*. If Bourdon did not draw the 'Chemin des Iroquois' why did he adopt it for use on the 'Bourdon Map'? Father Jogues and Bourdon actually travelled that route and it was Bourdon's task to familiarize himself with the country. It seems to this writer that after having been told by the governor to make observations, and after having completed the journey, Bour-

FIGURE 8. 'Plans des forts faits par le Regiment Carignan Salieres.' Printed in the 'Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, es années 1664 & 1665,' by Francois Le Mercier, Paris 1666: 128. By courtesy of the National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada.

don would not then slightly amend someone else's map (the 'Chemin') for inclusion on a map of his own (the 'Bourdon Map'). It seems far more likely that Bourdon and Father Jogues collaborated on the 'Chemin' in 1646 and at a later date Bourdon made slight alterations to that outline and united it with the basic outline of *Nouvelle France* to create the 'Bourdon Map'. As noted above, if Bourdon made the 'Chemin' he is also responsible for *Nouvelle France*. The main problem in supposing that *Nouvelle France* and 'Chemin' are by Bourdon is that his known maps are in handwriting while the 'Chemin' and *Nouvelle France* are printed. It is therefore at present difficult to use similarities in script to provide answers for authorship.

Jean Bourdon came to Canada in August 1634 and, as far as is known, was the only trained mapmaker in New France at the time *Nouvelle France* was made. There is no reason to think that he could speak any of the native languages. There may have been other men in New France in the early 1640s who could draw maps. Some of the Jesuits interested in geography such as Fathers Ragueneau, Le Jeune, Bressani and Jogues could have had the necessary training. The problems with supposing that *Nouvelle France* is of Jesuit origin are several: the miscopying of so many native names; the lack of knowledge about the natives of the Ottawa Valley; the lack of knowledge that the three Iroquois villages belong to the 'Agnieronon', and the use of Champlain information when more recent Jesuit information was available. To sum it up, what is difficult to understand is why a Jesuit with no knowledge of any Iroquoian language, presumably living in the same building as Fathers Le Jeune and Ragueneau as well as others in a position to correct him, could produce a map such as *Nouvelle France*.

The means by which the native information on *Nouvelle France* got to Sanson is purely conjectural. Although Bourdon went to France from late in 1641 to 1642 and again in November 1650, any number of people could have conveyed the information. On both occasions Bourdon took maps with him or drew them in Paris after he arrived. The 1641-42 trip was actually authorized by Governor Montmagny to inform the French court, by means of maps, of the military situation of New France vis-à-vis the Iroquois (Burke-Gaffney 1957:92-93, 96-97). Sanson received the base map of the Great Lakes he used for all his maps by 1650. As mentioned earlier, it is probable that the Jesuits had that base map at the time Father Ragueneau wrote the 1647-48 *Relation*. In that *Relation* he calls the people of the Sault 'Paouitagoung' (J.R. 33:149) rendered 'Pauoitigoueieuhak' in 1643 (J.R. 23:223). On his 1650 map Sanson calls them 'Paouitigoueienhac' but changed to 'Skiaeronon' in 1656, the same spelling as on *Nouvelle France*. In the absence of other points of comparison between the Sanson maps of 1650 and 1656, and *Nouvelle France*, it seems that Sanson got the information on *Nouvelle France* after the publication of his first map in 1650. It is possible that this information came to Sanson from Bourdon after the latter arrived in France late in 1650 (J.R. 35:57).

Given the evidence to date, it is the contention of this writer that Jean Bourdon made *Nouvelle France* late in 1641. Shortly after his return from the Mohawk country (between July and September 1646) he collaborated with Father Jogues on the 'Chemin des Iroquois'. At a somewhat later date he attempted to

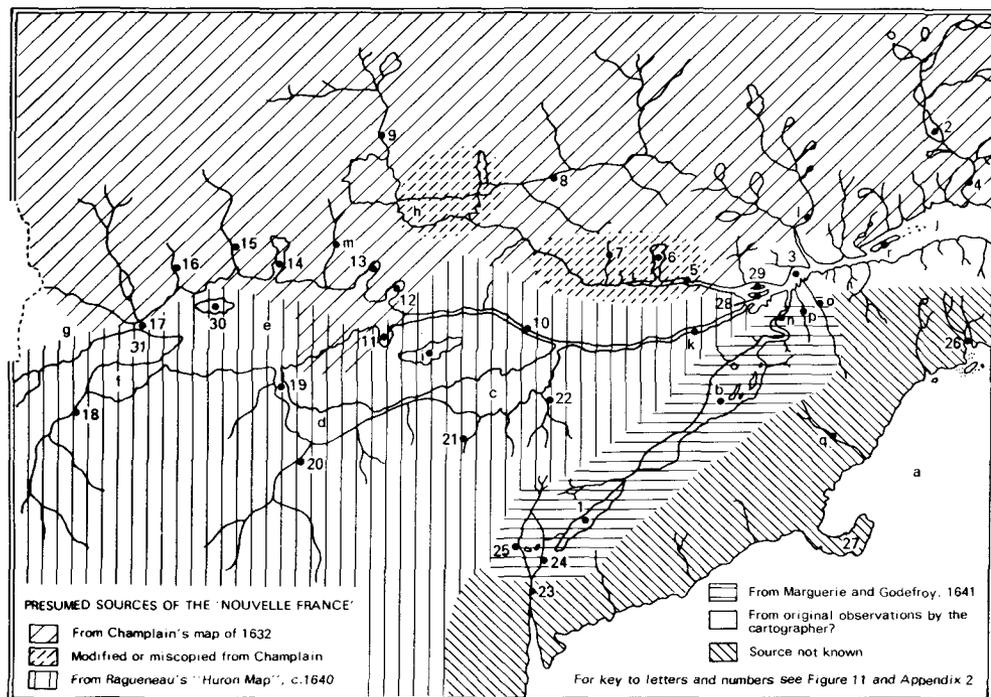


FIGURE 10. Identification of the main physical features on the map 'Nouvelle France'.

revise *Nouvelle France* with information obtained from his Mohawk journey but did not take that revision beyond the stage of a sketch map. The result was the 'Bourdon Map' dating to perhaps late 1646 or 1647.

LOCATION OF PHYSICAL FEATURES AND NATIVE GROUPS

Introduction

The analysis of a historical map is made less difficult if one begins with an identification of the physical features that form the structure of the map. These are features of a landscape, such as lakes and rivers, that have a large degree of permanence over time. Once these have been identified one can proceed to the more ephemeral human features of a landscape. Whether identifying physical or human features, it is best to proceed from features that can be positively identified to those about which one is less certain. The latter can sometimes be identified through a process of elimination, noting the spatial relationships they have with the known features. By these means most of the main physical features on *Nouvelle France* can be identified with some degree of certainty (Figures 10 and 11; Appendix 11).

Native names on a map pose a special problem. In the early 17th-century sources, native names are usually given in French, Iroquoian or Algonquian. Since the native languages were not written languages and exhibited marked

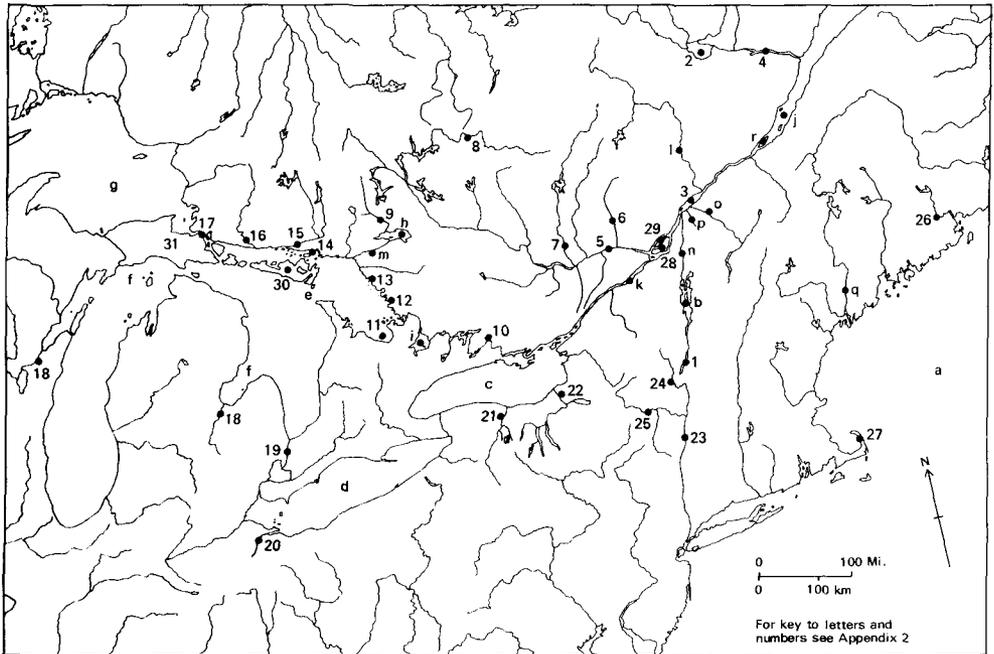


FIGURE 11. Key to the identification of the main physical features on the map 'Nouvelle France'.

regional differences in dialect, the name of any particular native group had to be recorded phonetically and could therefore be spelled in a variety of ways. This problem was compounded by the fact that the Europeans who recorded these names had varying degrees of competence in the native languages. This could result in names being so badly construed that the translation and identification of a name may be impossible or at best, rendered as a series of possibilities. Added problems are that some groups may have had more than one name; they may have been called different names by different people; the name recorded may have been an attempt by a native to pronounce the name of a group in a language different from his own; and finally, the name may represent some undefined social group such as a family, a village, a band, followers of a particular headman, or a collective name denoting an aggregate of any of the above. For all of these reasons the identification of native names is hazardous. Familiarity with the documents of a period and a working knowledge of the languages involved yield the best results.

The location of native groups on maps is another problem. Some groups were seasonally mobile and most underwent population dislocations at some period in their history. Since most maps are compilations, it makes them untrustworthy as evidence for native locations unless the information on the map can be dated. Fortunately, in the case of *Nouvelle France* it can be shown that part of the map and part of Father Le Jeune's list (J.R. 18:227-239), had a common source in Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map,' drafted in 1639 or 1640. This common part, as will be

discussed below, contains the names of the Iroquois and 'Gens de Feu' (J.R. 18:235). It is likely that the other names on *Nouvelle France* are also from the Ragueneau "Huron Map" in the Algonquin area. Here Le Jeune used names supplied to him by Jean Nicollet (J.R. 18:233). Nicollet was an interpreter of the Algonquian language, especially the Nipissing dialect. He lived among the Nipissing from 1620 to 1629 and eventually settled at Trois-Rivières in 1637. It is likely therefore, that the Algonquian names on Le Jeune's list date to the 1620s or early 1630s and are in Nipissing.

In summary, it is probable that all the native names on *Nouvelle France* depict the situation in the eastern Great Lakes during the late 1630s. The same is true for the southern groups on Le Jeune's list, however the names for his northern groups were collected somewhat earlier, possibly as early as the late 1620s. Since it is likely that the Algonquian names on Le Jeune's list are in Nipissing, a dictionary of that language will be used in this paper when translations become necessary (Cuoq, 1886).

The Geography of the western part of 'Nouvelle France'

The least satisfactory part of *Nouvelle France* is the geography of the lands west of "Lac Des Gens Du Chat" (Lake Erie) and south of "Grand Lac-Lac des Hurons" (Lake Superior – Lake Huron). This was an area not known to the French in 1641 and, as was stated above, was probably copied from Father Ragueneau's "Huron Map". The identity of the physical features and native groups within this area is dependent on establishing the location of the "Aovensiovaenronon" (Winnebago) and the "Lac des Eaux de Mer" with which these people were associated by name and location.

The first incontestable visits by Europeans to the Winnebago occurred after the Iroquois wars. At that time they were living with refugee Sauk, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Fox and others between the southern end of Green Bay and Lake Winnebago in what is now Wisconsin. The two earliest visitors to the Winnebago, who noted more than just the name of the group, were Nicolas Perrot and Fathers Allouez and Dablon. In the opinion of Dablon (1670) "the people named Puans (Winnebago) ... have always lived here as in their own country, and ... have been reduced to nothing from their very flourishing and populous state in the past, having been exterminated by the Illinois, their enemies" (J.R. 55:183). Perrot (ca. 1665) wrote in a similar vein: "in former times the Puans were masters of this bay and of a great extent of adjoining country" (Blair 1911:293). He too blamed early wars with the Ottawa, Fox and especially the Illinois for the reduced state of the group when the French finally arrived among them (Blair 1911:293–301). When Father Allouez visited the "Ovenibigoutz" (Winnebago) on May 13, 1670, he was told that the disastrous war with the Illinois had occurred "about thirty years ago" (J.R. 54:237), that is, about 1640. Archaeological evidence supports these observations; that before European contact the ancestors of the Winnebago lived where Perrot and Allouez met them. Except for small quantities, the Oneota archaeological material associated with the Winnebago and other Siouan groups, is not found further east than the west shore of Lake Michigan (Brose 1978:577–578).

Knowledge of the Winnebago and Lake Michigan was gained very slowly

over time. Sagard, who was in Huronia in 1623–24, merely mentioned the existence of the ‘Puants’ (Sagard 1865:xv). On his map of 1632 and accompanying legend, Champlain mentioned a “Riviere des Puans, qui vent d’un lac auquel il y a une mine de Cuivre de rosette” (Biggar 1936, 6:234). On his map he shows the river entering Lake Huron just east of the “Sault de Gaston” (Sault Ste. Marie) (Figure 2). Since Champlain was absent from New France between July 1629 and May 1633 it is likely that he received this information before 1629. In the *Histoire* Sagard (1636:644) related that Brulé had told him about the Sault de Gaston and the very large lake beyond it (Lake Superior) which discharged through those rapids into Lake Huron. In fact Sagard’s description of the rapid and the lake beyond it is identical to Champlain’s. Elsewhere Sagard recounts that Brulé had shown him copper he had obtained when visiting an unnamed native group on Lake Huron some 80 to 100 leagues from the Huron (Sagard 1636:788). It is likely that whatever information Sagard and Champlain had about the northwestern part of Lake Huron and the peoples living there, they obtained from Brulé. There seems to be little question that the ‘Grand Lac’ of Brulé, Champlain and Sagard is Lake Superior, and that the ‘Sault de Gaston’ is Sault Ste. Marie. Given that, then the ‘Riviere des Puans’ is some feature that was misplaced.

The next one hears of the Winnebago is a complaint from the Amikwa in June 1636 that the ‘Awaetsiwaenrrhonon’ or ‘gens puants’ had broken a peace and made war on them (J.R. 10:83). It was probably this incident that Perrot recounted as having taken place between the ‘Outaouak’, their neighbours and the Winnebago a few years before the latter were decimated by the Illinois (Blair 1911:293).

In 1639 more news of the Winnebago seems to have come to the French. In a letter written on April 27, Father Du Peron mentioned that the Huron traded with the Saulteur, the Ottawa and the ‘gents puants’ (J.R. 15:155). Later that year Father Lalemant wrote that “the Nation des Puants is one of the most important openings for the western tribes and somewhat more for the northern” (J.R. 16:253). The following year, 1640, Father Le Jeune gave a fuller account of the geography of the Lake Huron area as he understood it from conversations with Jean Nicolle:

This sea (Lake Huron) is nothing but a large Lake which, becoming narrower in the West, or the West Northwest, forms another smaller Lake, which then begins to enlarge into another great Lake or second fresh-water sea. (J.R. 18:229)

Le Jeune then listed the names of native groups until he got to the “Baouichtigouian” (Saulteur):

... that is to say, to the nation of the Sault, for, in fact, there is a Rapid, which rushes at this point into the fresh water sea [Huron]. Beyond this rapid [Sault Ste. Marie] we find the little lake [Whitefish Bay], upon the shores of which, to the North, are the Roquai [Noquet]. To the north of these are the Mantoue, people who navigate very little, living on the fruits of the earth. (J.R. 18:231)

What he was describing to this point can be followed exactly; the “Roquai”

(Noquet) and "Mantoue" being two Ojibwa bands west of Sault Ste. Marie. What follows is less clear:

Passing this smaller lake (Whitefish Bay), we enter the second freshwater sea (Lake Superior), upon the shores of which are the Maroumine [Malouminek, Menominee]; and still farther, upon the same banks, dwell the Ouinipigou [Winnebago], a sedentary people who are very numerous; some of the French call them the "Nation des Puans", because the Algonquin word "ouinipeg" signifies "bad smelling water" (eau puante), and they apply this name to the water of the salt sea, — so that these peoples are called Ouinipigou because they come from the shores of a sea about which we have no knowledge; and hence they ought not to be called the "nation des Puans" but the "nation de la mer". In the neighborhood of this nation are the Naduesiu [Dakota Sioux], the Assinipour [Assiniboin], the Eriniouai [Illinois], the Rasaouakoueton [Nassauakoueton Ottawa] and the Pououtouatami [Potawatomi].

(J.R. 18:231)

The identity of some of the groups mentioned by Le Jeune is made clearer when the letter 'r' is replaced by 'n', a transformation suggested by Cuoq (1886:357), since the sound for 'r' does not exist in Nipissing. Therefore the 'Maroumine' become the 'Manoumine' ('manomin' = folle avoine; Cuoq 1886:206), which are the well known Menominee. The 'Rasaouakoueton' become the 'Nassauakoueton', one of the four Ottawa bands also known as 'ceux de la Fourche' (J.R. 55:182) ('nasawabiteigan' = fourche; Cuoq 1886:263). The 'Eriniouai' are the Illinois. Just like the sound for 'r', the sound for 'l' did not exist in Nipissing although it did in some other Algonquian dialects (Cuoq 1886:191). Cuoq suggests that it can also be replaced by 'n'. The Illinois are spelled in a variety of ways in the *Jesuit Relations* including 'Irinions' (J.R. 23:225). While the Dakota and Assiniboin lived west of Lakes Michigan and Superior, the other groups lived on the lower Michigan Peninsula (Potawatomi and Nassauakoueton), the southwestern end of Lake Michigan (Illinois) and the Green Bay area (Winnebago and Menominee). In other words, Le Jeune appeared to be writing about Lake Superior yet he was describing native groups associated with Lake Michigan. He in fact admitted his confusion when he wrote that the Winnebago (Puants) came from the shores of a sea of which the French had no knowledge. This 'sea' must have been Lake Michigan about whose existence the French were uncertain until 1646 or 1648. Le Jeune only mentioned Lake Superior; he seems to have been unaware that there were two large lakes west of Lake Huron. Later in his *Relation* he stated that the 'Ouinipigou' spoke a language which was neither Huron nor Algonquian (J.R. 18:233). This is correct since the Winnebago speak a Siouan language, closely related to Iowa, Oto and Missouri, groups who lived to the west and southwest of them (Lurie, 1978:690). Still further in the *Relation* he listed the 'Aoueat-siouaenhronon', a name which he obtained from Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map'. This was the Huron name for the Winnebago (J.R. 10:83; 30:113) not to be confused with the 'Aoechisaeronon' which is what the Huron called the Missis-sauga (J.R. 34:203). On *Nouvelle France* the Winnebago are given twice, once where they were on Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' on the peninsula between the 'Grand Lac' and 'Lac Des Eaux De Mer', the other, north of Lake Superior, where they were

given on Champlain's map of 1632. It is plain that like Le Jeune the author of *Nouvelle France* was unable to distinguish references for the same group from two separate sources.

This confusion of names and geography makes one wonder where Jean Nicollet had travelled, who furnished Le Jeune with this information. According to Father Vimont writing in 1643, about one year after Nicollet's death, the interpreter had been sent to arrange a peace with the 'Gens de mer' who lived "about 300 leagues westward ... " of the Hurons (J.R. 23:277). He departed from the Huron country and stopped two days from his destination. Here he was met by some men "to escort him, and carry all his baggage ... " (J.R. 23:279). Earlier, in 1640, Le Jeune speculated about the geography west of Lake Huron based on information supplied by Nicollet:

... it is highly probable one can descend through the second great lake of the Hurons [Lake Superior], and through the tribes that we have named, into this sea.... Sieur Nicolet, who has advanced farthest into these so distant countries, has assured me that, if he had sailed three days' journey farther upon a great river which issues from this lake [Superior], he would have found the sea. Now I have strong suspicions that this is the sea which answers to that North of new Mexico, and that from this sea there would be an outlet towards Japan and China. Nevertheless, as we do not know whither this great lake [Lake Superior] tends, or this fresh-water sea, it would be a bold undertaking to go and explore those countries.

(J.R. 18:237)

This confused account reads as if Nicollet entered Lake Superior, travelled some distance and walked two days over land to the Winnebago. The only river issuing from Lake Superior is of course the Saint Marys River. Could it be that Nicollet met the Winnebago somewhere near Sault Ste. Marie, or two days walk inland (south) from somewhere along the south shore of Lake Superior, and later recounted confused native stories about Lake Superior and Lake Michigan? The fact that only Lake Superior can be identified in these stories and that a clear mention of Lake Michigan is absent suggests that Nicollet and the French did not know about the lake until a later date. For this reason vague accounts about a 'sea' and the natives living on its shores were transposed to Lake Superior, the one western lake the French knew. Even though Le Jeune had Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map', which has come down to us as the southern portion of *Nouvelle France*, he made no use of the information concerning the "Lac des Eaux de Mer"; possibly because it is indicated as a bay of Lake Huron when Nicollet had told him that the "sea" was west of Lake Superior.

In September 1641 Fathers Jogues and Raymbaut made their celebrated journey to the Saulteur and gave a good account of how to get to the 'Nadouessis' (Dakota) via Lake Superior to the headwaters of the Mississippi River. The first nine days were spent in " ... crossing another great lake that commences above the Sault (Superior), during the last nine days a river that traverses those lands" (J.R. 23:225). The 'Nadouessis' made war against the 'Kiristinons' (Cree) and the 'Irinions' (Illinois). Jogues' and Raymbaut's journey began a new mission to the north shore of Lake Huron. In 1645 Fathers Pijart and Garreau, now in charge of

the mission, reported that the country of the 'Archirigouans' (near the mouth of the French River) " ... extends toward the West, approaching the tribes of the Sault; the Aoueatsiouaenronnon, that is to say, who inhabit the coasts of the Sea; and other very numerous nations, with whom these have their principal trade and very close association" (J.R. 30:113). Although the upper lakes are not mentioned specifically in the *Relations* of 1645 and 1646, it appears that letters were sent to Quebec which were received in 1646 describing some of the geography of that area. Writing on September 10, 1646, Mother Marie de l'Incarnation (Guyart) stated that:

The letters we have received from the Huron mission have informed us that a new country has been discovered and its entrance found. It is the nation of the gens de mer, called in the Savage tongue Ouinpegouek ikimouek. This will be a large mission, which it is hoped will extend farther, because these people are numerous and sedentary and by their means others will be discovered.... And it is even intended to risk going upon a great sea that is beyond that of the Hurons, and by which it is claimed that the road to China will be found. By means of this sea, the water of which is fresh, it is hoped that even more countries will be found, on its shore and in the lands beyond. (MARSHALL 1969:159-160)

In view of what has been discussed so far, it is interesting that Mother Marie de l'Incarnation stated that "a *new* country has been discovered and its *entrance* found" to the Winnebago. That the Winnebago were meant is beyond question; the name 'Ouinpegouek ikimouek' comes from 'Winipik' (eau sale; Cuoq 1886:440) and 'ininiwak' (homme; Cuoq 1886:128-129). Although the letter does not refer to two lakes beyond Lake Huron it appears that Lake Michigan was meant since Lake Superior had long been known. It is probable that this *new* information was incorporated on the 'Bourdon Map' which dates to the time that Mother Marie de l'Incarnation's letter was written (Figure 4). On *Nouvelle France* the 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' is a bay of Lake Huron, while on the "Bourdon Map" its shape was changed and opened at its western end, like Lake Superior to the north of it. The three rivers entering this lake on its north eastern shore appear to correspond to Little Traverse Bay, Lake Charlevoix and Grand Traverse Bay on the north eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The strait that connects this lake with Lake Huron is probably the Strait of Mackinac, the 'entrance' mentioned by Mother Marie de l'Incarnation. If this is so, the letter by Mother de l'Incarnation and the 'Bourdon Map' are the first indications of European contact with Lake Michigan.

It is in the *Relation* of 1647-48, written in April 1648 that the two lakes west of Lake Huron are finally mentioned together in unequivocal terms. Fittingly the *Relation* is by Father Ragueneau who had a long time interest in this problem. He begins his *Relation* by stating that:

Although in previous *Relations* we have been able to throw some light on the situation of a portion of these countries, nevertheless I have thought that it would be expedient to give here, briefly, a clearer and more general idea of them, - both because time has enabled us to obtain surer information respecting them; and because, in the following Chapters, we have to speak of various things that presuppose such knowledge. (J.R. 33:61)

In other words, with the passage of time better knowledge had been acquired of the geography of New France. After briefly mentioning the latitude of the Huron country, Father Ragueneau next described the surrounding lakes:

On the western and eastern shore they [Huron] come to a lake whose circuit is nearly four hundred leagues, which we call the fresh-water Sea [Lake Huron]. It has a certain rise and fall of tide, and, at the extremity farthest from us, communicates with two other Lakes (Superior and Michigan) which are still larger and of which we shall speak in the Tenth Chapter. This fresh-water Sea contains a number of islands; one, among others, is nearly sixty leagues along [Manitoulin]. (J.R. 33:61)

In chapter ten, devoted to the Algonquin Mission, Father Ragueneau described these lakes and their inhabitants in greater detail. After mentioning Lake Huron and the groups along its eastern and northern shores he comes to the 'Paouitagoung' (Saulteur) at Sault Ste. Marie:

The last named [Paouitagoung] are those whom we call the Nation of the Sault, who are distant from us a little over one hundred leagues, by means of whom we would have to obtain a passage, if we wished to go further and communicate with numerous other Algonquin Tribes, still further away, who dwell on the shores of another lake larger than the fresh-water sea, into which it discharges by a very large and very rapid river; the latter, before mingling its waters with those of our fresh-water sea, rolls over a fall that gives its name to these peoples, who come there during the fishing season. This superior lake [Ce Lac superieur] extends toward the Northwest, – that is, between the West and the North. (J.R. 33:149)

This is a clear description of Sault Ste. Marie, the Saint Marys River and Lake Superior, the first time the lake is so called. Father Ragueneau then passed on to new information previously alluded to by Mother Marie de l'Incarnation:

A peninsula, or a rather narrow strip of land, separates this Lac superieur from a third lake, which we call Lac des Puants, which also flows into our fresh-water sea by a mouth on the other side of the peninsula, about ten leagues farther west than the Sault. This third lake extends between the west and southwest, – that is to say, between the south and the west, but more toward the west, – and is almost equal in size to our fresh-water sea. On its shores dwell other nations whose language is unknown, – that is, it is neither Algonquin nor Huron. These people are called Puants, but not because of any bad odour that is peculiar to them; but because they say that they come from the shores of a far distant sea toward the North, the water of which is salt, they are called les peuples de l'eau puante.

(J.R. 33:149–151)

Ragueneau then added that the 'Ouinipegong', who are part of the "Nation des Puants", dwell with the "Ondatouatandy" ('ndatonouatendi' = Potawatomi; Potier 1920:154) and the "Ouchauanag" (Shawnee; Callender 1978:634), who are part of the Nation of Fire (Assistaeronon), on the western shores of Lake Huron. Exactly where these groups lived at this time is not known except that the

Potawatomi had been driven by warfare from their original homeland in 1641 to live with the Saulteur (J.R. 23:225).

Although Lake Michigan is now clearly identified as 'Lac des Puants' the myth that it is salt water, or that there is yet another body of water near it that is salty, persisted.

Following the holocaust of the Iroquois wars (1648–1653) many of the native groups who lived around Lake Huron moved westward. Direct contact between the French and these groups was broken but some news did get through. In 1653 some Huron and others arrived at Trois Rivières with the news that:

... all the Algonquin Nations are assembling, with what remains of the Tobacco Nation and of the Neutral Nation at A,otonatendie ["ndatonouatendi = village Potawatomi"; Potier, 1920:155], three days journey above the sault Skia,é [Sault Ste. Marie], toward the south. Those of the Tobacco Nation have wintered at Tea,onto'rai ["Tauntoorai = Michilimakinac"; Potier, 1920:154]; the Neutrals to the number of 800, at skench'chio,e [part of the Michigan Peninsula east of Saginaw Bay; "Bressani" Map, 1657] toward Te,o'chanontian ["Taochiarontion = cote du detroit"; Potier, 1820:155]; these two nations are to betake themselves next autumn to A,otonatendia [the Potawatomi village] where even now they number a thousand men, – to wit, 400 Ondatonateni [Potawatomi]; 200 Outawak, or cheveux relevez [Ottawa]; 100 Awe,atsiwaen'ronnons [Winnebago], and people from the nation of A'chawi [a person]; 200 Enskia,e'ronnons [Saulteur]; 100 Awechisae'ronnons [Mississagua] and Achirwachronon [Achirigouans]. (J.R. 38:181)

It appears that the village of the Potawatomi, three days from the Sault toward Lake Michigan, was being used as a gathering place for the refugees from the Iroquois wars. In 1654 the refugees had "withdrawn to the more distant nations, toward the great lake which we call des Puants, because they dwell near the sea, – which is salt, and which the natives call l'eau puante. This lake is toward the north" (J.R. 41:79). In the same *Relation* a Father reported that natives had told him that "on certain islands in the Lac des gens de mer, – who are inappropriately called by some Puants, – there are many peoples whose language strongly resembles Algonquin and that it is only nine days journey from this great lake to the sea separating America from China" (J.R. 41:185). Evidently the refugees had withdrawn into Lake Michigan, but the myth of a salt sea either at the end of the lake or beyond it persisted.

In August 1656 two Frenchmen returned from the west with the news of "many nations surrounding the Nation de Mer which some have called Puants because its people formerly lived on the shores of the sea which they call Ouinipeg, that is eau puante" (J.R. 42:221). The writer of the *Relation*, Father De Quen, then recalled that another Frenchman had once told him that when he visited the "gens de mer" there had been three thousand men present to form a treaty of peace (J.R. 42:223). It is likely that of the first two Frenchmen one was Chouart des Groseilliers and that the man whom De Quen remembered talking to was Jean Nicollet. While Radisson's account of Groseillier's voyage is anything but clear, it appears that he visited with Huron and Ottawa refugees near Michilimackinac and followed them to the western side of Lake Michigan where the Potawatomi had

eventually settled (Adams 1961:86). At any rate, the returning two Frenchmen must have given a fairly clear account of the native groups they visited to Father Druillettes who set them down in some detail for the *Relation* of 1657–58 (J.R. 44:245–249). There is no doubt from Father Druillettes' account that the two Frenchmen had visited the refugee groups at Green Bay and others farther to the west. Those who were visited first was a village of Potawatomi, "Kiskacoueiak" (Ottawa), "Negaouichirinouek" (Ottawa) and 'Tobacco' (Petun-Huron). The second village, a short distance away, was composed of 'Ouinipegouek' (Winnebago) and 'Malouminek' (Menominee) (J.R. 44:245–247). Father Druillettes gathered more information in 1660 for inclusion in the *Relation* of 1659–60. This time he questioned a Nipissing who had journeyed in 1658 from Lake Michigan via northern rivers to the Saguenay River. He described 'Lac Ouinipegouek' as:

... only a large bay in Lake Huron. It is called by others le lac des puans, not because it is salt like the water of the sea, – which the natives call Ouinipeg, or stinking water, – but because it is surrounded by sulfurous soil, whence issue several springs which convey into this lake the impurities absorbed by their waters in the places of their origin. (J.R. 45:219)

Finally, the notion of a salty Lake Michigan had been laid to rest, but Father Druillettes still held out hope for a salt sea, "the one about which we are in doubt..." , to the west of Lake Superior (J.R. 45:221–223).

The journeys of Father Allouez to Lake Superior from 1665 to 1667 and to Green Bay in 1669 and 1670 finally brought a reliable observer to the western Great Lakes and ended speculation based on secondary accounts. While at Chagouamigon in 1666, Father Allouez was visited by the "Pouteouatami" whose "country lies along the Lac des Ilimouek (Michigan) – a large lake which had not before come to our knowledge, adjoining the Lake of the Hurons, and that of the Puants, in a southeasterly direction" (J.R. 51:27). Evidently Father Allouez was making a distinction between the northern part of Lake Michigan including Green Bay ('Lac des Puants') and the larger southern part of the lake ('Lac des Ilimouek'). In 1669 when Father Allouez actually travelled to Lake Michigan he named Green Bay the 'le Baye de Puans' (J.R. 54:128), noting that the "Baye des Puans" should be called 'eaux puantes' (J.R. 54:196). After visiting various native groups at the extremity of Green Bay he entered the 'Rivière des Puans' (Fox River) in April 1670 and travelled up it to Lake Winnebago called by him 'Lac des Puans' (J.R. 54:215–217). He renamed the lake 'Lac Saint François' after the mission he was to found there. After visiting the 'Outagamis' (Fox) on the upper Fox River he travelled south of Lake Winnebago to the 'Machkoutench' (Mascouten) and eventually returned to the west shore of Green Bay to visit the 'Oumalouminek' (Menominee). He then crossed the bay to the east side to visit the 'Ovenibigoutz' (Winnebago) finding them much reduced from wars with the Illinois thirty years earlier (J.R. 54:217–237). Most of these groups, as well as the lakes and rivers described by Father Allouez are given on the map *Lac Superieur* published with the *Relations* of 1670–71. This *Relation* was written by Father Dablon who accompanied Father Allouez to the Green Bay area in 1670. Of all the Jesuits active in the Great Lakes, Father Dablon wrote the clearest geographical

descriptions. At the beginning of his description of the Mission of St. François-Xavier he described the situation in Green Bay:

The first to receive our attention, and the best instructed in the faith, are the people living at the head of the Bay commonly called des Puans. This name, which is the same as that given by the natives to those who live near the sea, it bears perhaps because the odour of the marshes surrounding this Bay somewhat resembles that of the sea; and, besides, there can hardly be more violent blasts of wind on the Ocean than are experienced in this region, accompanied by very heavy and almost continuous thunder.

Four nations make their abode here, – to wit, the people named Puans who have always lived here as in their own country, and who have been reduced to nothing from their very flourishing and populous state in the past, having been exterminated by the Illinois, their enemies; the Pouteouatami, the Ousaki [Sauk], and the 'nation de la Fourche' [Nassauakueton Ottawa] also live here, but as foreigners, driven by their fear of the Iroquois from their own territories, which lie between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois.

(J.R. 55:183)

Nicolas Perrot, it will be recalled, made a similar observation namely that "in former times, the Puans were the masters of this bay and of a great extent of adjoining country." They were friendly with the "Malhominis" (Menominee) but warred against others including the 'Outaouak' (Ottawa), 'Outagamis' (Fox) and 'Illinois' (Illinois). It was the latter who finally reduced the Puans (Winnebago) (Blair 1911:293–300).

The discussion presented thus far suggests that the Winnebago lived in the Green Bay area at the time *Nouvelle France* was made, and that they had a larger population and wider space relations before they were defeated by the Illinois and others about 1640. Knowledge of the lake with which the Winnebago were associated by name and location eluded the French until 1646 or 1648. What confused the issue for a long time was that from the meaning of the Algonquin and Huron names for the Winnebago the French suspected a salt sea. The Algonquian word 'Ouinipigou' is derived from 'win' (sale, dégoûtant, mal propre) and 'ipik' (eau) (Cuoq 1886:131, 439–440), while the Huron 'Aoueatsiouaenronon' comes from 'aoueatsiouaen' (eau amère ou puante, de mauvais gout ou de mauvaise odeur; Potier 1920:370) and 'ronnon' (nation; Potier 1920:66). In other words, not only was Lake Michigan not known at the time *Nouvelle France* was made, the French also hoped to find a salt sea associated with the Winnebago. When Lake Michigan was finally found to be fresh water, a salt sea was postulated somewhere to the west of it and the alternate meaning of the name for the lake, 'smelling waters', was adopted.

On *Nouvelle France*, the peninsula to the south of the 'Grand Lac' on which the 'Aoueatsiouaenronon' are located, can be none other than the upper Michigan Peninsula between Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie. This would appear to identify 'Lac Des Eaux De Mer' as the northern part of Lake Michigan and the lands to the southeast of it to Lake Erie, the lower Michigan Peninsula. The river issuing into that lake may therefore be the Fox River. If the above is true then Saginaw Bay and the southern part of Lake Michigan are missing from *Nouvelle France*. What seems

odd is that the Fox ('Skenchioronon') and the Sauk ('Kouatocronon') are both located on the map when, from other sources to be discussed below, they are known to have been associated with Saginaw Bay and the drainage of the Saginaw River. Could it be that 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' is in fact Saginaw Bay and the river issuing into it the Saginaw River? In that case, the peninsula on which the 'Aouentsiouaenronon' are located would still be the upper Michigan Peninsula, but Lake Michigan, not known in 1641, would be missing from the map. It is clear that when Bourdon made his map of c. 1646-47 (Figure 4) he transformed 'Lac des Eaux de Mer' into Lake Michigan. Unfortunately he did not name the lake or place any native groups on the map. The most probable explanation for the 'Lac Des Eaux De Mer' on *Nouvelle France* is a fusion of Saginaw Bay, which first appeared on Champlain's maps, and the northern part of Lake Michigan, known to the Huron but not to the French. This would explain why Father Druillettes, as late as 1660, could still write that Lake Michigan was "only a large bay in Lake Huron ..." (J.R. 45:219).

Sault St. Louis Westward, South of the Great Lakes (Appendix 1:A)

When a person copies names from a map to produce a written list one would expect that he would do so in an orderly manner. One would also expect that, if a person copied a manuscript map, even if he could not fully decipher the writing, and for lack of space can not include all the names, he would at the very least put the names he did copy in the same places as on the original. Assuming the above two statements to be reasonable, and that *Nouvelle France* is in fact a partial copy of Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map', one should be able to determine roughly the order in which Father Le Jeune copied the names from the original 'Huron Map'. Having established such an order, aided by information on native groups whose location is known, one should be able to make reasonable locational estimates about groups that are on Le Jeune's list but not on *Nouvelle France*.

On Figure 12 the names on *Nouvelle France* are linked by arrows in the order given on Father Le Jeune's list (Appendix 1:A). It is apparent that he copied them in a systematic manner proceeding from east to west. The native names on the list, but missing from *Nouvelle France*, have been placed on Figure 12 in the same order in which Le Jeune is thought to have copied them. On Figure 13 the native groups from Le Jeune's list and *Nouvelle France* have been separated according to locations that are known and those which are presumed. What follows is a discussion on the known and presumed locations of those native groups.

The location of the Mohawk (No. 1 on Figures 12/13 and Appendix 1:A), Oneida (2) and Onondaga (3) are well known. The name 'Onontioronon' (3a) ('people of the big mountain') may be a variant of Onondaga ('people of the mountain'). After the Onondaga, Le Jeune copied the name "Konkhandeenhronon" (4) located on *Nouvelle France* north of the St. Lawrence River and east of the Trent-Otonabee River System. This word, meaning "people who are joined", occurs in the documentary record as a place name near the mouth of the Richelieu River ('Onthradeen' and 'Kontradeen') as well as the name of a people (Steckley 1984:33-34) whose location is given only on *Nouvelle France*. Between the Cayuga (5) and Seneca (7) Le Jeune mentioned the "Andastoechronon" (Susquehannock)

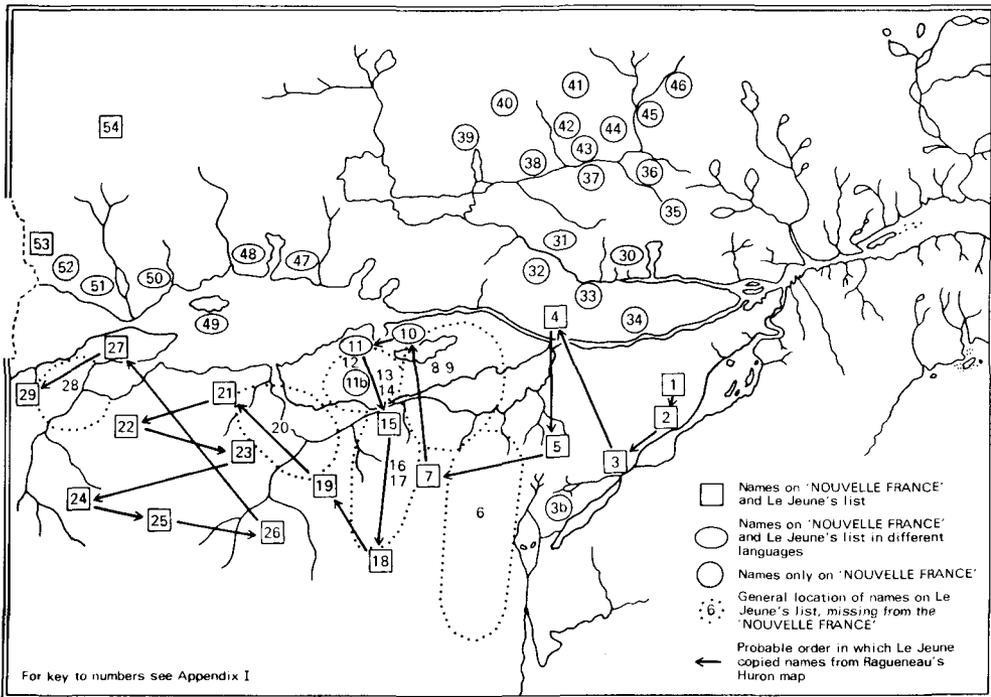


FIGURE 12. Relation of 'Nouvelle France' to Le Jeune's List.

(6) whose original homeland was on the lower Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania (Jennings, 1978:362). After listing the Seneca, Le Jeune copied the names "Andoouanchronon" (8), "Kontareahronon" (9) and 'Ouendat' (10). The latter group is also given by Le Jeune farther in his list by their French name, Huron. It was this name that was used on *Nouvelle France*. It is likely that the 'Kontareahronon' (9) ('people of the little lake') were the villagers of Contarea, a Huron village that was located in the present town of Orillia near the shores of Lake Couchiching. The lake itself was called Lake Contarea on several early seventeenth century maps (Heidenreich, 1973:41-42). Who the 'Andoouanchronon' (8) were, is not known. It is possible that they are the 'Aouanchronon', an Algonquian speaking group associated with the Petun (J.R. 21:125). From their position on Le Jeune's list it is likely that they lived in south central Ontario. The group mentioned after the Huron are the 'Khionontatehronon' (11) ('people of the place where the hills are'), given on the map by their French name, Petun. These lived below the Niagara Escarpment between the villages of Craigeleith and Creemore in Ontario (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:394).

From the Petun, Le Jeune proceeded to copy names that lay to the south of them. The 'Akhrakvaeronon' (15) ('people of the east' - Steckly 1985:13) are located on *Nouvelle France* east of the Niagara River and west of the Seneca. This location is identical to one given to the "Kakouagoga" on a map attributed to Claude Bernou (c. 1680) and the "Rakouegega" on a map by J.B.L. Franquelin

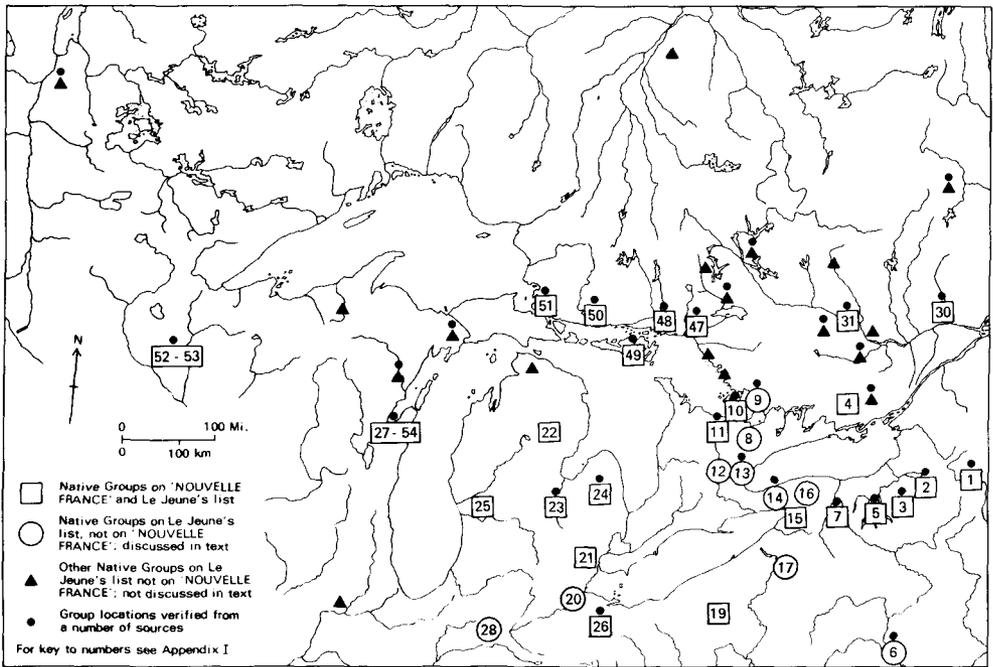


FIGURE 13. Location of Native Groups on 'Nouvelle France' and Le Jeune's List.

(1684). It is likely that this was the Seneca name for the 'Akhrakvaeronon' (Steckley 1985c: 9–15). Nothing much is known about this group except that they were defeated by the Iroquois in 1652 after having inflicted heavy casualties on them. From the context in which these events were related it is probable that this was one of the Neutral tribes (J.R. 37:97–111). Of the 'Oherokouaehronon' (12) ('swamp people'), 'Aondironon' ('people at the edge of the great water') (13) and 'Ongmarahronon' (14), located between the Petun and the 'Akhrakvaeronon', the last two are known Neutral tribes. The 'Aondironon' were on the northeastern edge of the Neutral country closest to the Huron (J.R. 33:81), while the 'Ongmarahronon' (also 'Onguiarahronon') lived beside the Niagara ('Onguiaahra') River (J.R. 21:209). It is more than likely that the 'Oherokouaehronon' were another of the Neutral tribes, perhaps the one adjacent to the large Beverly Swamp north of Hamilton, Ontario. On *Nouvelle France* all of these groups are subsumed by the term 'Nation Nevtre' (11b).

Southward, beyond the Niagara River, Le Jeune listed the 'Oneronon' (16), 'Ehressaronon' (17), 'Attiouendaronk' (18) and 'Eriehronon' (19). The last two are both on *Nouvelle France*. Of these, the Erie lived along the south shore of the lake some distance inland. They were called Nation du Chat because the wild cat (chat sauvage) was common in their territory (J.R. 41:81). Only two of the constituent Erie tribes are known; the 'Riquehronons' and 'Gentaguetehronons', neither of which are mentioned on Le Jeune's list (J.R. 42:186; 45:206; 61:195). Both names were also the names of principal Erie villages. The 'Attiouendaronk' (18) are what

the Huron called the Neutral. The meaning of the word is 'people of a slightly different language' (J.R. 21:193). This name appears twice on *Nouvelle France* and Le Jeune's list; in the extreme south (No. 18, Appendix 1:A) and the extreme west (No. 29, Appendix 1:A). In neither case can it refer to the Neutral whose territorial range is well known. It is likely that the Huron who aided Father Ragueneau in making the original map simply indicated that 'people of a slightly different language' lived to the far south and west. The 'Oneronon' (16), better known as 'Ouenrononons', appear in the literature under a variety of spellings. In 1639 they were dispersed by the Seneca and resettled among the Neutral and Huron. Their original location was on the eastern edge of the Neutral country, 'beyond the Erie'. They were considered to be one of the Neutral tribes (J.R. 16:253; 17:25-29; 21:233). Their name means 'covered with moss' (Steckley, 1985b:17). Who the 'Ehressaronon' (17) were, or what their name means, is not known. From their position on Le Jeune's list they may have been an Erie group.

Locational data for the native groups west of the Erie are exceptionally meager. Collectively all the Algonquian speaking groups of the lower Michigan Peninsula were often referred to as the 'Gens de Feu' rendered in Huron as 'Assistaehronon' ('atsista' = feu; Potier 1920:454), a name also used specifically for the Mascouten (Potier 1920:154). The first group of the 'Gens de Feu' on Le Jeune's list are the 'Totontaratonhronon' (20) which is what the Huron called the Maumée River ('To tontaraton' = R. des Mis; Potier 1920:155). The next group, called 'Ahriottaehronon' (21), is located on *Nouvelle France* on the west side of the Detroit River. The root of the name comes from the Huron 'arioucta' (pierre; Potier 1920:453), a word for stone and flint. The Ecorse River, which flows through Detroit, known for its flint deposits, was called by the Huron 'arioucta taotikouata' (Potier 1920:155). Steckley (1985a:128) argues that both names refer to groups of the Potawatomi. After the 'Ahriottaehronon' Le Jeune copied the 'Oscouarahronon' (22), the 'Huatoehronon' (23) and the 'Skenchiuhronon' (24). The last one of these are the Fox (Potier 1920:154), placed on a number of maps on the peninsula between Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron (Bressani 1657; Du Creux 1660). The 'Huattoehronon' (23) are the Sauk (Potier 1920:154), also called by Potier 'Gens du Sagouan'. The 'ancien pais des Sachis' was visited by Father Nouvel in December 1675. According to him it lay in the headwaters of the Saginaw River (J.R. 60:215-221). Nothing is known about the 'Oscouarahronon' (22). Their name appears to come from the Huron 'oskouara' (poil; Potier 1920:453). There are no other references to a 'hair people' in the literature. On Sanson's maps (Figures 6 and 7) they are on the Michigan Peninsula north of Saginaw Bay. The 'Attistaehronon' (25) are the Mascouten, believed to have occupied the east shore of Lake Michigan near the Maskegon and Grand Rivers before their dispersal to Green Bay. The 'Ontarahronon' (26) are the Kikapoo (Potier 1920:154); the name meaning 'lake people' (Potier 1920:455). On *Nouvelle France* they are located on a river at the southwest corner of Lake Erie. This must be the Sandusky River since the 'Totontaratonhronon' were located on the Maumee. It was in this area that the Kikapoo settled when peace with the Iroquois in 1701 permitted them to return to the lower Michigan Peninsula.

The last two groups on Le Jeune's list are the 'Aoueatsiouaenhronon' (27) and

the 'Attochingochronon' (28). Of these, the former are the Winnebago, given here by their Huron name meaning 'people of the foul water' (Steckley 1985a:126). As was discussed above, they were located in the Green Bay area, a location properly given on *Nouvelle France*. The latter group is one of the Miami tribes (Potier 1920:154). Their name means 'crane people' from the Huron 'ochingot, atochingot' (grue oiseau; Potier, 1920:446). Where they were located at this time is not known. The traditional homeland of the Miami was the Maumee-Wabash River system where they settled in the 1680s following the Iroquois peace of 1666.

The Lower Ottawa River Valley (Appendix 1:B)

Six native names are given in the lower Ottawa Valley on *Nouvelle France*. 'Khionontatetonon' (35) is what the Huron called the 'Ouaouechkairini'; also called Petite Nation by the French (Sagard 1836:825; 1865:257; J.R. 18:229). It was the same term used by the Huron for the Petun ('Khionontatehronon'), both meaning 'people of the place where the hills are' (Garrad and Heidenreich 1978:396). The Petite Nation fished at the mouth of the Petite Nation and neighbouring rivers, and hunted inland to the drainage divide between the Ottawa and Saint-Maurice Rivers.

The 'Ehonkeronon' (31) lived on and around Ile des Allumettes in the Ottawa River. This name is what the Huron called them while the French almost always called them 'Ceux de l'Isle', or 'les Sauvages de l'Isle' (J.R. 17:165, 18:229). Their own name was 'Kichsipirini', meaning "big river people" ('Kije' or 'Kitci' = grand; 'sipi' = rivière; 'inini' = homme; Cuoq 1886:158, 174, 370, 129). The Algonquin name for the Ottawa River was 'Kitci sipi' (la grande rivière; Cuoq 1886:174).

The words 'Sarontovane' (32) and 'Otohiaden' (33) do not seem to refer to any known native group. It is probable that they are Huron place names. In both cases the Huron suffix 'ronon', meaning 'people', is missing.

The word 'Tovkhiaronon' (34) carries the populative 'ronon' and is therefore the name of a people. It is probable that the word is derived from the Huron name for Montreal Island, 'Te okiai' (Potier 1920:154), meaning 'it (the St. Lawrence River) is split in two' (Steckley 1987:11). If so, this may be another name for a group of people called 'Onontchataronon', also called 'Iroquet' after the name of one of their headmen (J.R. 29:145; 31:279). In 1641 and again in 1646, the Iroquet told the French that in the past their grandparents used to live on Montreal Island where they cultivated the soil, but were expelled by the Huron (J.R. 22:215; 29:145-7; Charlevoix 1744, 1:354-5). According to Champlain, the Iroquet lived eighty leagues west of the Lachine Rapids (Biggar 2:206). This would place them roughly 250 km west of Montreal where Champlain has 'C. des algommequins' on his map of 1612 and where the 'Tovkhiaronon' are on *Nouvelle France*. Although the 17th-century writers seem to associate the Iroquet with the Algonquian speaking bands of the Ottawa Valley, there is no known Algonquin name for them. Furthermore, two of the four headmen of the 'Onontchataronon-Iroquet' whose names have been recorded had Iroquoian names (Iroquet and Tawichkaron or Taouchkaron) (J.R. 29:145; 31:281). The other two had Algonquian names (Monitougwy and Ouechinkinaganich) (J.R. 31:279, 283). In view of their oral history it is possible that the Iroquet were a remnant of the Iroquoian

speaking Hochelagans, occupants of Montreal Island in the 16th century? Could they have joined some of the Algonquin bands after their dispersal, accounting for Iroquoian names such as the 'Konkhandeenronon' ('Chonkande' – 'the people who are joined') and 'Tovkhiaronon' ('it is split in two' – Montreal Island); both in southeastern Ontario where Champlain placed the Iroquet? Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to decide the question.

Upper Ottawa River Valley (Appendix 1:c)

Only two of the twelve names in this area have the suffix 'ronon' denoting a people. The name 'Khiondakovananiactonon' (35) contains the word 'akoua annen' meaning 'parler une langue mal, avoir l'accent étranger' (Potier 1920:168). This is probably a reference to the Montagnais north of the Ottawa River drainage who spoke with an Algonquian dialect different from the groups in the Ottawa Valley. The 'Chavaeronon' (36) are what the Huron called the Montagnais, while 'Khiokhiac' (45) seems to be a reference to Le Saguenay ('Kyokiaye') the area in which the Montagnais lived (Sagard 1865: Dictionnaire, Nations).

The other names associated with the upper Ottawa River appear to be the names of animals and places. Although the Nipissing are not mentioned as a people, their name is given to the lake on which they lived and their trade area up the Sturgeon River is shown as "Traicte des Nipisiriniens".

Georgian Bay to Lake Superior

Unlike the Ottawa River area on *Nouvelle France*, the native names along the shore of Georgian Bay to Lake Superior pose no problem. They are well known Algonquian speaking bands given here by their Huron names. All but one is given on Le Jeune's list. The "Eachiriovachronon" (47) are the 'Atchiligouan' also 'Achirigouans' (J.R. 30:113) who lived at the mouth of the French and Wanapitei Rivers (J.R. 18:231). In fact, the Wanapitei River is called 'Fl [uvius] achirouanorum ad Mare' on Du Creux's map of 1660. All variants in the spelling of the name appear to be in Huron. The meaning of the name is not known, although Potier (1920:454) gives 'outsirigouia' as the word for the characteristic triangular nose pendant worn by the men of most of the bands along the north shore of Georgian Bay. The 'Elsvotaironon' (48), called 'Amikouai' on Le Jeune's list, is the well known beaver band of the Ojibwa ('amik = castor; Cuoq 1886:37) (J.R. 33:149). The Huron name for the beaver was 'toutayé' (Sagard 1865: Dictionnaire, Animaux). The summer location of this band was around Bay of Islands and Killarney Bay, north of Manitoulin Island. 'Cheveux Releves' is what the French called the Ottawa after the hair style of the men (J.R. 18:231). They were composed of four bands collectively called 'Outaouan' by Le Jeune. The name may derive from the Algonquian word 'atawe' (traiter, faire la traite, commercer; Cuoq, 1886:65). The 'Aovechissaeton' (50) is the Huron name for the Mississauga (J.R. 34:205), called 'Oumisagai' by Le Jeune. More common variants of the name usually have the prefix 'Ou' deleted to read 'Mississaguas', 'Michesaking', 'Michisaguek' and so on. The meaning of the name seems to be 'great river-mouth people' ('misi' or 'mici' = grand, gros; 'saki' = embouchure d'une rivière; Cuoq 1886:215, 231, 361). Their summer station was the mouth of the Mississagi River. The Huron

name for Sault Ste. Marie was 'Skia,é' (J.R. 38:181), rendered as 'te oskonchiaie' by Potier (1920:155), and the people who lived there, 'eskiaeronon' (J.R. 34:205) ('ekiaeronon' = Saulteur; Potier, 1920: 154). Le Jeune gives them by their Algonquin name, 'Baouichtigouian' (51). They were called 'la nation du gens du Sault' by the French (J.R. 18:230). Their name, also given as 'Paouitagoung' (J.R. 33:149), and other variants, comes from the Algonquian word 'pawitik' (saut, rapide; Cuoq 1886:331). In fact the Nipissing word for Sault Ste. Marie was 'pawiting' (Cuoq 1886:331).

Beyond Sault Ste. Marie, *Nouvelle France* records three names. The 'Nadovess·ron·' (53) ('Nadouessoueronons'), along the torn western edge of the map, are Le Jeune's 'Nadovesiv'. This is a well known name for the Siouan speaking groups west of Lake Superior, specifically the Dakota in the headwaters of the Mississippi River. The name derives from the Algonquian word 'natowe' (espèce de gros serpent; Cuoq, 1886:263), a term commonly applied to enemies, including the Iroquois. The name 'Astaovanchaeronon' (52) seems to be the Huron term for the 'Nadovesiv'; from 'astaouenchra' (serpents à sonnettes; Potier 1920:453) and the populative ending 'ronnon' (people), meaning 'rattlesnake people'. Cuoq does not give a specific meaning for 'natowe', except that this snake was common in the Michilimackinac area and that its flesh was eaten (Cuoq 1886:263). It is probable that Cuoq was also describing the rattlesnake.

In the northwest corner of *Nouvelle France* is the French name for the Winnebago; 'Nation des Gens de Mer ou Puans' (54). On Le Jeune's list they are given as 'Quinipigou, ou nation des Puans, ou la nation de la mer' (J.R. 18:230). The Huron name for them, 'Aoentsiovaenronon' (27), as discussed earlier, is located properly on the upper Michigan Peninsula. It is probable that the author of *Nouvelle France* simply copied the 'Puans' from their location on Champlain's map of 1632 ('La Nation des Puans') (Figure 2) and did not know that by doing so he had listed them twice.

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Nouvelle France is an interesting map. It is the first map to show native distributions in the Great Lakes area and the only one to show this information prior to the disruptions of the Iroquois wars. The fact that Huron informants were used to furnish the information gives the reader a general idea of the range of Huron knowledge about the location of other native groups. Judging from Father Le Jeune's list of names, Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' would have been a far better indicator of Huron geographical knowledge than *Nouvelle France*. Since both the list and *Nouvelle France* had a common source in the Ragueneau map for the southern groups, they augment each other and should be used together.

Nouvelle France provides enough locational data for the Neutral and 'Gens de Feu' that the additional groups mentioned by Le Jeune can be roughly located. Locational accuracy for the Gens de Feu seems to decrease inland from Lakes Huron and Erie. With the exception of the Seneca, the Iroquois tribes are poorly located on the map. Since these were well-known groups to the Huron, one suspects that their faulty distribution on the map was caused by the cartographer

when he tried to interpolate the Lake Champlain area into his copy of the 'Huron Map'. The Algonquin bands on the north shore of Lake Huron are all well placed, as are the Winnebago on the upper Michigan Peninsula.

In terms of knowledge about the location of native groups, the most disappointing part of the map is the Ottawa Valley and southeastern Ontario. In spite of a plethora of names only the Petite Nation and Kichesipirini ('Ehonkeronon') are clearly identifiable. The names 'Chonkande' and 'Tovkhiaronon' offer interesting possibilities because they may be the 'Onontchataronon' (Iroquet) or some other remnant of the St. Lawrence Iroquois. In the absence of conclusive evidence however, this is speculation. What is disappointing is that so many known Algonquin bands are missing from the map. These were groups the Huron knew just as well as those listed on the north shore of Lake Huron west of the French River. Equally disappointing is that those south of the French River were omitted. Why the Ottawa drainage basin contains so many omissions and names of poor orthographic quality in comparison to the rest of the map is not known. Unfortunately we do not know for certain if the original Ragueneau 'Huron Map' was similar. If *Nouvelle France* is similar to Father Ragueneau's map it may be the reason why Le Jeune did not use those names for his list, relying instead on information supplied by Jean Nicolle. If this is the case, it may be further evidence that *Nouvelle France* is not of Jesuit origin. The map was made fully a year after Le Jeune received Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' and compiled his list of native names. Surely, with that information in hand a Jesuit would have avoided the errors on *Nouvelle France* even if they were on the original 'Huron Map'.

In the absence of specific evidence and based on the arguments presented here, this writer would speculate that *Nouvelle France* was made by Jean Bourdon, a trained surveyor who could not speak Huron and had never been in the Canadian interior away from the St. Lawrence colony. The map was drafted by him for a trip to France late in 1641, taken on Governor Montmagny's orders, to acquaint the French court of the political situation in New France, especially vis-à-vis the Iroquois. For his material Bourdon used Champlain's map of 1632, Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' and information supplied by Thomas Godefroy and François Marguerie. Unfortunately he did not consult with Jesuits in a position to correct his product. Although *Nouvelle France* is interesting and does provide some insights into early 17th century native distributions, one can only hope that some day Father Ragueneau's 'Huron Map' may be discovered.

APPENDIX I
COMPARISON OF NATIVE NAMES

	Le Jeune: <i>Relation, 1640</i> (J.R., 18:227-239)	'Nouvelle France' c. 1641	Sanson: <i>Le Canada</i> 1656	Sanson: <i>Le Canada</i> 1657	Identification
A. Lake Champlain South of Great Lakes to Lake Superior					
1	Agnechronon	Agnieronon	Anneronons	Anner	Mohawk
2	Oneiochronon	Onciocheronon	Onneiochronons	Onneiohr	Oneida
3	Onontaechronon	Onontoaeronon	Onontagueronons	Onontaguer	Onondaga
3a	—	Onontioronon	—	—	—
4	Konkhandeenhronon	Chonkande	Chonchradeen	Chonchradeen	Cayuga
5	Oniouehronon	Onioenronon	—	—	Susquehannock
6	Andastoechronon	—	—	—	Seneca
7	Sonontouechronon	Sonontocronon	Sonontouaeronons	Sonontouaer	—
8	Andoouanchronon	—	—	—	—
9	Kontareahronon	—	—	—	Huron Group
10	Ouendat	Hvron	Hurons	Hurons	Hurons
11	Khionontatehronon	Nation Dv Petvn	Sanhionontateheronons ou, N. du Petun	N. du Petun	Petun
11b	—	Nation Nevtre	Neutre, ou Attiouandarons	—	Neutral
12	Oherokouaehronon	—	—	—	Neutral Group
13	Aondironon	—	—	—	Neutral Group
14	Ongmarahronon	—	—	—	Neutral Group
15	Akhrakvaeronon	Akhrakovaetonon	—	—	Neutral Group
16	Oneronon	—	—	—	Wenro
17	Ehressaronon	—	—	—	—
18	Attioendaronk	Atioandarons	Atiouandarons	Atiouandarons	(Neutral)
19	Eriechronon	Enrie, Nation Dv Chat	Eriechronons, ou N. du Chat	Eriechronons, ou N. du Chat	Erie
20	Totontaratohronon	—	—	—	—

21	Ahriottaehronon	Ariotocronon	Ariatocronon	Ariatoeronon	
22	Oscouarahronon	Oskouararonon	Oukouararonons	Oukouararonons	
23	Hvatoehronon	Kovatoehronon	Couacronon	Couacronons	Sauk
24	Skenchiohronon	Skenchiohronon	Squenquioronon	Squenquioronons	Fox
25	Attistaehronon	Aictaehronon	Aictaehronon	Aictaehronons	Mascouten
26	Ontarahronon	Ontarahronon	Ontarahronon	Ontarahronons	Kikapoo
27	Aoueatsiouaehronon	Aoventsiouaehronon	—	Aoventsiouaehronon	Winnebago
28	Attochingochronon	—	—	—	Miami Group
29	Attioendarankhronon	Attioendarons	—	Attioendarons	(Neutral)
B. Lower Ottawa River Valley					
30	Ouaouechkairini, ou Petite Nation	Khionontatetonon	Quionontateronon, ou Petite Nat.	Quionontater, P.N.	Weskarini
31	Kichsipirini, ou S. de l'Isle	Ehonkeronon	Algonquins de l'Isle, ou Ehonqueronon	Algonquins de l'Isle, ou Ehonquer	Kichsipirini
32	—	Sarontovane	Sarontouaneremon	Sarontouaneremon	
33	—	Otohiaden	Otchiachen	Otchiachen	
34	—	Tovkhiaronon	—	—	
C. Upper Ottawa River Valley					
35	—	Khiondakovananiactonon	—	—	
36	—	Chaouaeronon	Chaouaeronon	Chaouaer	Montagnais
37	—	Terontov	Tarantou	Tarantou	
38	—	Aebneche	—	—	
39	—	Assond	Assondi	Assodi	
40	—	Incheke	Enchek	Enchek	
41	—	Ohahavdeon	—	—	
42	—	Erraon	Errahonanoate	Errahonanoate	
43	—	Chioaentonati	Chiaentonati	Chiaentonati	
44	—	Aentondab	Aentordac	Aentordac	
45	—	Khiokhiac	Quioquhiac	Quoquhiac	
46	—	Kovatohota	Quouatouata	Quouatouata	

D. Georgian Bay to Lake Superior				
47	Atchiligouan	Eachiriouachaeronon	Eachiriouachaon	Achirigouan
48	Amikouai	Elsovtaironon	Elsouataironons	Amikwa
49	Outaouan	Cheveux Releves	Cheveux Releves	Ottawa
50	Oumisagai	Aovechissaeon	Aovechissaton	Mississauga
51	Baouichtigouian	Skiaeronon	Skiaeronons	Saulteaux
52	—	Astaovanchaeronon	Astakouankaeronons	
53	Nadovesiv	Nadovess...ron...	Nadouessoueronons	Sioux (Dakota)
54	Ouinipigou, ou Puans	N. des Gens de Mer, Puans	—	Winnebago

APPENDIX 2

LEGEND FOR FIGURES 10 AND 11

Identification of Main Physical Features on the map 'Nouvelle France'

NAMED PHYSICAL FEATURES

<i>Present Name Lakes and Seas</i>	<i>Name on 'Nouvelle France'</i>
a Atlantic Ocean	LA MER DV NORT
b Lake Champlain	LAC DE CHAMPLAIN
c Lake Ontario	LAC DE SAINT LOVYS
d Lake Erie	LAC DES GENS DV CHAT
e Lake Huron-Georgian Bay	LA MER DOVLCE OV LAC DES HVRONS
f Lake Michigan/Saginaw Bay	LAC DES EAVX DE MER
g Lake Superior	GRAND LAC, que on croit avoir sa decharge vers la chine
h Lake Nipissing	LAC DES NIPISIRINIENS
i Lake Simcoe	Le Lac Ouentara
<i>Rivers and Islands</i>	
j St. Lawrence River (Lower)	EMBOVCHEVRE DV FLEVVE DE ST. LAVRENS
k St. Lawrence River (Upper)	Riuiere de St. Laurens
l Rivière Saint-Maurice	Les trois Rivieres
m French River	R. des Nipisiriniens
n Rivière Richelieu	R. des Iroquois
o Rivière Nicolet (?)	R. le Tardif
p Rivière Saint-Francois	R. de St. Francois
q Kennebec River	R. de Kinebequi
r Ile d'Orleans	ile dorleans

UNNAMED PHYSICAL FEATURES

<i>Lakes</i>		
1 Lake George	16 Mississagi River	
2 Lac Saint-Jean	17 St. Marys River	
3 Lac Saint-Pierre	18 Saginaw River/Fox River	
<i>Rivers and Bays</i>		
4 Rivière Saguenay	19 St. Clair River	
5 Ottawa River (Lower)	20 Sandusky River	
6 Rivière de la Petite Nation	21 Genesse River	
7 Rivière Gatineau	22 Oswego River	
8 Ottawa River (Upper)	23 Hudson River (Lower)	
9 Sturgeon River	24 Hudson River (Upper)	
10 Trent-Otonabee River System	25 Mohawk River	
11 Nottawasaga Bay	26 St Croix River	
12 Parry Sound	<i>Islands and Capes</i>	
13 Shawanaga Inlet	27 Cape Cod	
14 Bay of Islands	28 Ile de Montreal	
15 Spanish River	29 Ile Jesus	
	30 Manitoulin Island	
	31 Upper Michigan Peninsula	

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RÉSUMÉ L'article est une analyse de la carte manuscrite 'Nouvelle France' conservée au ministère de la Défense à Taunton (Angleterre). C'est une des rares cartes de la Nouvelle-France à montrer l'accroissement des connaissances géographiques entre la publication de la dernière carte de Champlain (1632) et celles de Nicolas Sanson (1650-1657), et c'est la plus ancienne qui reste montrant la répartition des bandes indigènes. En ce sens la carte constitue un document historique important pour se faire une bonne idée de la géographie des Amérindiens du Canada avant que leur dispersion ne soit terminée en 1650. Il semble que la carte fut dessinée à la fin de 1641 à l'aide de la carte de Champlain de 1632, d'une 'carte huronne' acquise ou dressée par le jésuite Paul Ragueneau en 1639 ou 1640, et les renseignements de deux Français qui captifs des Iroquois avaient séjourné dans le pays mohawk de 1640 à 1641. Nicolas Sanson a porté sur ses cartes de 1656 et 1657 les emplacements indigènes et les noms de cette carte. Bien que l'auteur de la carte soit inconnu, des déductions laissent croire qu'il pourrait s'agir de l'arpenteur Jean Bourdon qui travaillait en Nouvelle-France depuis 1634.

ABSTRACTO Este trabajo presenta un análisis del manuscrito del mapa Nouvelle France qui actualmente se encuentra en el Ministerio de la Defensa de Taunton, Inglaterra. Es uno de los pocos mapas de la Nueva Francia que señala el crecimiento de la geografía desde la publicación del último mapa de Champlain (1632) y los de Nicolas Sanson (1650-57), y es de los mapas antiguos que intente ubicar a los grupos nativos que han perdurado. Por lo tanto este mapa es un documento de gran valor histórico que puede ser utilizado para acercarnos a la geografía del pueblo canadiense previa a 1650, cuando ya se habían dispersado estos grupos. Hay indicios de que se trazó el mapa a finales de 1641 en base al mapa de 1632 de Champlain, un mapa del Huron que el padre jesuita Raul Ragueneau adquirió o compiló en 1639 o 1640, en información proporcionada por dos franceses que se encontraron en el territorio mohawk como prisioneros de los iroqueses de 1640 a 1641. Los lugares y los nombres nativos indicados en el mapa fueron agregados a los mapas de Nicolas Sanson de 1656 y 1657. Aunque se desconoce el autor del mapa Nouvelle France, se señala al topógrafo Jean Bourdon quien estuvo activo en la Nueva Francia a partir de 1634.