

Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate Hiding in Plain Sight for 350 Years

Rick Laprairie

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Résumé de l'article

Dans cet article, nous révélons la première carte où apparaît le nom de Toronto. "Tarontos Lac", actuellement le lac Simcoe, figure sur la Carte pour servir à l'éclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France (1678) de Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin. Ce document est aujourd'hui reconnu comme le certificat de naissance cartographique de Toronto. Nous allons décrire cette carte, discuter de cette découverte et essayer d'expliquer pourquoi ce nom est si longtemps passé inaperçu. Cette étude cartographique s'inscrit dans l'histoire des Grands Lacs et du fleuve du Mississippi. Nous allons aussi examiner trois autres cartes - ni signées ni datées - qui sont souvent proclamées les premières en ce qui concerne "Toronto". Cependant, nous allons réfuter ces spéculations car la carte de Franquelin est la plus ancienne. L'arbre généalogique cartographique du nom de Toronto sera reconstitué en retraçant les derniers 350 ans et en remontant jusqu'à son apparition sur la carte de Franquelin.

Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate

Hiding in Plain Sight for 350 Years

By Rick Laprairie

A recent find has uncovered the first map to use the name Toronto, in any of its various early spellings, as a place name. The map is an unusual, but not unknown, 1678 work by Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, which serves as a land titles record. It is entitled, *Carte pour servir a l'eclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France*, [Map serving to clarify the Land Registry in New France], (Map 1). Surprisingly, the name "Tarontos Lac" on the map, for today's Lake Simcoe, has gone unnoticed and undocumented for almost three and a half centuries (Map Segment 1).

Franquelin, born in France in 1651, was a cartographer in New France who was commissioned in 1687 as the King's hydrographer at Quebec. His map plots names of landowners whose properties were arranged in long narrow strips of land called "seigneureries" or fiefs, fronting the St. Lawrence River. "Tarontos Lac" appears quite unassumingly in the south-western corner of the map. The author made this find while compiling a list of early maps of the Great Lakes which

might serve to illustrate the cartographic evolution of Toronto's appearance on maps. This particular map was of interest since part of it covered the geography in question, and its date of production coincided with other maps thought to be among the earliest to include the name.

Unfortunately, no readily available copies of this map were of sufficient resolution to accurately decipher all the place names on it. Attempts to magnify images of it proved unsuccessful. The best results showed blurred text which looked like it might be the name Toronto, but were insufficient to allow for confirmation. Finally, succumbing to curiosity, a high resolution electronic copy of the original map was ordered from its Parisian repository. Within a few days, a message containing the requested map was received, and from the downloaded image there appeared on the monitor a piece of Toronto's history that amazingly had been overlooked for more than three centuries.

But how is it that the name which this map carries, despite being under our

noses for so long, has escaped us until now? And what of other earlier maps commonly cited as the first ones on which the name Toronto appears? To shed some light on these questions this article looks at the very convoluted histories behind the earliest cartographic appearances of the name Toronto. Most importantly, it will validate the recently found map as the one which ought to be rightfully recognized as Toronto's cartographic birth certificate.

The Toronto Maps Muddle

There is presently considerable confusing and conflicting information about which map is the first map to carry the name Toronto. This is to a degree understandable. Many early maps are unsigned, undated and without title heading. Ascertaining the provenance of anonymous centuries old maps relies on expert interpretation, handwriting analysis, references to maps in correspondence, comparison to similar maps, determining whether they are

Abstract

This article posits that the earliest map to have ever used the name Toronto as a place is uncovered. Previously unnoticed, the name "Tarontos Lac," for today's Lake Simcoe, is on a 1678 map by Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin. His map, "Carte pour servir a l'éclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France," is now recognized as Toronto's cartographic birth certificate. The article describes the map, discusses how the discovery came about and why the name may have gone unnoticed until now. This cartographic study is set in the history of the exploration of the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi River. Three other unsigned and undated period maps, often claimed as "Toronto" firsts, are also examined. These claims are dismissed, as revised attributions show them to have been by different cartographers and dated later than originally thought, making Franquelin's map the oldest. The cartographic genealogy of the name Toronto is traced back through three and a half centuries to its initial appearance on Franquelin's map.

Résumé: *Dans cet article, nous révélons la première carte où apparaît le nom de Toronto. "Tarontos Lac", actuellement le lac Simcoe, figure sur la Carte pour servir à l'éclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France (1678) de Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin. Ce document est aujourd'hui reconnu comme le certificat de naissance cartographique de Toronto. Nous allons décrire cette carte, discuter de cette découverte et essayer d'expliquer pourquoi ce nom est si longtemps passé inaperçu. Cette étude cartographique s'inscrit dans l'histoire des Grands Lacs et du fleuve du Mississippi. Nous allons aussi examiner trois autres cartes - ni signées ni datées - qui sont souvent proclamées les premières en ce qui concerne "Toronto". Cependant, nous allons réfuter ces spéculations car la carte de Franquelin est la plus ancienne. L'arbre généalogique cartographique du nom de Toronto sera reconstitué en retraçant les derniers 350 ans et en remontant jusqu'à son apparition sur la carte de Franquelin.*

early drafts or later copies of other maps, considering the repository in which they are found, as well as dating names and places which are, or are not, on the maps. In some cases scholars have given different titles to the same map, often using



Map 1: *Carte... du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France... / Joannes Ludovicus Franquelin pinxit, 1678.*¹

obtuse and meaningless names, further confusing identification.

Toronto, according to the prevailing theory, got its name from the Mohawk word “*Tkaranto*,” meaning “where there are trees standing in the water,” after the ancient fish weirs at the present day Atherley Narrows between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching.² Originally applied to Lake Simcoe on maps, French translations have variously called it “*Lac Taronto*,” “*Lac de Taronto*,” and “*Lac Taronteau*,” among other spellings. Southern Georgian Bay was also called “*Baye de Taronto*” and the name was applied at different times to both the Severn and Humber Rivers. From the last

decades of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth, the name imprinted itself across the entire landscape between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay. The area came to be known as the “*Passage de Taronto*” or the Toronto Portage, a well used trail with pre-recorded history origins. There were two main branches; an eastern branch, following the Rouge River, and a western one following the Humber River. The latter eventually become the primary portage route to the upper Great Lakes.

At least three different maps have been claimed to be the first to use the name Toronto. Two are currently referenced on the City of Toronto web site.

¹ Louis Franquelin, *Carte pour servir à l'éclaircissement du papier terrier de la Nouvelle-France*, 1678, Manuscrit, Bibliothèque Nationale de France BnF, département des Cartes et Plans, CPL GE SH ARCH-23 B.

² Alan Rayburn, “The Real Story of How Toronto got its Name,” *Canadian Geographic* -September/October 1994, Ottawa, 68-70.



Map Segment 1: *Tarontos Lac*, from *Carte...du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France*, Jean-Baptiste Franquelin, 1678.

to date to 1680, or after. Another map also cited as a Toronto first, which has been called the *Second Galinée Map*, was originally dated to 1670, but is now considered to have been made around 1700.

There is also a measure of mystery and dark conspiracy behind some of the maps considered here. Scholars sorting out their provenance have un-

covered the skullduggery of individuals deliberately forging maps and fabricating historical accounts to give false credit to early explorers in the discovery of the Mississippi River. Underlying much of this deviousness are bitter rivalries between religious orders involved in missionary work in New France, which often factored in how history was recorded.

To untangle this morass of maps one needs to consider some of the history behind the early exploration and cartography of the Great Lakes. Each of the maps mentioned above is discussed, along with others, to give a historical context for their authorship. The analysis will look at the reasons behind the conflicting attributions and dates of origin. This will serve to bring greater clarity to the subject and confirm Fraquelin's 1678 land titles map as being the first to use Toronto as a place name.

However, their original attributions were subsequently revised, and all three are now credited to different cartographers, made at later dates. The revised attributions have escaped notice of many, leading to a persistence of the former erroneous attributions in the literature and conflicting claims of which map is legitimately the first to carry the name Toronto. The elusiveness of this point is compounded, as few histories of Toronto dealing with this subject identify the sources or rationale for their cartographic attributions.

The initial map to be identified as the first to use the name Toronto is one titled, *Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac*. A close second is a very similar map, *Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou mer Douce Des Hurons*. Both were originally thought to have been made some time between 1673 and 1675, but now are considered

*The Historical Context:
Toronto as a Waypoint on the
Route to the Orient*

The early mapping of the Great Lakes and the Toronto area was driven in large measure by the quest to search out the rumoured great rivers, the Ohio and the Mississippi, as a route to the “Mer de Vermeille,” or the California Sea, and beyond, to reach Japan and the Sea of China. The Toronto Portage was incidental to this, except for it being part of a shorter route from Lake Ontario to Georgian

ern route,” using the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and the French River connection to Georgian Bay.

In the late 1660s and early 1670s, following their mid-century conquest and dispersion of the resident Huron-Wendat (Huron), Tobacco (Petun), and Neutral Nations of southern Ontario, Iroquois Confederacy Nations, from south of Lake Ontario, established seven villages at strategic transportation points along the north shore of Lake Ontario.³ French missionaries soon followed into these villages.

In 1668, Sulpician priests Claude Trouvé and François de Fénelon established a mission at the village of Kente, near present day Consecon in Prince Edward County, to serve the north shore Iroquois villages. They travelled among these villages, and Fénelon, possibly with priest François d’Urfé, overwintered at Ganatsekwyagon near the mouth of the Rouge River, giving us today’s name for Frenchman’s Bay. It is also possible that Adrien Jolliet (brother of explorer Louis), and Jean Peré may have crossed the portage from that village to Georgian Bay in 1669 on their way to seek out copper mines in the area of Lake Superior. The village of Teiaiaagon, near the mouth of the Humber River, was established in 1673 or shortly thereafter, quite possibly in response to René-Robert Cavalier de La Salle’s construction that year of Fort Frontenac, where Kingston is today.

In 1669-70, Sulpician priests René

**The Northern Iroquois Villages
c.1668 - 1682**

- Ganneious - Napanee
- Kente - Bay of Quinte
- Kentsio - Rice Lake
- Ganaraske - Port Hope
- Ganatsekwyagon - mouth of Rouge River
- Teiaiaagon, (also Teyaiagon or Teyayegon) - mouth of Humber River
- Quinaouatoua (or Tinawatawa) - near Hamilton

Bay and the upper Great Lakes.

This exploration did not begin in earnest until the late 1660s when a series of tentative peace arrangements between the French and the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy of Five Nations—later Six Nations), paved the way for French exploration, trade and missionary work in the Great Lakes region. Until then, travel into the area was via the “north-

³ Victor Konrad, “An Iroquois Frontier: the North Shore of Lake Ontario During the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 7:2 (1981), 129 -144, 135.

Bréhant de Galinée and François Dollier De Casson undertook an expedition to look into establishing a mission in the Ohio country. They were joined by La Salle who was to investigate waterway routes to the west, but who did not complete the trip with them. Galinée afterwards completed a map based on those travels, which encompasses Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. That map is considered later in this study. At about the same time, an exceedingly fine map of Lake Superior and the northern shores of Lakes Michigan and Huron was completed by Jesuit priests, Claude Allouez and Claude Dablon, *La Carte du Lac Tracy ou Supérieur*, also now referred to as *The Jesuit Map of Lake Superior*.⁴

In 1673, Jesuit priest Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, a former Jesuit student turned fur trader, explorer, and cartographer, were the first Europeans to discover and descend the Mississippi from the north. Fearing encountering the Spanish, they turned back where the Arkansas River joins the Mississippi, still some 700 kilometers from its outlet. While confirming the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, local Native accounts left hope that one of its

western tributaries might yet lead to the Gulf of California. Based on information compiled from these explorations, Louis Jolliet composed a map in 1674, drawn by Franquelin, commonly known as “the Larger Jolliet Map.”⁵

Its immense significance lay in charting the connections between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River, revealing an internal waterway route to the Gulf of Mexico.

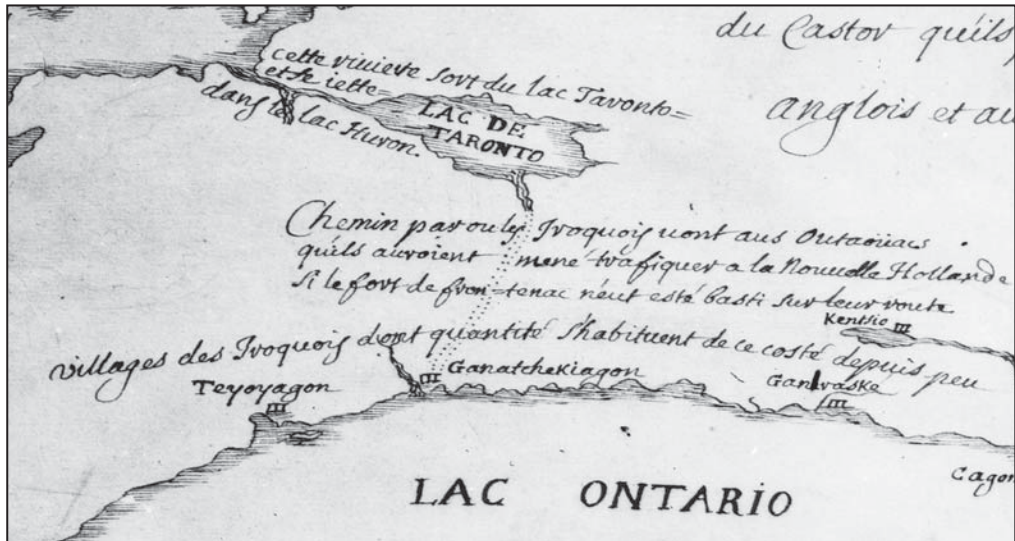
But it was not until April 1682, when La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi, that its full span to the Gulf of Mexico was known. In staging for his descent of the Mississippi, La Salle traversed the Toronto Portage at least three times, and possibly a fourth time. In a letter written while “at Taronto,” La Salle speaks of a traverse made there in 1680, and of the difficulties of portaging over the “mountains,” no doubt the Oak Ridges Moraine.⁶

His almost casual reference to Toronto suggests the name and the route it embodied was by then a familiar feature. It cannot be discounted that La Salle was quite possibly responsible for introducing that name into the cartography of the time.

⁴ Jean Allouez, Claude Dablon; 1669, *Lac Tracy ou Supérieur avec les dépendances de la mission du Saint Esprit*, Library and Archives Canada, NMC7068. Service historique de la Défense, département Marine, Cartes et plans, recueil 67, no. 76 [Formerly in Bibliothèque de la Service hydrographique, 4044B-73]. <<http://rla.unc.edu/Mapfiles/HMC3/BSH%20B%204044-73.HMC.3.jpg>>

⁵ J.B.L. Franquelin, 1675, *Carte de la descouverte du S. Jolliet ou l'on voit la communication du Fleuve St Laurens avec les Lacs Frontenac Erié, Lac des Hurons et Illinois*: Original; France, Dépôt des cartes et plans de la Marine, Service hydrographique, Bibliothèque, 4044 B, No. 37. Library and Archives Canada copy, MIKAN no. 4147022. <<http://rla.unc.edu/Mapfiles/HMC2/BSH%20B%204044-37.HMC.2.jpg>>

⁶ Percy James Robinson, *Toronto during the French Régime; a history of the Toronto Region from Brûlé to Simcoe, 1615-1793* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 274, 25, 36-37.



Map 2: Part of *Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac*, (Claude Bernou 1680 or after).⁷

Following his exploration, La Salle returned to France in November 1683 with the intent of going back to the Mississippi by way of the Gulf of Mexico. With assistance from influential persons connected to King Louis XIV's court, he obtained a commission and resources to establish a mission in Louisiana near the outlet of the Mississippi. The expedition ended in tragic disaster. In February 1685, La Salle's ships landed near Matagorda Bay on the Texas coast, nearly 400 miles west of the mouth of the Mississippi. He was eventually killed by mutineers and, save for a group of seven people which made its way to New France, what was left of the landing party perished at their own mutinous hands, or were killed or taken in by local Native

tribes. To this day speculation continues as to whether La Salle's misplaced landing was deliberate, to place him within striking distance of Spanish silver mines, or an accident due to erroneous latitudinal readings, faulty navigational equipment, or inaccurate maps.

The Map *Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac*

This map is the first map to have been broadly identified as the earliest to include Toronto as a place name. On it, Lake Simcoe is named "Lac de Taronto" (Map 2). It was originally attributed to Louis Jolliet, co-discoverer of the Mississippi, and dated 1673. However, scholars later determined it was made around 1680 by Claude Bernou, Sulpician priest,

⁷ Claude Bernou, *Carte du Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac et de sa Region*, Library and Archives Canada (copy) Ph/902/[1680], CART023593, MIKAN no. 4148568. Original; Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes, département Marine, Cartes et plans, Recueil 67 No 47, (previously 4044 B No 43).

Map 3: Part of Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou mer Douce Des Hurons, (Claude Bernou 1680 or after).⁸

geographer, mathematician and strong supporter of La Salle as an official in the court of King Louis XIV. Notwithstanding the correction, both attributions and dates continue to be found claiming the map as the earliest to use the name Toronto.

The map is part of a set of nine maps by Bernou, each showing one or more of the Great Lakes. When pieced together they make up the entire Great Lakes system and St. Lawrence Valley. The map shows the Iroquois villages of Teyayegon and Ganatsekwyagon. A trail is marked showing the eastern branch of the Toronto Portage from Ganatsekwyagon to Lac de Taronto. From there, a river, today's Severn, joins that lake to Georgian Bay. An inscription written through the portage notes it as, the "Road by which the Iroquois go to the Ottawas [a Native nation to the north] that they would have taken to trade in New Holland if fort frontenac [sic] had not been built on their route."



Adding to the Toronto maps muddle is a very similar map from Bernou's set of nine maps, *Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou mer Douce Des Hurons* (Map 3). It covers much of the same area as the Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac map, but in a slightly different way. It has the same inscription and eastern branch of the Toronto Portage, but the text is placed entirely on the east side of the portage. Some authors have failed to distinguish between the two maps or confuse them with one another. It also has been cited as a 1673, (and 1675) Jolliet map, first to name Toronto. In the end, both maps are by Bernou, circa 1680 and neither is the first to use the name Toronto.

⁸ Claude Bernou, 1680 or after, *Carte du Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou Mer Douce des Hurons*, Library and Archives Canada (copy) Ph/902/[1680] CARTO22915, MIKAN no. 4147202. Original; Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes, département Marine, Cartes et plans, Recueil 67, No 48 (previously 4044 B No 44).

Most modern references to the Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac map as the first to carry the Toronto place name can be traced back to Percy J. Robinson's book, "Toronto during the French Regime: a history of the Toronto Region from Brule to Simcoe, 1615-1793," first published in 1933.⁹

Using earlier sources, he initially credits the map as "having been ascribed" to Louis Jolliet and being "not earlier than 1673." He states it is the first map to use the name "Lac de Taronto" and to show Teiaiaagon, (actually, Teyayegon on the map). Later in Appendix I, Robinson says La Salle himself may have supervised the preparation of the map, as it contains information only he could have had, and that "it differs in important particulars from the Jolliet maps of the time." In Appendix II he retracts from the Jolliet attribution altogether, giving the cartographer as "Anonymous," and puts a question mark on the date, "1673?". Notwithstanding Robinson's backpedalling on the map's provenance, histories of Toronto continue to cite him as the authority behind the map unequivocally being a 1673 map by Jolliet.

In 1938, five years after Robinson's book came out, Jesuit historian Jean Delanglez gives a revised attribution for the map. His book, "*Some La Salle Journeys*," sorts out contrasting claims about the exploration and discovery of the Missis-

sippi and associated cartography.¹⁰

Delanglez metes out a scathing condemnation of Pierre Margry, curator of the French Archives during the late 19th century, who, between 1865 and 1892, wrote a series of works on the early exploration of North America.¹¹

He accuses Margry of fabricating deceitful histories of La Salle, falsely crediting him with discovering the Ohio River as well as discovering and exploring the Mississippi River ahead of the 1673 Jolliet/Marquette expedition. Delanglez says that Margry's fabrications are motivated by a prejudicial hatred of Jesuits which borders on a phobia.¹²

Delanglez attacks Margry's sources and singles out documents written in the 1680s by the above noted Claude Bernou and by Eusèbe Renaudot, editor of the *Gazette de France* and member of the French Academy. These two highly influential individuals were deeply involved in promoting La Salle's efforts in New France. In the 1680s, in order to influence the King's support for La Salle's endeavours, they wrote fictitious accounts of La Salle being first to discover the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

Delanglez shows how in the 1880s Margry revives the two-hundred year-old fictitious Renaudot and Bernou accounts, to give new life to their dormant renditions of La Salle as discoverer of the Mississippi. Delanglez argues that

⁹ Robinson, *Toronto during the French Régime*, 274 (see footnote 6).

¹⁰ Jean Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys* (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938), 122.

¹¹ Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1754*, 1879, [Paris]: [Maisonneuve].

¹² Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, 3.

Margry's revised history is an attempt to discredit rightful "Jesuit" entitlements to these discoveries. The presumed La Salle journeys are undertaken during two years or so following La Salle's separation from Galinée on the shores of Lake Ontario in 1669, when his whereabouts are otherwise unaccounted for.

Delanglez also examined a number of maps from the 1670s that were originally attributed to Jolliet. By comparing these with Bernou's handwriting and peculiarities in his spelling, he finds many are not by Jolliet, but are in fact by Bernou. Bernou is also alleged to have altered Jolliet's 1764 map, *The Larger Jolliet*, by adding the Ohio River on it, with an inscription showing it as "La Salle's route for going into Mexico."¹³

Delanglez dates the tampering to 1680 or after, as La Salle did not think of going to "Mexico" until then.¹⁴

He also identifies Bernou as the one who made a copy of this map, commonly called *The Smaller Jolliet*, which has similar claims to a La Salle journey to Mexico via the Ohio River. He calls Bernou's map manipulation about La Salle's supposed trips, "a clear case of anti-Jesuit astigmatism."¹⁵

Delanglez concludes the entire se-

ries of nine Great Lakes maps, including *Lac Ontario ou de Frontenac* and *Lac Huron ou Karegnondi ou mer Douce Des Hurons*, thought to have been by Jolliet in 1673-75, were made by Bernou. He dates them to "after 1680, or later."¹⁶ Thus the revised provenance of these two maps are credited to the investigative work of Delanglez.

But Delanglez also finds that Margry is equally complicit in manufacturing false maps. He demonstrates how in the 1880s Margry pieced together Bernou's two-hundred year-old Great Lakes map segments to counterfeit a composite map of the Great Lakes and Mississippi basin. The forged map, known as *Parkman no. 3*, includes a note referencing La Salle's bogus journey to the Gulf of Mexico via the Ohio River. The map is undated, unsigned, and without title. Margry provides it to American historians making it appear as a product made two years after Galinée's map of 1670.¹⁷

Delanglez exposes Margry as unscrupulously using his position as curator of the French Archives to limit the information available to other historians, while fabricating a false history of La Salle discovering the Mississippi, supported by adulterated maps.¹⁸

¹³ Lucien Campeau, "Les Cartes relatives à la découverte du Mississipi par le P. Jacques Marquette et Louis Jolliet," *Les Cahiers des dix*, n° 47, 1992, 41-90, 62.

¹⁴ Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, 33.

¹⁵ Delanglez, "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *Mid-America* 25, 1943, 29-74, 55.

¹⁶ Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 33 and Note 48. For "Parkman No. 3" see; Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the discovery of the great West: France and England in North America. Part third* (Boston, 1897, Little, Brown, and Co.), 476; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America* (Boston Vol IV, 1884, Houghton, Mifflin and Co.), 215-17.

¹⁸ Note: Margry's outrageous historical revisionism may have been politically motivated. His writ-

Historical geographer Conrad Heidenreich, in the 1970s, writing of the early exploration and cartography of the Great Lakes, finds Delanglez's arguments concerning the dating and authorship of the Bernou maps convincing and sees no reason to doubt his conclusions. He goes also on to speculate, in a vein similar to Robinson, that the information on the Bernou series of maps may have been based on some now lost original La Salle maps.¹⁹

As an aside, the seventeenth century Renaudot and Bernou high jinks do not end here. Following news of La Salle's 1682 descent of the Mississippi, they were involved in concocting a scheme to promote the establishment of a colony in the Gulf of Mexico. Based on false information from La Salle, Franquelin, in 1684, in France with la Salle, unwittingly drew a map plotting the Mississippi's course in a wild westward swing

across the continent, placing its outlet well west, to coincide with that of the Rio Grande River.²⁰

It was thought this location could be better sold to King Louis XIV as favourable to spreading Christianity among the local Natives, who were conveniently described as friendly to the French and willing to assist them in overtaking Spanish silver mines in the area. This ruse is also thought to be fuelled by Bernou's desire to be made a Bishop for any colony which may be established by La Salle in the new territory of Louisiana. The grand geographical hoax was said to set back European mapping of North America for twenty years, as cartographers struggled to straighten out the awkward Mississippi alignment.²¹

The notion of La Salle's discovery of the Ohio River and his priority of discovery of the Mississippi over that of Marquette and Jolliet's is still very much

ings coincided with the beginning of the French Third Republic (1870-1940), a period marked by highly divisive and, at times, violent political and social upheavals over differences between the church and state. The Catholic Church, religious orders, and clergy, with the Jesuits foremost at issue, were largely perceived as monarchist sympathisers, enemies of progress and individual freedoms, and as a threat to the Republic. The Republic aggressively pursued anticlerical reform policies to remove ecclesiastics from public functions and reduce the power of the church, with particular focus on secularizing educational institutions. Unfrocking Marquette's "Jesuit" discovery of the Mississippi by supplanting the laic La Salle with such honour would ensure a non-sectarian posterity to the landmark event. International scholarship would repudiate Margry's Mississippi fiction, leaving only some French anticlerical historians as his supporters. (see Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, 9)

¹⁹ Conrad E. Heidenreich, "Mapping the Great Lakes / The Period of Exploration, 1603-1700," *Cartographica*, 17:3 (1980), 32-63, 48.

²⁰ J.B.L. Franquelin, Map of Louisiana, *Carte de la Louisiane, ou des voyages du Sr. de La Salle : & des pays qu'il découverts depuis la Nouvelle France jusqu'au Golfe Mexique, les années 1679, 80, 81 & 82, 1684*. Reduced facsimile of MS. copy (made in Paris for Francis Parkman), now in the Library of Harvard University. The original, formerly in the Archives de la Marine, Paris, has been lost. Library of Congress image, G3300 1684 .F7 1896 TIL <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3300.ct000656>>.

²¹ Louis De Vorse, "The Impact of the La Salle Expedition of 1682 on European Cartography", In *La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, ed., Patricia K. Galloway (University Press of Mississippi, 1982), 60-78, 70.

alive today. Current histories may still be found placing La Salle on the Ohio and Mississippi some time between 1669 and 1672. The long standing uncertainty and ambiguity over the authenticity, dating, and authorship of many maps of the time, including claimed map forgeries, casts enough of a pall over the issue to leave room for doubters and naysayers to continue haranguing on what is for most a resolved issue.

Galinée's map: *Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environne, 1670*

Before considering the map Percy Robinson calls the *Second Galinée Map*, we need to address the one map which is definitively known to be linked to Galinée; his 1670 map *Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environne*, [Map of Lake Ontario and the habitations surrounding it], (Map 4). It does not name Toronto but is important to this study. The map is referred to in correspondence, which unquestionably dates it to 1670. James H. Coyne gives an excellent rendering of Galinée's journey and map in a 1903 article, "*Exploration of the Great Lakes by Dollier de Casson and Bréhant de Galinée*."²²

Unfortunately, the original of Galinée's

"*Carte du Lac Ontario...*" went missing from French libraries some time before 1870. Coyne lists three extant copies which he identifies as having been traced separately from the original. Other versions were also made from these copies.²³

There are differences among the copies; their titles differ and the textual inscriptions on some copies are more detailed than others. Coyne worked from what is perhaps the most complete version, a copy of which is held by the University of Ottawa, and can be seen here.²⁴ That copy can be awkward to view as it is drawn in a south at the top orientation, which is assumed to have been the orientation of the original map. It shows the village of Ganatsekwyagon near the mouth of the Rouge River with an inscription noting that it is where, in 1669, Jean Peré passed on his way to Lake Huron in search of copper deposits. The map also notes the probable area of the northern terminus of the Toronto Portage in Georgian Bay, but no trail is mapped.

Another copy made in 1880 by Pierre Louis Morin, shown below, reverses the orientation to the more familiar north at the top orientation, but lacks the more complete set of notations that Coyne describes.

In addition to seeking out the the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers as possi-

²² James H. Coyne, "Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669-1670 by Dollier de Casson and de Bréhant de Galinée," *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records*, 4 (1903), 87.

²³ *Ibid.*, XXXII.

²⁴ <http://crcf.uottawa.ca/passeport/I/IA1b/IA1b03-4-3-2_b.html> René Bréhant de Galinée, *Carte du Canada [région des Grands Lacs] et des terres découvertes vers le lac d'Érié*, [1670], copied from Francis Parkman's copy in Harvard University, 7 July 1882, Université d'Ottawa, Archives et collections spéciales de la bibliothèque Morisset. Also held by Library and Archives Canada MIKAN no. 4145651.



Map 4: Morin's copy of Galinée's map, *Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environne*.²⁵

ble routes to the Gulf of California, the Galinée, Casson, and La Salle expedition was also to claim new western territories in the King's name and establish missions among Native tribes.²⁶

Galinée was specifically selected for this expedition because of his ability to draw maps. Not long after departing Montreal in June 1669, delays and setbacks caused them to alter their course of action. La Salle did not complete the expedition with the others. On September 24, he separated from the group at the Iroquois village of Tinawatawa, in the Dundas Valley near present day Hamil-

ton. He claimed to be ill and was intent on avoiding overwintering in the region and presumably returned to Montreal. However, his unknown whereabouts for the next two years have, as described above, been subject of unsubstantiated accounts claiming his discoveries and travels down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

Galinée and Dollier ended up circling the lower Great Lakes on a route along the south shore of Lake Ontario and the north shore of Lake Erie, where they overwintered near today's village of Port Dover. In the spring of 1670, after spending what appears to have been a pleasant

²⁵ Pierre Louis Morin, Map: *Carte du Lac Ontario et des habitations qui l'Environne, Ensemble le pays que M.M. Dolier et Galiné, missionnaires du Séminaire de St-Sulpice ont parcouru, 1670*, True copy of the original deposited in the Archives des cartes et plans de la marine impériale, made in Paris May 1854 (Reproduction), Signed P.L. Morin, Québec 1 June, 1880. <<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40739515w>>

²⁶ Coyne, "Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669-1670." Note: Coyne's account of Galinée's trip describes a harrowing journey through the country of the Iroquois which makes for interesting reading.

winter, they continued on through the Detroit River, following the east shore of Lake Huron, to the Jesuit mission near present day Sault St. Marie. After a brief rest they returned to Montreal via the Ottawa River “northern route,” arriving on 18 June 1670. Exhausted from the journey and ill, Galinée nonetheless manages to hurriedly draw a partial sketch map of the Great Lakes area he had travelled. In his account, Galinée says he has tried to be as exact as possible, but knows there are errors that he would like to correct, given the time. Most significantly, he explicitly remarks that he put on his sketch map only what he has seen, and because of that, “has drawn only one side of each lake, as the lakes are too large to see across to the other side.”²⁷

What happens next with Galinée’s partial sketch map is subject to interpretation. Scholars have painted a scenario whereby it is forwarded by Talon, the Intendant of New France, to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Finance under King Louis XIV. In a letter of 29 August 1670, Talon advises Colbert that Galinée’s map is in “the hands of Fénelon” and that it should be “a subject worthy of your curiosity.”²⁸ Galinée’s partial sketch map is not known to exist today.

We next hear of Galinée’s map in a letter dated 10 November 1670,

from Talon to King Louis XIV.²⁹ Here Talon proudly brings attention to the discoveries of Sulpician missionaries from Montreal who “have passed through Lake Ontario and visited unknown tribes” and refers to an attached map which “will explain their route and how far they have penetrated.” Coyne and others have surmised the map referred to here is either an improved map, or an entirely new one, to which the shorelines previously omitted from Galinée’s partial sketch have been added.³⁰ Hence, on the copies we have of Galinée’s now amended *Carte du Lac Ontario*, we find the outline of the north shore of Lake Ontario, with the village of Ganatsekwyagon on it, along with the western shore of Lake Huron (Map 4). The southern shore of Lake Erie remains blank on his map.

Coyne also suggests the source for the improvements to the map was possibly Fénelon or Claude Trouvé who were both familiar with the north shore of Lake Ontario from their ministering the north shore Iroquois villages since 1668. He says either of these two or both may have made the changes, or they could have assisted Galinée in making them. Coyne laments the loss of the original Galinée map. He expresses the hope that “the map has been merely mislaid and may reappear unexpectedly at some future time.”³¹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxi, Note 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78-79, Notes 2 and 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxii

³¹ *Ibid.*, xxxiii

The Map Percy Robinson calls the *Second Galinée Map*

In 1939, thirty-six years after Coyne expressed hope the lost original Galinée map would reappear unexpectedly at some future point, Percy Robinson in a stroke of serendipity, claims to have found it. In a brief article he describes how he recognised it while studying a collection of maps in the Public Archives of Maps in Ottawa.³²

The map he examined is a photostat copy of the original held in the Public Archives of France, from a file called the Delisle Portfolio.³³ Robinson calls his recovered map the *Second Galinée Map*, claiming it to be the missing original of Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario* and dates it to 1670, (the photostat Robinson viewed can be seen here.³⁴) Robinson made a tracing of the area around Lake Ontario from the photostat. His tracing, Map 5, reverses the map to a north at the top orientation, highlights the Trent River/Kawartha Lakes system connecting Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe, and translates the text of the inscription describing the use of the Toronto Portage into English.

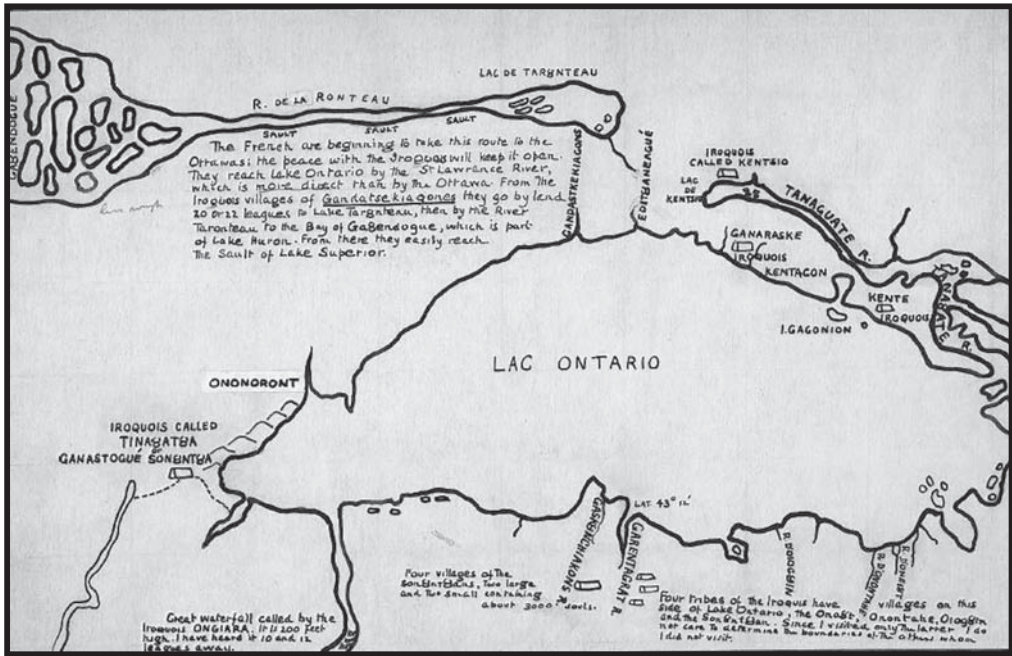
At first glance, the map Robinson found exhibits many apparent similarities with Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario*, having a matching outline of the lower Great Lakes and that it is also rendered in a south at the top perspective. However, Robinson's *Second Galinée Map*, as highlighted on his tracing, is substantially different in at least two key respects. First, it has additional information showing the Kawartha Lakes/Trent River system connecting today's Prince Edward County to Lake Simcoe, with links to Georgian Bay through the Severn River. On the map, Lake Simcoe is named "Lac De Tar8n-teau," (the symbol "8" often being used then by the French for an "ou" sound). Today's Severn River is identified as "R de la Ronteau." Robinson's dating of the map to 1670 would make this map the first to use Toronto as place name. However, Robinson's attribution is problematic, as no part of the additional Trent/Kawartha information is transcribed onto any of the copies of Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario*.

Because this additional information is entirely absent from the copies, and in consideration of the repository in which the supposed original is found, scholars

³² Percy J. Robinson, "Galinée's Map of the Great Lakes Region in 1670," *Canadian Historical Review*, 20 (1939), 293.

³³ *Ibid.*, 293. The Delisle Portfolio in the French National Archives, is a file of map sketches made some time between 1688 and 1703 by French cartographer, Guillaume Delisle and his father Claude. The sketches recorded and reconciled accounts of North American explorations and travels, (many of the sketches can be seen here, <http://www.champlain2004.org/html/03/01_e.html>). Prominent historians, cartographers and teachers to French nobility, the Delisles' used these sketches as groundwork behind some of the most highly advanced maps produced during the Golden Age of French cartography in the early eighteenth century.

³⁴ Library and Archives Canada: The entire set Canada Quatre Feuilles can be viewed online at the LAC web site by searching MIKAN no. 4153815 at <<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search/arch>>. See Item 3, <<http://data2.archives.ca/e/c448/e011184422-v8.jpg>>.



Map 5: Robinson's tracing of part of the map he calls the Second Galinée Map, with additional details on the north side of Lake Ontario.³⁵

have dismissed Robinson's attribution of this map to Galinée and have determined it to be a much later map, by a different cartographer. Again, Jean Delanglez is the author of the re-evaluation of the map's provenance. Delanglez examined historic and cartographic map sources compiled by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle, including the original map used for the photostat Robinson examined in Ottawa. He says that he "cannot concur" with Robinson's opinion of the map being a Galinée "second and more

detailed map." He describes the map as being "based on the map of Galinée for all that pertains to the three lower lakes, but later information has been added to it," meaning the Trent River/Kawartha Lakes connection. He says it is "a sketch map of the beginning of the 18th century."³⁶ Conrad Heidenreich, writing about seventeenth and eighteenth-century maps of the Great Lakes, agrees with Delanglez and says, "The map appears to be a sketch by Claude Delisle made sometime around 1700."³⁷

³⁵ Percy J. Robinson 193?, Map: *Copy of 1670 – Part of Galinée's, Second Map with additional details on the north side of Lake Ontario*, Archives of Ontario, B415120: Reference F1080 – MU243, Robinson, Percy James papers, Box 2.

³⁶ Jean Delanglez, "The Sources of the DeLisle Map of 1703," *Mid-America*, New Series, Vol. 14, no. 4, October 1943, 255-297, 283. Delanglez notes Robinson quotes French Archives call number as "Porte-feuille 75, Piece 206, Archives nationale, JJ 75." He erred, it is actually "Piece 152."

³⁷ Conrad E. Heidenreich "Seventeenth-Century Maps of the Great Lakes: An Overview and Proce-

The absence of the Trent River/Kawartha Lakes connection on any copies of Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario*, three of which are known to have been traced from the original, by three different scholars, independently of one another, fundamentally disqualifies the *Second Galinée Map* as the lost original from which those copies were made. If there is a link between these two maps, it is more likely the, so called, *Second Galinée Map* is a later and more detailed derivative based on the *Carte du Lac Ontario*, and not the other way around as Robinson would have it.

A second difference between the two maps are the descriptions on them, of the use of the Toronto Portage. Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario* describes it as the route Jean Peré used in 1669 on his way to Lake Huron, while the *Second Galinée Map* describes the portage as the route that is beginning to be used by the French to reach the Ottawas, one of their trading allies. That difference further undermines the case for the former map being a copy of the latter and it also raises questions on the validity of Robinson's dating the *Second Galinée Map* to 1670. Noting the presence of French traders on the Toronto Portage in 1670 is very much at odds with New France Governor Rémy De Courcelle's observations made during a 1671 expedition into Lake Ontario. Courcelle's expedition, intend-

ed as a show of force, found the Iroquois very much in control of a healthy trade relationship with the Dutch, as well as with the English, annoyingly, with furs harvested from French territory. At that time, the Iroquois were harassing French Native allies and setting themselves up as middlemen, redirecting French ally peltries to the Dutch and English.³⁸ French trading activity in the area was known to be more active later, when the building of Fort Frontenac in 1673 started to impede Iroquois trade with the Dutch and English, as described in the inscription accompanying the portage in Bernou's maps of 1680, Maps 2 and 3 above. However, the overriding question concerning the inscription on the *Second Galinée Map*, is whether Talon, a skillful administrator, would actually send a map to the King that brought attention to French trading activity in the interior, when that type of trading was so actively prohibited at the time by Colbert.

In addition, it must be noted that Robinson's *Second Galinée Map* is not a stand alone artifact. It is but one sheet from a map-set made up of four map sheets, something Robinson never addressed. The four map sheets overlap each other, forming a large map that charts the area from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and beyond, to Lake Superior. Only Lake Michigan is excluded. The set of maps is rendered in a south at

dures for Analysis," *Archivaria* 6 (Summer 1978), 83-112, 96.

³⁸ Jean Marmier, "Le Récit de M. de Courcelles au lac Ontario (1671), et Dollier de Casson," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 32:2 (1978), 239-50. See also, Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1879), Vol. 1, 167-92.

the top orientation. The western portion of the map-set is largely an amalgam of Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario* and the *Jesuit Map of Lake Superior*.

Both the French National Archives and Library, and the Library and Archives Canada give the author as Guillaume Delisle, dating to around 1700. Library and Archives Canada specifically lists their photostat copy as a set of four maps, *Canada Quatre Feuilles*, [Canada Four Leaves, or Four Sheets], (see footnote 34).

As well, Robinson's attribution would require the entire map-set to have been produced some time between Intendant Talon's letters of 29 August and 10 November 1670. And something in the order of a minor miracle would likely have been needed for a group of Sulpician priests to be given access to a very recently produced, and as yet unpublished *Jesuit Map of Lake Superior*, for incorporation into the map-set that same year. In all, the compilation of the map-set amounts to an undertaking far beyond the capacities of Galinée and his colleagues in 1670 Montreal.

Finally, we should also note the language of Talon's 10 November 1670 letter conveying Galinée's map to King Louis XIV. In it he speaks of the voyage of Galinée and Dollier saying they have travelled through Lake Ontario and visited unknown tribes. Talon refers to the

attached map as "explaining their route and how far they have penetrated." These statements clearly limit the extent of the explorations and bounds of the map to the area known to have been visited by Galinée and Dollier. Had Talon been able to convey a map showing the extent of the area covered by the four sheet map-set, stretching from the east coast to halfway across the continent into the interior, he would undoubtedly have given a more grandiose and self-serving description of the territory he was administering on the King's behalf.

But if the *Second Galinée Map* is not the mislaid Galinée original Coyne hoped may reappear unexpectedly, what might we say of its provenance? Conrad Heidenreich suggests a possible link between the *Canada Quatre Feuilles* map-set to a very similar map made by Montreal Sulpician priest, Francois Vachon de Belmont, in 1680.³⁹ Belmont's map is *Carte du cours du fleuve Saint Laurent depuis son embouchure jusques et y compris le Lac supérieur, 1680 / envoyé par M. de Belmont*, [Map of the course of the St. Lawrence from its outlet up to and including Lake Superior, 1680, sent by M. de Belmont].⁴⁰

The Belmont map covers the same geography as the *Canada Quatre Feuilles* compilation, however it is oriented with north at the top. Both the Belmont map and *Canada Quatre Feuilles* appear in

³⁹ Heidenreich, "Seventeenth-Century Maps of the Great Lakes," 94.

⁴⁰ Francois Vachon de Belmont, *Carte du cours du fleuve Saint Laurent depuis son embouchure jusques et y compris le Lac supérieur, 1680 / envoyé par M. de Belmont*, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bt-v1b5964236v/f1.item.r=belmont%20carte>>

part to be based on bringing together Galinée's *Carte du Lac Ontario* with the *Jesuit Map of Lake Superior*. Both also include "Lac de Taronteau" and "R. de La Ronteau." Notably, and more appropriate to a dating of 1680, the Belmont map also refers to the Toronto Portage as a route beginning to be frequented by French traders to reach the upper Great Lakes. However, the maps differ in some of the other inscriptions they contain. For example, Fort Frontenac and Teiaiaagon appear on the Belmont map, but strangely neither is on the *Canada Quatre Feuilles*.

The strong similarities and key differences between the Belmont map and *Canada Quatre Feuilles* leave little doubt that one is somehow related to the other. The *Canada Quatre Feuilles* might be a copy taken from the Belmont map, made by one of the Delisles some time around 1700. On the other hand, it also appears possible it could be a draft, or a copy of a draft, done in preparation for the 1680 Belmont map, which somehow ended up in the Delisle Portfolio. The Belmont map has much more detail on the portage trails between Lake Ontario and Kawartha Lakes, suggesting it was made after *Canada Quatre Feuilles*. Also noted is an editorial addition of two words, inserted between the lines of text, in an inscription in Lake Superior, on the Belmont map. This edit has all the hallmarks of a fix by a transcriber, to correct a mistake of having omitted two words, when copying of the same inscription from the *Canada Quatre Feuilles*, onto the Bel-

mont map.

However, a closer examination of the similarities and differences between these maps and a comparison of handwriting samples to better ascertain the map makers would be necessary to comment further on either of these possibilities. Neither of these remarkable maps have yet received the detailed consideration they warrant.

Toronto's Cartographic Birth Certificate, *Carte pour servir a l'eclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France*, J.B. Franquelin 1678 (Map 1)

There is no doubt about who made this map or when it was made. The cartographer's name, in Latin, and date are inscribed in the bottom right corner of the map's neat line; "Joannes Ludovicus Franquelin pinxit (scribe) 1678." It predates other maps claimed to be the first to carry the name, making "Tarontos Lac," for Lake Simcoe, the first time Toronto's namesake is known to appear on a map. As best as can be determined, it is the only time the spelling "Tarontos" appears on any map or in any document of the time. In a cartouche on the map, a crest surrounded by Natives, there is a dedication of the map by Jacques Duchesneau de la Doussinière et d'Ambault, the Intendant of New France from 1675 to 1682, to Colbert. The map is quite large, being made up of eight sheets, measuring an 1.9 by 1.1 metres.

Who was J.B.L. Franquelin?

Born in France in 1651 at Saint-Michel de Villebern, Franquelin came to Canada in 1671. He served as a cartographer in New France from 1674 to 1692 and later in France until 1708 and produced numerous maps chronicling French exploration and occupation in North America, about 50 of which have survived. Some have him conducting a successful trading business in his first three years in Canada, while others place him attending a seminary and leaving before taking any vows of priesthood.

He likely acquired his cartographic skills in France before coming to Canada and his use of Latin on maps suggests a classical education. He was noted for his artistic abilities and reputed to be the foremost draughtsman in New France. In 1674 Frontenac encouraged him to devote himself to mapping the colony and newly discovered areas. Franquelin received no salary for his work until 1686. He either continued his trading, or was supported by the Governor and Intendant Duchesneau.

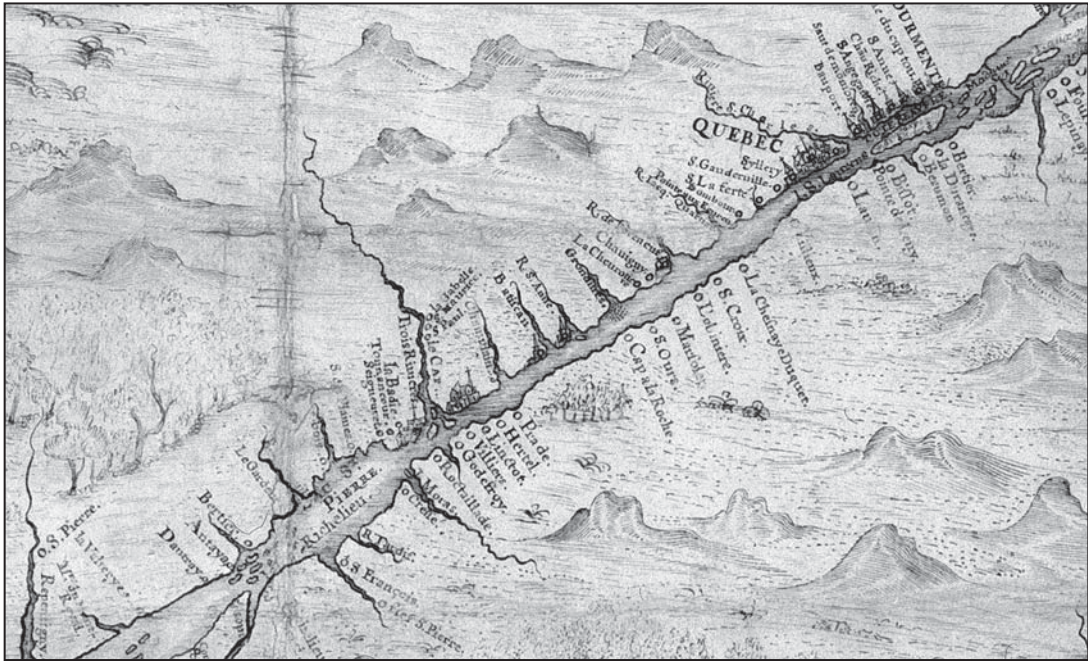
In 1683 he married Élisabeth Chesné, a widowed mother with eight children. They had five children of their own and were heavily indebted. That year Franquelin travelled to France to bring some maps and plans which had been requested, and to try and arrange for a salary, likely travelling with La Salle who recently returned from his Mississippi exploration. While in France, he was assigned as La Salle's draughtsman and drew his map of La Salle's discoveries.

Upon returning in 1684, his situation remained precarious. Though commissioned in 1687 as the "King's Hydrographer at Quebec," proper compensation never ensued. Other titles he carried included the King's Geographer, Teacher of Navigation, and Acting Engineer, none of which provided real financial relief. Seeking to escape creditors, he sought leave to return to France. Franquelin arrived in Paris in 1692, but tragically, the next year his wife and eight of their children perished in a shipwreck on their way to join him. The remaining children were left in the care of others. Opportunities to return to New France were apparently not pursued and he continued his cartography in France until 1708, where he died some time after 1712.

Many of Franquelin's maps were highly decorative, in some cases serving as much as a canvas for art as for cartography. They were often adorned with symbols of French royalty and landscape and wildlife scenes filling unknown spaces, along with elaborate vignettes of Native gatherings and ships harboured under the shelter of the Quebec fortress in the background. Franquelin's cartography was prolific, benefitting from first hand information of returning explorers about new discoveries in the emerging frontier. His work transitioned the cartography of French North America from those of missionary explorations, into a systematic imperial enterprise.

None of Franquelin's maps were ever published and he never garnered the notoriety of other famous cartographers who borrowed heavily from his maps. His maps of North America, rolled out before the French king and his ministers, were singularly influential in defining their geospatial image of the continent and driving much of France's political, military and social policy direction for the colony in the latter part of the seventeenth century.⁴¹

⁴¹ M. W. Burke-Gaffney, "Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste-Louis," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), accessed October 14, 2017, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/franquelin_jean_baptiste_louis_2E.html>. Jean Delanglez, "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *Mid-America* XXV (1943; new ser., XIV), 29–74. Jean-Francois Palomino, et al, "Portrait of a Cartographer: Jean Baptist Louis Franquelin, Kings Cartographer at Quebec," *Mapping a Continent; Historical Atlas of North America, 1492-1814* (Georgetown, Ont. McGill-Queen's University Press 2007), 104-107, 298. Dale Miquelon, "Les Pontchartrain se penchent sur leurs cartes de l'Amérique : les cartes et l'impérialisme, 1690–1712" *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 59:1-2, (été, automne, 2005), 53-71.



Map Segment 2: *Seigneuries along the St. Lawrence River near Trois-Rivières Quebec; from Carte...du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France, J.B.L. Franquelin. 1678.*

As mentioned, the defining feature of the map is the plotting of names of landowners to whom the King granted narrow strips of land called “seigneuries,” or fiefs, fronting along the St. Lawrence River. Some of the land grant recipients were former military officers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, sent to New France in 1665 to reign in the warring Iroquois. Of the 1,200 soldiers who made up the Regiment, over 400 remained in New France, induced to stay with land grants and the possibility of marriage to the arriving “Filles du Roi,” as part of King Louis XIV’s efforts to populate the colony. The map is unique as an administrative docu-

ment made specifically for recording and locating land grants.

While feudal in design, the obligations of the newly minted “Seigneurs,” were more akin to land settlement agents who were to organize subletting of farming land to “censitaires” [tenants] and see to the fulfillment of land clearing and building of roads and bridges. Many of the land grants were allocated with strategic military objectives in mind, to occupy key areas with competent militia.⁴²

Map Segment 1 shows the village of GanatkiaKagon (sic) at the mouth of the Rouge River, with a portage marked leading to Lake Simcoe, and from there, a

⁴² W. J. Eccles, “The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760,” from *Histories of the American Frontier*, edited by Ray Allen Billington (Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. USA, 1969), 234, 67.



Map Segment 3: Title block and wildlife scene, from *Carte...du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France*, J.B.L. Franquelin, 1678.

river (Severn) flowing into Lake Huron. Also shown on the map is the village of Kente and the waterway/portage route heading northwest towards Lake Simcoe. Interestingly, only the eastern branch of the Toronto Portage is shown, and Teiaiagon is not depicted. The land area on the map is filled with fanciful, artistic portrayals of a rich and bountiful country full of beaver, deer and moose, set in a landscape made of random tree groves and low mountain ranges.

The map's upper centre prominently features the figure of an angel in a swirl of clouds blowing a trumpet, (Map Segment 4). Bellowing from the trumpet is a rhythmical couplet of Latin verse in dactylic hexameter, "GALLICA PER MED(I) (A)S IAM FLORETLILIA SYLVAS: QUID MIRUM(**) LEM

NOVITUTERQ; POLVS," which is likely borrowed from a longer poem. The first line translates as "The French lily now flourishes through the midst of the forests."⁴³ It aptly symbolizes the French imperial fleur-de-lis and French occupation of the St. Lawrence Valley, set in a bucolic, artistically rendered natural landscape. Hanging from the trumpet is a standard adorned with numerous fleur-de-lis and the image of a head within rays of sunlight, an emblem of Louis XIV as the Sun King. A ribbon tie on the banner is inscribed with the term "Nec Pluribus Impar," a motto used by Louis XIV on military standards, interpreted variously as implying "Without Equal," or "Superior to All." More than a mere embellishment, the figure with its metaphoric trimmings is likely intended as a French

⁴³ Personal communication from Dr. Edward Barnes who graciously supplied the Latin translation.



Map Segment 4: *Figure of an angel with symbol of Louis XIV as Sun King, from Carte...du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France, J.B.L. Franquelin, 1678.*

claim to the land and a royal seal validating the land grants identified on the map.

The map's purpose as an administrative record is likely one reason why it has received little attention, and may be part of the reason why the name Tarontos on it has gone unnoticed. The map brings no new geographic information relating to exploration or discovery. While it has a compass rose, it is without any latitudinal or longitudinal coordinates. Indeed, Heidenreich considers the map's cartographic importance somewhat dubious.

He says this map, along with another by Franquelin of 1678, are "really attempts at art, rather than accurate renditions of the known geography of New France," and "The geographic features on these maps are so crude one wonders why these maps were made."⁴⁴ While the map may not be a cartographic milestone, it is, however, a significant public record document with its own uniqueness, having noteworthy value and merit as what might be considered the first "official" royally certified property survey made in North America.

⁴⁴ Heidenreich, "Mapping the Great Lakes 1603-1700," 48.

Conclusion

Whether the Native and French use and occupation of the Toronto area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as minimal and intermittent as it may have been, actually constituted the historical beginnings of today's City of Toronto, is arguable. Despite this, the name has inescapable longevity, and we now have a case for the cartographic manifestation of Toronto as a feature and a place name beginning in 1678. Eventually the name came to appear on maps, atlases, and globes in the possession of the crowned heads of European states, as well as in the libraries of public, academic, and religious institutions and those of the wealthy around the world.

The name Toronto, as a standalone place name in its current spelling, was eventually linked to its present site on a 1752 map by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, a French Royal Cartographer.⁴⁵ That map was drawn one year after the establishment of Fort Rouillé, commonly known as Fort Toronto, on a site now part of the CNE grounds. Publication of maps showing Fort Toronto began in 1757 and continued to be printed well after the French destroyed the fort in 1759 as British troops advanced from Niagara. The British used the name Toronto on

their maps when they began to occupy the area in the later decades of the eighteenth century, at least until Lord Simcoe's adoption of York as a new name for his planned town site.

The early appearance and persistence of the name Toronto on maps gave it a world presence and status far larger than its humble beginnings warranted. The strength of such persistent cartographic authority no doubt played a role in the name surviving through a forty-one-year hiatus when Toronto was known as York, and to it being reinstated in 1834. The cartographic genealogy of Toronto as a place and a name can be traced back with continuity through three and a half centuries from its earliest appearance. Impressively, the name survived through successive occupations by different cultures, military campaigns, and shifting imperial over-sights. This historical lineage begins with J.B. Franquelin's 1678 map as Toronto's namesake map.

The author gratefully acknowledges Archives of Ontario, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département des Cartes et plans, Library and Archives Canada, and the Service historique de la Défense, Vincennes, département Marine, Cartes et plans, who granted permission to reproduce their maps for this publication.

⁴⁵ Jacques-Nicholas Bellin; *Carte generale du Canada ou Nouvelle France, 1752*. Library and Archives Canada; MIKAN no. 3693693. This map forms part of an atlas originally held by the "Dépôt des cartes et plans de la Marine" in France, which was subsequently held by private interests and given to Canada by the British government in 1967, on the occasion of the celebration of Canada's Centennial.