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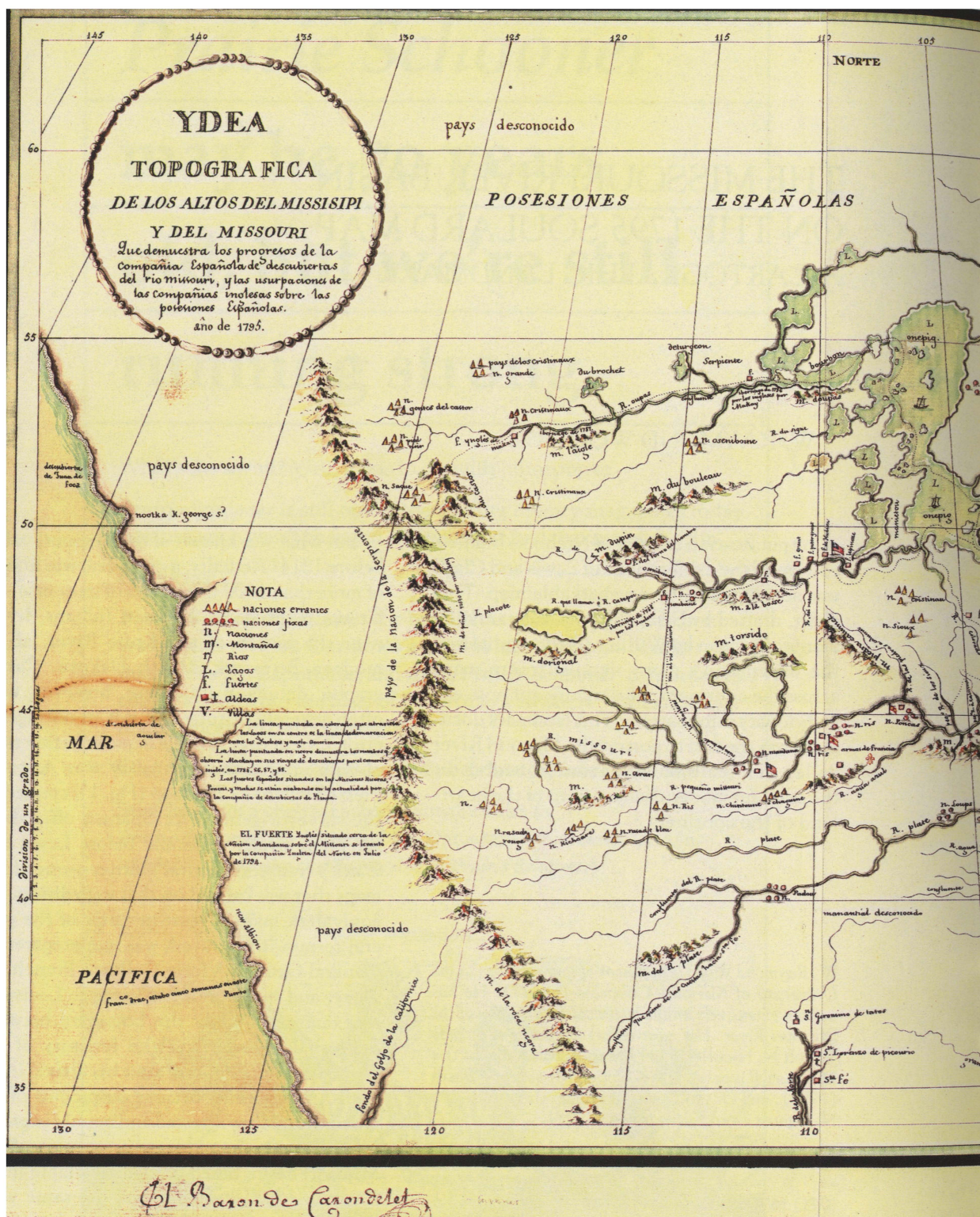
THE MISSOURI RIVER BASIN ON THE 1795 SOULARD MAP A CARTOGRAPHIC LANDMARK

W. RAYMOND WOOD

The publication in 1814 of Nicholas Biddle's edition of the explorations of Lewis and Clark was accompanied by a remarkable map. This chart, drafted by Samuel Lewis from an 1810 manuscript map by William Clark, synthesized the expedition's many detailed route maps across the continent, plus significant post-expeditionary information.¹ This landmark document was the first to portray the Missouri River valley in a realistic configuration, and it set the stage for modern conceptions of the heartland of the continent.²

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But what was known of the Missouri valley before 1814? Actually, a great deal was known of more than 1500 river miles of its course—as far upstream as the Mandan Indians, living near the mouth of the Knife River, above modern Bismarck, North Dakota. Cartographic details of its course, however, were often severely distorted, if not in outrageous error. One of the available depictions that most closely approximated reality was Antoine Pierre Soulard's 1795 map (Fig. 1), created by the surveyor-general for Spanish officials in St. Louis nearly a decade before Lewis and Clark's transcontinental journey—one of the maps that was carried on that expedition. An equivalent map, at least in terms of the general terrain it portrayed, was one prepared by General Georges-Victor Collot, a French engineer and spy. Collot had come to Louisiana to examine covertly the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and the territory of the United States. Not long after his arrival in St. Louis, the Spanish became suspicious of his mission, and they arrested and quietly expelled him. The map he managed to prepare of the Missouri basin, based on data available in St. Louis in 1795, was engraved the same year,



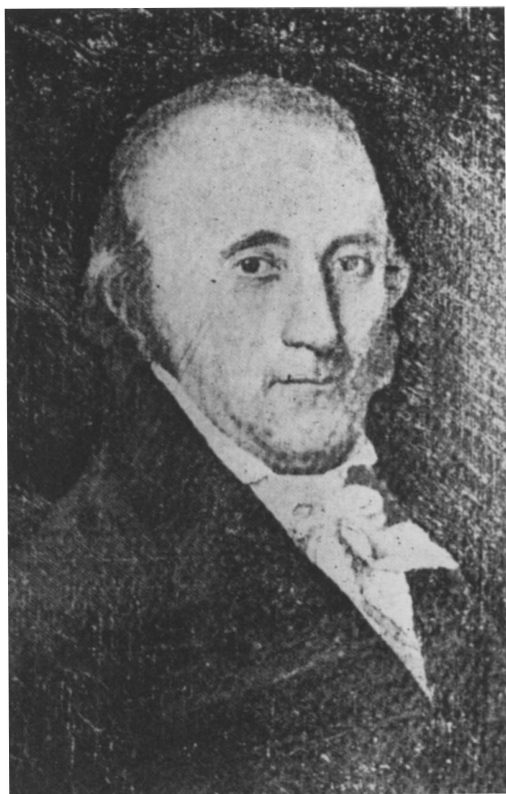


FIG. 2. *Portrait of Antoine Pierre Soulard.* Reproduction courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

but the report containing it was suppressed and did not appear in print until 1826³—by which time it was wholly obsolete.

The visiting Collot and the resident Soulard had access to the same general sources in St. Louis and one might suspect they would have created roughly equivalent maps, but for whatever reason, the general's map of the course of the Missouri and the upper Mississippi was vastly superior in detail and configuration to that of his officially employed countryman. The two charts of course contain many of the same details—for example, both of them confuse part of the lower course of the Platte River with that of the Loup River and show the forks of the Platte River—but Collot's version nevertheless was clearly the better representation. Collot portrayed the Grand Detour of central

South Dakota in its proper proportion, although its orientation is reversed exactly 180 degrees. It was Aubrey Diller's belief that Collot's account and his map of the Missouri River were based in part on Soulard's map and in part on the voyage up the river by Jean Baptiste Truteau in 1794.⁴ Certainly, Collot's text for his description of the Missouri was taken from Truteau's own description of the river.⁵

The Soulard map was an important pre-expeditionary planning document for Lewis and Clark's voyage of discovery, but it had a short use life for the captains despite its representation of the entirety of the Great Plains. The reason: Lewis and Clark were able to obtain two eyewitness maps for much of the Missouri's course—those of the upper Missouri River produced by John Thomas Evans, and a large-scale chart drafted by Nicolas de Finiels under the direction of James Mackay. Both maps were produced in St. Louis in 1797 and were very precise representations of the course of the Missouri River. Evans's seven-part chart covered the area between modern northeastern Nebraska and the Rocky Mountains, and the De Finiels-Mackay map was a detailed chart of the river between the town of St. Charles—just above the mouth of the Missouri River—and the Mandan Indian villages at the mouth of the Knife River, in present western North Dakota. Evans's and Mackay's charts had resulted from explorations on the Missouri River sponsored by Spanish merchants in St. Louis, and each provided accurate vistas of the lands Spain claimed along the Missouri in what was to become the Louisiana Purchase.⁶ Both charts became important sources for later maps of the Missouri River—maps that would become obsolete only with the availability of the 1814 chart that Samuel Lewis produced from William Clark's 1810 manuscript map.⁷

The Soulard map has a tangled history, in part because the original, finished chart disappeared for nearly two centuries. It only recently surfaced in a private collection in Spain. It is difficult to overestimate the importance

of this map, for it was acclaimed by Aubrey Diller, one of the most distinguished historical cartographers of the Missouri valley, as “virtually the first original and independent map of the [Missouri] river since Delisle’s famous *Carte de la Louisiane* of 1718.”⁸ The chart is an important representation of the Great Plains of North America and their environs at the close of the eighteenth century—a view that extended from the southern Plains deep into Canada. Who was the man that compiled this miniature atlas of the midcontinent?

Antoine Pierre Soulard (Fig. 2) was appointed Surveyor-General of Spanish Louisiana by Governor Zenon Trudeau on 3 February 1795.⁹ He had been highly recommended for the post by Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the governor-general of Louisiana, as early as May 16 of the previous year. And what was the background of this new surveyor-general? Antoine Soulard was born in Rochefort, France in 1766, and had served for a time as a second lieutenant in the French navy. Perhaps it was in this capacity he learned what he knew of surveying and cartography. He apparently came first to New Orleans about the time of the French Revolution. Leaving New Orleans, in February 1794 he arrived in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where he helped build a fort.¹⁰ He moved to St. Louis a little later that year. In his own words, “Shortly after [visiting Ste. Genevieve], my good friend M. Zenon [Trudeau] took me in hand, and since then I have lived in St. Louis.”¹¹ This assertion makes it likely that he was in the city as early as March 1794. The twenty-eight year old Frenchman was appointed to the post of surveyor-general early the next year, a position he retained until Louisiana passed into American hands in early 1804.¹² He also was captain of the militia, adjutant to the lieutenant-governor of upper Louisiana, and surveyor for St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. Soulard was a well-known and respected figure in contemporary St. Louis, and the city today commemorates his name in Soulard street, place, and playground, for example, in a district of St. Louis that also carries his name.

Five versions exist of the map that Soulard created in 1795. There is one unfinished prototype sketch of it; what we choose to call the “original” finished map; and no less than three extant copies: one each in Spanish, French, and English. The prototype sketch is unimportant, but with the original map now available, we find that the Spanish copy is redundant, and the French and English copies simply illustrate its later history.

The most easily recognized feature of the Soulard map and its derivatives is the depiction of the Big Bend or “Grand Detour” of the Missouri River in central South Dakota as a grotesquely exaggerated, U-shaped bend between the Mandan and Arikara villages (Fig. 3). On his map it was as large as the south part of Lake Winnipeg, whereas on the ground it was but twenty-five river miles around, although a person could walk across its mile and three-quarters wide neck in an hour and a half. The presence of the great meander had long been known—indeed, a Frenchman had been “settled” in its vicinity a full half-century earlier¹³—but previous to Soulard’s map there was no cartographic representation of it.

Features both above and below the Grand Detour are shown with relative accuracy, although the river’s course is sadly in error below the Arikaras. The configuration of the river above the Mandans is remarkably accurate, although the Yellowstone River is conspicuously absent. The chart nonetheless is a “cartographic milestone” surpassing in detail and accuracy all other maps showing the same terrain.¹⁴ Firsts on the document include the earliest representation of the Grand Detour, and it is perhaps the earliest to show the forks of the Platte River. Although its maker had no documented first-hand familiarity with any part of its geography other than the Mississippi River below St. Louis, Soulard once claimed to have ascended the Missouri River for about 500 to 600 leagues, a distance that would have carried him to or near the Mandan villages.¹⁵ Unfortunately, he did not reveal when he made the trip, although it is obvious



FIG. 3. *The Missouri River valley in the Grand Detour, central South Dakota, before its inundation in 1963 by the Big Bend Dam and its impoundment, Lake Sharpe. Photograph courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.*

that it was after he had produced his 1795 map.

For the genesis of the map that Soulard created we turn to Spanish St. Louis in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Spanish claims on the upper Missouri River were being challenged in what is now west-central North Dakota by intrusive British traders from Pine Fort and other posts along the Assiniboine River in southern Canada. After 1792, when Governor-General François Luis Hector Carondelet assumed command in Spanish New Orleans, and Zenon Trudeau took charge as commandant at St. Louis, there were efforts (to prove useless) to thwart this challenge. In early 1794, Carondelet and Jacques Clamorgan

oversaw the founding of the Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri (also known by a variety of other names, but here simply alluded to as the Missouri Company) to explore the commercial opportunities of the upper Missouri River. The Company, headed by Clamorgan, planned a major trading expedition up the Missouri for the spring of 1794, the first such venture for which any substantial record for the late eighteenth century survives. Jean Baptiste Truteau, a St. Louis schoolmaster, was engaged to lead the expedition to the Mandans.

What did Truteau know of his destination? Very little, for there were no useful maps in St. Louis for the area upstream from the

present-day Nebraska-South Dakota boundary. Jacques d'Eglise had been to visit the Mandans two years earlier, and to the Arikara Indians in 1793, but neither D'Eglise nor his companions or colleagues are known to have produced a map.¹⁶ A chart of some description was nevertheless provided for Truteau's travels for, in his instructions to him, Clamorgan mentions

the plan which I deliver to him in order that he may know his whereabouts, and to change or correct the location of the nations and rivers, adding those that are found and not yet on the plan.¹⁷

A passage in Truteau's account for early October 1794, when he reached the then-deserted Arikara villages, also intimates he may have had with him another primitive chart of the river between the mouths of the Platte and Cheyenne rivers:

Besides, according to the indications which Jacques d'Eglise and Quenneville had given me, and which I had traced on a piece of paper, concerning the size of the rivers which discharge into the Missouri from the mouth of the River Platte up to the village of the Arikaras, and other notable places . . .¹⁸

Truteau left for the upper Missouri on 7 June 1794 and did not return to St. Louis until about June of 1796.¹⁹ No map directly resulting from that expedition is known. Furthermore, there is a great deal of ambiguity about the "plan" that Clamorgan provided him, and the "indications" that D'Eglise and Quenneville supplied. Neither document is identifiable today with assurance although, as we see below, Clamorgan's "plan" was perhaps an early draft or the prototype of the Soulard 1795 map.

Knowledge in St. Louis of the upper Missouri was crippling poor. In fact, no maps of what was to become the Louisiana Territory were transmitted to the new Spanish governor

by his French predecessor, for as late as 1785 Esteban Miró, Carondelet's predecessor as governor-general of Louisiana, possessed no such document. The French, indeed, had none to pass along, and Miró justly complained about the fact that

the French governor did not leave any map in this office, when he gave up this province, except those of the course of the Mississippi with the settlements that nation had made, but without any depth or explanation of the land on either sides, particularly on the west, which might have given information concerning the nations that border on the *Provincias Internas*.²⁰

It was pointless to complain in any case, for "about all the French governor could have done at the time of his departure would have been to leave Delisle's map of 1718, or some of the many later maps embodying its basic features."²¹ Guillaume Delisle's 1718 *Carte de la Louisiane* was without question the most important and influential map of the French period.²² It was plagiarized and reproduced in only slightly modified form from the date it appeared until the 1790s,²³ although its recognizable (if garbled) characterization of the Missouri valley ends in the territory of the Omaha Indians in modern northeastern Nebraska.

Five months after Truteau's departure, in his military report on the state of matters in Louisiana on 24 November 1794, Governor Carondelet reported to his superior in Havana, Captain-General Luis de Casas, that

I have ordered the accompanying map prepared, which has been drawn from the most trustworthy plans that could be obtained since I have taken possession of their government. For all maps printed both in England and in the United States and in France, are absolutely false, especially in regard to the course of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers; besides which the settlements, both Spanish and American, which

have grown up since the printing of those maps, could not be noted therein.²⁴

The map that Carondelet "ordered prepared" is no longer with the original document in Seville, and there is no evidence that it has survived.²⁵ When was it drafted and by whom? Almost certainly it was not by Soulard, though it was probably known to him and may have provided some of the information for his 1795 map. Soulard by this time had been in St. Louis for about eight months, although he was not appointed surveyor-general until 3 February 1795, about two months after Carondelet wrote his 1794 report alluding to the "accompanying map."

Carondelet's report was submitted to Havana nearly six months after Truteau left St. Louis. As Carl I. Wheat interpreted this document, Governor Carondelet had "ordered a wholly new map prepared for the information of Jean Baptiste Truteau's 1794 expedition up the Missouri."²⁶ A map clearly was prepared for Truteau, but it does not appear to be the finished map that Wheat suggested, as quoted by Wood and others.²⁷ Truteau left St. Louis on 7 June 1794. If Soulard had been the author of the map Carondelet ordered, he would have prepared the chart for Truteau, unofficially, at least nine months before his appointment as surveyor-general—a plausible but altogether speculative scenario.

Fourteen months after Truteau left St. Louis, and before his return, the Missouri Company dispatched a second and much larger expedition to the upper Missouri River. The James Mackay-John Evans expedition left St. Louis in late August 1795—the month and year specified on the French copy of Soulard's map, by which time Soulard had been surveyor-general for about seven months. The extant documents do not mention Mackay and Evans having being supplied with a map. It was, however, a large expedition, "composed of thirty-three men, well provisioned. These expenses are considerable. . . ."²⁸ It would have been unreasonable to invest in

and dispatch such an expedition—nearly as large as the Lewis and Clark expedition—without the best preparation St. Louis officials could provide. For these reasons the hypothesis deserves scrutiny that the final form of the 1795 Soulard map was prepared for this expedition. The map is dated the month of their departure, and it was drawn by a cartographer who had been appointed surveyor-general by a partner in the company that sponsored the expedition.

THE PROTOTYPE SPANISH COPY

Carondelet's message to his superiors in Spain of 8 January 1796 referred to "a topographical map" illustrating the "usurpations" of the English and their designs on the northern frontier of Spanish Louisiana. The map accompanying this report illustrated "the path the English follow and the line of forts built by them from Lake Superior to the Mountains of Black Rock" (Rocky Mountains). Abraham Nasatir was unable to find this chart in Madrid but he did find a rough draft or prototype of the map.²⁹ It was not in the file containing Carondelet's report, but that file does contain a sheet of paper marked *No. 4 era un mapa que no ha a parecido* (No. 4, a map which goes under separate cover). Nasatir found a map in Seville he believed to be this one (or a facsimile of it) in the French copy of the instructions given to Truteau governing his trip up the Missouri.³⁰ It bears the title:

Ydea Topográfica de los altos del Missisipi y del Missouri que demuestra los progresos de la Compie. española de descubiertos del rio Missouri y las usurpaciones de los Compías. inglesas sobre las posesiones españolas. año de 1795

(Topographical sketch of the upper Mississippi and Missouri, showing the expeditions of the Spanish Company for exploration of the Missouri River and the encroachments of the English companies on Spanish territory. 1795.)

The map title and some notes appended to the cartouche are identical to those on the finished Spanish original of the Soulard 1795 (and its Spanish copy) and therefore—despite its complete lack of detail—this draft appears to be a prototype for it. This unfinished map carries no topographic detail, bearing nothing more than eleven labels for features ranging from the Gulf of California in the southwest to the *camino del capitain carver* (the route of Captain Carver) in the northeast.³¹

The oft-repeated statement that the Soulard map was prepared for Truteau's ascent of the Missouri appears to be based on the discovery of this prototype map in Carondelet's instructions to him—despite the fact the French copy of the finished Spanish original is dated August 1795. Truteau had left St. Louis in mid-1794, more than six months earlier. If Truteau carried a map, it was this nearly blank prototype chart on which he was expected to fill in the details.

This draft version, as well as the original Spanish and its copy, both contain comments at the base of the map legend that, in translation, refer to “Spanish forts situated at the Arikara, Ponca, and Omaha nations, presently in use by the company of Discovery of Illinois,” and “The English fort situated near the Mandan nation on the Missouri, built by the English company of the north in July 1794.” These posts and their identity are discussed later in this paper.

THE SPANISH ORIGINAL

The original Spanish map drawn by Soulard, and once believed lost, was recently discovered in a large collection of late eighteenth century Spanish manuscript maps that appears to have been in private hands in Spain. The chart first came to light when it passed into the hands of, and was auctioned by, Sotheby's of London in 1984. It was purchased by W. Graham Arader III of Philadelphia, and subsequently sold to the Karpeles Manuscript Library in Santa Barbara, California.³² The chart

is an “expertly rendered manuscript map, pen and ink with fine watercolor wash. On J. Whatman paper, with fleur-de-lis watermark. 15 1/2 x 27 [in.]” (39 x 68.5 cm.) (Fig. 3). Its identity is assured by the signature, verified to be that of Baron de Carondelet, in the lower left margin below the neatline. “In no contemporary document does Carondelet give the name of the cartographer of his map, and on no copy of the Soulard map does Carondelet's name appear. With the discovery of [this] copy the connection between the maps is positively affirmed.”³³ The chart is entitled:

Ydea Topografica de los altos del Missisipi y del Missouri Que demuestra los progresos de la compañía Española de descubiertas del rio Missouri, y las usurpaciones de las compañías inglesas sobre las posesiones Españolas. año del 1795.

(Topographical sketch of the upper Mississippi and Missouri, showing the expedition of the Spanish Company for exploration of the Missouri River, and the encroachments of the English companies in the Spanish possessions. 1795.)

Carondelet attached this map to the 8 January 1796 report that he forwarded to Spain describing the “encroachments of the English” in Spanish territory, but it was not to be found in the archives when Nasatir searched for it earlier this century. Instead he found the unfinished prototype in the instructions to Truteau. Only in the last twelve years or so did the original map, endorsed by Carondelet, appear—the chart from which the Spanish, French, and, in turn, the English copies derive.

THE SPANISH COPY

This Spanish copy of the Soulard 1795 at Harvard University Library is a beautifully executed and faithful replica of the original, carrying the same cartouche, topographical features, and accompanying legends.³⁴

Ydea Topografica de los altos del Missisipi y del Missouri Que demuestra los progresos de la compañía Española de descubiertas del rio Missouri, y las usurpaciones de las compañías inglesas sobre las posesiones Españolas. Año del 1785. [Endorsed below the neatline] Es copia sacada del original que se custodía en el Archivo de este Ministerio—El Jefe de la Seccion, Manuel del Palacio.

(Topographical sketch of the upper Mississippi and Missouri, showing the expeditions of the Spanish Company for exploration of the Missouri River, and the encroachments of the English companies in the Spanish possessions. 1785. [Endorsed] This is a copy made from the original held in the archive of this ministry—Chief of the Section, Manuel del Palacio.)

Although the unknown copyist misdated it as 1785, the title and its contents are otherwise identical to those on the Spanish original. The map was given to Harvard in 1895 by Clarence W. Bowen, who is identified in a manuscript note accompanying the map as being from or attached to an "Independent Office, New York City." No other information on the original provenance of the map is available. Wheat believed the ministry alluded to in the cartouche was the *Ministerio de Estado* (Ministry of State).³⁵ Soulard's name does not appear on either of the Spanish charts; rather, he is identified as the draftsman only on the following version, in French.

THE FRENCH COPY

Aubrey Diller, in his article that accompanied the first publication and identification of this version, "A New Map of the Missouri River Drawn in 1795," provides a detailed essay outlining the history, analysis, and importance of the chart, which Wheat suggests may be from Soulard's own hand.³⁶ This version was preserved in the former *Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique*, Paris (now disbanded), cata-

log number C4040(33). Its cartouche is much the same as that on the Spanish original, except that it goes on to provide important details on its history:

Idee Topographique des Hauts du Mississipi et du Missouri Pour Servir à la Connaissance d'une partie des Nations Sauvages qui y habitent dressée d'après des renseignements donnés par divers Voyageurs. Dessiné par M^r Soulard, ancien S. Lant. de port de la Marine R^{le}. de France et Cap^{ne}. des milices des M^c aux yllinois, pour Monsieur de Boulogny Colonel du Regiment fixe de la Louisiane anée 1795, mois d'août. [Rapportée de la Louisiane, en 1804, par M^r. de Laussat, Préfet Colonial.]

(Topographical sketch of the upper Mississippi and Missouri, exhibiting part of the savage tribes that dwell there, according to information given by various traders. Drawn by Mr. Soulard, former Sub-Lieutenant in the Royal Navy of France and Captain of the Militia of His Catholic Majesty in Illinois, for Monsieur Boulogny, Colonel of the Permanent Regiment of Louisiana. August 1795. [Brought back from Louisiana, in 1804, by Mr. de Laussat, Colonial Prefect.]

The cartouche asserts it was drawn by Soulard in August 1795 for Francisco Boulogny, the founder of a prominent Creole family in New Orleans. The map, however, reached the naval archives in Paris through the offices of Pierre Clement de Laussat, "the head of the French régime in New Orleans which, after a tenure of twenty days, officially transferred the authority to the United States on 20 December 1803."³⁷ The date, genesis, and disposition of the map therefore are well documented.

With only rare exceptions, the legends for all topographic features on the Spanish language versions are duplicated in translation on this copy. Missing, however, are the comments concluding the "Notes" that allude to Spanish forts among the Omaha, Ponca, and

Arikara Indians on the Missouri, and that refer to an English fort—Jusseume's Post at the Mandans. These posts are discussed later.

THE ENGLISH COPY

The English copy was found by Reuben G. Thwaites among William Clark's expeditionary papers.³⁸ It is now in the Coe Collection at Yale University. This version, according to Donald Jackson, is annotated in Clark's hand.³⁹ This seems to consist of the "Note" in the lower left-hand corner and the note below the neatline of the sheet. The copy is entitled:

A Topographical Sketch of the Missouri and Upper Mississippi; Exhibiting the various Nations and Tribes of Indians who inhabit the Country: Copied from the Original Spanish MS. Map.

Where did Lewis and Clark get their copy of the Soulard map? No one knows, nor does anyone know who drafted the version that came into their hands. Aubrey Diller speculated that it came to them from the United States territorial judge for Illinois, George Turner. Judge Turner held court at Kaskaskia, on the east bank of the Mississippi some sixty miles south of St. Louis, during the winter of 1794-95, but he left Illinois Territory in May 1795, and no known relationship between him and Lewis and Clark has yet been discovered. Meriwether Lewis met with Soulard in December 1803 and did obtain a map from him, but Lewis says nothing about a chart that corresponds to the Soulard 1795.⁴⁰ In spite of the lack of documentation, the most plausible source for the map is Soulard himself, although who made the copy and translated it into English remains problematic. Labels on the body of the map are not in the style of either Lewis or Clark.⁴¹

Carl Wheat quite reasonably concluded from its cartouche that this version was copied from the original Spanish map,⁴² although it was more likely transcribed from the French

version. Legends most closely correspond to those on the version in Paris, though the notes were updated to reflect political changes of Lewis and Clark's time, and many of the names for geographic features are omitted. More significant, the course of the Columbia River (labeled "Oregon, or R. of the West"), which is lacking on all other versions, has been added to the chart. Many other minor changes were made, for example, deleting the track and reference to Carver's travels and omitting references that identify James Mackay's route in Canada, though the dotted line denoting it remains.

John L. Allen notes the possible impact this version of Soulard's chart had on the perceptions Lewis and Clark held of western geography, especially concerning the distance from the upper reaches of the Missouri river to the mouth of the Columbia River—although they did not long entertain these views of that distance.⁴³ As one of the numerous travel maps that Lewis and Clark carried in their expeditionary "glove compartment," the Soulard production was decidedly inferior to those they also carried that were produced by John Evans and by James Mackay-Nicolas de Finiels.⁴⁴ The expedition's journals, for example, several times mention observations by Mackay and Evans along the banks of the Missouri. For example, in central South Dakota, Clark notes that "Mr. Evins" called a western tributary opposite the present site of Pierre, South Dakota, the "Little Missouri." The captains shortly renamed the stream the Teton River, but it still later was given its modern name, Bad River.⁴⁵ Soulard's chart is never mentioned.

THE MISSOURI RIVER FORTS

Among the many details deserving attention on the two Spanish language versions of the map are the symbols for four European forts or posts between the Omaha and the Mandan Indians. They are depicted by small national flags, each of them on the west (or

south) bank of the Missouri River (Fig. 4). They are unnamed, but their locations are shown by the same symbol as that used for Fort Carondelet, built in August 1795 for the Spanish for the Osage Indian trade in what is now southwestern Missouri and by Pine Fort (*F. lepinette*), built in 1785 by the North West Company on the lower Assiniboine River in Canada.

the Ponca Indians is in a position corresponding to that of Ponca House (although it is on the wrong side of the river), a modest trading house built by Jean Baptiste Truteau beginning 11 November 1794. A third Spanish flag is below the Grand Detour among the Arikara (*Ris*) Indians, and may plausibly be identified as D'Eglise's Arikara post during the winter of 1794-95 or represent Truteau's stay among them in the spring of 1795. The fourth flag, a British one carrying the cross of St. George, is among the Mandan Indians. It is an appropriate symbol for Jusseaume's Post, built in October and November of 1794 by a North West

Company party from Canada under the direction of René Jusseume.⁴⁷ Curiously enough, not one of these four flags appears on either the French or the English version of the map, suggesting that the latter copies were made before these symbols were placed on the original chart—or did the copyist delete them because he knew or assumed they'd been abandoned?

Two enigmatic symbols appear on the two Spanish language versions between what appear to be the lower reaches of the Niobrara River and the Missouri: a fleur-de-lis labeled *armas de Francia*, and an unidentified square to its left. No one to date has provided an explanation for them, for no French post, battle, or other such feature or event is known anywhere in the vicinity. The most likely explanation is that these symbols are so badly misplaced as to be unidentifiable. On the French copy of the map, the fleur-de-lis is labeled *Armes de Frances*, and the square as *Ft.* On the derivative English copy, the term "French Arms" labels the fleur-de-lis, and the unidentified square is labeled "English Fort." Needless to say, no English establishment is known that could provide an identity for this feature. Curiously, *Armas de Francia* also appears on a Spanish derivative of the Evans and Mackay charts, but here the label marks a locality on the west bank of the Missouri immediately below the mouth of the Cheyenne River, where the Arikara villages were about this time.⁴⁸ This information provides no further clues to its identity unless it alludes to French traders among that tribe.

SOURCES FOR THE MAP

What sources did Soulard consult in constructing this chart? As we've seen, Diller described it as virtually the first original and independent map of the Missouri River since the time of Guillaume Delisle, earlier the same century. His assessment is correct, for no part of the map appears to be derived directly from existing charts. Detail of the Mississippi River above St. Louis, for example, is vastly inferior

to that shown on the Delisle 1718 map and, though the Missouri basin has been improved, its lower reaches were much better known than Soulard would lead us believe. His placements of Santa Fe and the upper Rio Grande, which were better depicted on earlier charts, were shifted much too far to the east—to a point not very far south of the forks of the Platte.

Although the map is a product of Spanish St. Louis, it leans heavily on English sources for the northern part of the area it depicts. Since James Mackay arrived in St. Louis about 1794, it seems clear that Soulard obtained from him much of the information regarding northern rivers and British fur trading posts that he included on the map.⁴⁹ Data on the chart

suggest that [Mackay] came out west in 1784 and in 1786-8 made a great tour up the Saskatchewan to the Rockies and back by way of the Rivers Qu'Appelle and Assiniboine. . . . [Mackay] says he crossed over to the Missouri and visited the Mandans early in 1787, which does not accord well with the notes on our map stating that he wintered on the Saskatchewan in 1786 and 1787.⁵⁰

Diller's scepticism that wintering on the Saskatchewan is inconsistent with a winter visit to the Mandan villages is not justified in light of the numerous later accounts of Canadian traders making regular, long, overland visits to those villages during the dead of winter.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Diller's observation that "the map shows Central Canada even more fully and correctly than the Missouri Valley" demands that a knowledgeable Canadian source be available to Soulard.⁵² That man certainly was James Mackay, and the information he passed along to Soulard reflects the configuration of the central Canadian lake system between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior as it was drawn by British map makers such as Peter Pond in 1785.⁵³ There are, however, major problems in his depiction of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine river systems: the Souris River is not shown at all, nor is the

South Saskatchewan River, although its upper reaches may be confused with what is shown of the upper Assiniboine River. An analysis of the Canadian half of the map, however, is a topic for another paper—one by a Canadian specialist. Here we focus on the southern half of the map.

Soulard shows Jonathan Carver's route between September 1766 and August 1767 from that Yankee's account of his explorations through Wisconsin to the Sioux Indians on the headwaters of the Mississippi and thence to Lake Superior.⁵⁴ Aubrey Diller observed in his analysis of the French copy that "The dotted line marking the route of Captain Carver shows that [Soulard] was acquainted with Jonathan Carver's widely read 'Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America,' first published in 1778." Although Diller goes on to say that "the whole [northeast] periphery of the map seems to be based on Carver," it is clear that Soulard borrowed very little from Carver's topography for Lake Superior or the lands through which he had traveled to its south and west.⁵⁵

General knowledge in St. Louis provided information for three important trader's routes shown on the map as dotted lines: one is directed from the Mississippi to the Omahas and Poncas; another to the Republican Pawnees from the Missouri River; and a third to the Mandans from posts along the Assiniboine River in Canada. The first was a very old route that led from the Mississippi overland to the Big Sioux River and to the Omaha and Ponca Indians. The Soulard map shows this trail beginning at the mouth of the Des Moines River, labeled in Spanish "route the English take to trade on the Missouri River." An analogous route, beginning at the mouth of the Wisconsin River and the Mississippi (near what was to become Prairie du Chien) was shown as early as 1718 on Guillaume Delisle's *Carte de la Louisiane*, labeled as the *Chemin des Voyageurs*.⁵⁶ This track continued to be an important avenue of overland trade until the time of Lewis and Clark.

Another route led from the mouth of the Little Nemaha River (near present-day Brownville, Nebraska), overland across the Big Nemaha and Big Blue rivers to the Republican Pawnee villages on the Republican River in present-day north central Kansas. One of these villages may well be the Kansas Monument site, which dates from approximately the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ The geography of this route as Soulard showed it is quite precise.

The third route, also shown on numerous later maps, led from North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company posts along the Assiniboine River in southern Canada overland to the Mandan villages. The encroachments of these "North Traders," as such merchants often were called, were of course the stimulus for Spanish exploration of the river that led to the construction of the Soulard map. This route was, indeed, "the path the English follow," accompanied on the chart by "the line of forts built by them from Lake Superior to the Mountains of Black Rock" (Rocky Mountains) about which Carondelet had complained in his report to his superiors in Spain on 8 January 1796.

SUMMARY

The publication in 1814 of Biddle's edition of William Clark's 1810 map shouldered aside Soulard's older conception of the Missouri valley and became, in turn, the standard for several decades. Although cartographic information and a few manuscript maps did, in fact, benefit from the dual explorations of Truteau and of Mackay and Evans, they had limited effect on printed maps. General Georges-Victor Collot's 1795 maps, based in part on these Spanish expeditions, were suppressed and did not appear until 1826—when they were already obsolete. Some version of the Soulard 1795 was, however, the base for most of the map of Louisiana published by Samuel Lewis in Arrowsmith's and Lewis's *A New and Elegant Atlas*, and in a few editions

of Sergeant Patrick Gass's account of the Lewis and Clark expedition.⁵⁸ These depictions enjoyed only brief popularity, however, probably because Soulard's original map was never published—it was only copied in part.

This first publication of the original, finished Soulard 1795 map puts to rest speculation as to its contents and its relation to the three known copies made of it. We now know that the Spanish copy at Harvard is a faithful replica, and that the French copy and English copy follow, in that order, in conforming to the original. Questions concerning the date of the original chart, however, remain, although there is little question that it was composed and its basic content was completed in 1795—probably in August, as the French copy asserts. In any event, with Carondelet's copy now in hand, scholars no longer must refer to copies, however well executed, to determine what the Spanish of St. Louis knew of their ethereal domains in the Northern Plains during the last half-decade of the eighteenth century.

NOTES

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1. [Nicholas Biddle, ed.], *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark . . . During 1804-5-6*, prepared for the press by Paul Allen, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1814). The map's history is summarized in Gary E. Moulton, *Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 12-13.

2. Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West: 1540-1861*, 5 vols. (San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957-1963) 2: 56-59.

3. Georges-Victor Collot, *A Journey in North America*, 2 vols, one atlas (Firenze: O. Lang, 1924). Translated by J. Christian Bay from the 1826 edition published in Paris by Arthur Bertrand.

4. Aubrey Diller, "A New Map of the Missouri River Drawn in 1795," *Imago Mundi* 12 (1955): 179.

5. Annie H. Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 15, note 30.

6. Moulton, (note 1 above), pp. 5-7; W. Raymond Wood, "The John Evans 1796-97 Map of the Missouri River," *Great Plains Quarterly* 1 (1981): 39-53; and "Nicolas de Finiels: Mapping the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers," *Missouri Historical Review* 81 (1987): 387-402.

7. W. Raymond Wood, "Mapping the Missouri River Through the Great Plains, 1673-1895," *Great Plains Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1984): 37; reprinted in *Mapping the North American Plains: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. F. C. Luebke, F. W. Kaye, and G. E. Moulton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 34.

8. Diller, "New Map" (note 4 above), p. 175.

9. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 13, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 523.

10. Carl J. Ekberg, *Colonial Ste. Genevieve: An Adventure on the Mississippi Frontier* (Gerald, Missouri: The Patrice Press, 1985), p. 346, note 39.

11. Soulard to Gayoso, 15 December 1797; PC 213: Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, in *Archivo General de Indias*, Seville.

12. A. P. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri River, 1784-1804*, 2 vols. (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952): 370.

13. G. Hubert Smith, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43*, ed. by W. Raymond Wood (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), p. 112.

14. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), p. 157.

15. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 2 (note 12 above), p. 760, note 1, citing a letter by Soulard in the *Medical Repository*, second hexade, III, pp. 305-13.

16. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), pp. 160, 330.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-91.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

21. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), pp. 156-57.

22. Reproduced in Sara Jones Tucker, *Atlas: Indian Villages of the Illinois Country* (Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers 2, 1942), pl. 15.

23. Raphael N. Hamilton, "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," *American Historical Review* 39 (July 1934): 655.

24. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), p. 253.

25. Aubrey Diller, "Maps of the Missouri River before Lewis and Clark," in *Studies and Essays in the History of Science and Learning*, ed. Ashley Montagu (New York: Henry Schuman, 1946), p. 507; Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above), p. 178.
26. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), p. 157, note 3; Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), p. 253.
27. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), pp. 157, 160; Wood, "Mapping the Missouri River" (note 7 above), p. 35; rpt., p. 34.
28. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), p. 346.
29. Ibid., pp. 395, 389, note 20, 395; vol. 2, p. 406.
30. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 389, note 20, and 406, note 55. Diller, in "A New Map" (note 4 above), p. 179, feels that "it is merely an incomplete translation of [the] French map."
31. Consult the reproduction of this chart in Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 2 (note 12 above), p. 406.
32. The Karpeles has museums in Santa Barbara, California; Jacksonville, Florida; Duluth, Minnesota; New York, New York; and Tacoma, Washington.
33. W. G. Arader III, "The Most Important Eighteenth Century Map of the Missouri Valley," *Highly Important Manuscript Maps of America*, Catalog No. 49 (Philadelphia: W. Graham Arader III, 1984), n.p.
34. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), pp. 158, 244, map 235a.
35. Ibid., p. 244.
36. Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above). The map also is reproduced in Wayne C. Temple, Supplement to: Sara Jones Tucker, *Atlas: Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*. Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers, vol. 1, part 2 (1975), pl. 77; Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), pp. 157-58, note 4.
37. Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above), p. 175.
38. Reuben G. Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-06*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1904-05) 1: li; and vol. 8, map 2; Moulton, *Atlas* (note 1 above), map 4; and W. Raymond Wood, *An Atlas of Early Maps of the American Midwest*, Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers 18 (1983), pl. 2. See also Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), pp. 157, 158, note 4, 243-44.
39. Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, With Related Documents, 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 156, note 6.
40. Moulton, *Atlas* (note 1 above), pp. 178, 5, note 34.
41. Gary E. Moulton, personal communication, 1993.
42. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), p. 158, note 4.
43. John Logan Allen, *Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 148-50, 172.
44. Wood, "The John Evans 1796-97 Map," and "Nicolas de Finiels" (both note 6 above).
45. Gary E. Moulton, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p. 109.
46. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), p. 360; also see W. Raymond Wood, "Fort Charles, or 'Mr. Mackey's Trading House,'" *Nebraska History* 76 (Spring 1995): 2-9.
47. Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark* 1 (note 12 above), pp. 280, 87-90, 294-96, 388-89, 331.
48. Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above), p. 178, note 3. The Spanish map Diller alludes to is illustrated in Wood, *An Atlas of Early Maps* (note 38 above), pl. 8.
49. Ibid., p. 96; and Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* 1 (note 2 above), p. 158, note 5.
50. Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above), pp. 176-77.
51. W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen, *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 12-13.
52. Diller, "Maps of the Missouri River" (note 25 above), pp. 508-09.
53. See, for example, the facsimile of the original April 1785 version of Pond's map in the Public Record Office, London, in Henry R. Wagner, *Peter Pond, Fur Trader and Explorer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), map 2. Consult also the redrawn version of the chart in Harold A. Innis, *Peter Pond, Fur Trader and Adventurer* (Toronto: Irwin and Gordon, 1930), glued to back cover.
54. John Parker, *The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents, 1766-1700* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1976).
55. Diller, "A New Map" (note 4 above), p. 178; and Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (London, 1778).
56. Tucker, *Atlas* (note 36 above), plate 15.
57. Waldo R. Wedel, *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 174 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), pp. 60, 616.
58. Aaron Arrowsmith and Samuel Lewis, *A New and Elegant Atlas* (Philadelphia: John Conrad, 1804); Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery* (Philadelphia: Matthew Carey, 1812).