

Study in Documents

Radisson's Voyages and their Manuscripts¹

GERMAINE WARKENTIN

Though in the twentieth century the French explorer Pierre-Esprit Radisson (ca. 1640–1710) has taken his place among the important exploration writers of Canada, until 1885 he was rarely conceived of as a writer at all. As a historical figure Radisson had made his mark: there is documentation of his activities in the *Jesuit Relations*, the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation, in archival repositories in Quebec, the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Public Record Office, the Vatican Archives, and even a possible contact account from the Native point of view.² There also exist a number of affidavits and petitions in his name.³ Nor is the significance of the explorations of Radisson and his brother-in-law Médard Chouart des Groseilliers in doubt. Early chroniclers like Oldmixon (1708), Ellis (1748), Robson (1752), and La Potherie (1753)⁴ were well aware that it was information provided by the two explorers which led to the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company and thus changed, in J. B. Brebner's memorable words, "the course of history for half the North American continent."⁵

However, two narratives by Radisson of events on Hudson Bay 1682–4 (henceforth for ease of reference termed Voyages V and VI) were known to scholars at least; manuscripts of these have been in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1685. In addition, in the British Library there is an undated scribal manuscript of Voyage V in English translation, and Sir Hans Sloane acquired a manuscript in French of Voyage VI which had once belonged to the seventeenth-century French administrator and antiquarian, Nicolas Joseph Foucault (1643–1721).⁶ None of these documents is thought to be autograph, and all seem to have been regarded simply as part of the historical record, not as texts with any narrative or literary interest. Though Sir James Hayes, secretary of the Company, told Viscount Preston that Radisson had returned from his 1682 sojourn on the Bay with "materialls for a very Romantique Nouvelle entertaining enough," it is not evident that anyone thought he had written more than a mere report.⁷

In 1885 this situation changed very suddenly. An American gentleman

scholar, Gideon Scull, working in the Bodleian Library in the early 1880s on unrelated documents in the Pepys manuscripts located there, recognized that Radisson was the author of a lengthy scribal manuscript included among them. It consists of four narratives or “Voyages” covering not the 1680s, but events of the 1650s (henceforth, Voyages I–IV). It is unclear how this amateur of the history of Englishmen in the American Revolution managed to identify a text so remote from his area of expertise, when there was almost nothing in the printed record to help him.⁸ In the first volume (1862) of the *Quarto Catalogues* of the manuscripts in the Bodleian the author had simply been described as “a French settler.”⁹ The manuscript had come to the Bodleian in 1755 from Richard Rawlinson, who had rescued a number of Pepysian papers from the waste-pile; the one in question was marked “Pepys Ms.” in an early hand.

Scull published his find in 1885 in a limited edition issued by the Prince Society in Boston, with a simple introduction and sparse notes.¹⁰ It produced an immediate scholarly response. Between the mid-1880s and the 1940s a number of articles and several books about Radisson and his adventures were written, almost all of them by American scholars; there exists even a four act verse drama (1914).¹¹ In 1943 Grace Lee Nute published her ground-breaking biography of Radisson and Groseilliers, one of the most distinguished works by an American woman historian of her era, and in 1961 Arthur T. Adams re-edited all six voyages, using for the purpose a “modernization” by Loren Kallsen of all the known texts.¹² This is not to say that there has been no interest in Radisson among Canadian scholars. Even as Scull’s edition was being published the Canadian archivist Douglas Brymner was editing a transcription and translation of Voyages V and VI, which appeared as a published report of the Dominion archives.¹³ But scholars in Quebec had special problems with Radisson; since the seventeenth century he had been considered a person of unreliable allegiance, switching loyalties from the French king to the English whenever it suited his purpose. Furthermore, if the Bodleian manuscript was to be trusted, he seemed to have written Voyages I–IV not in French, but in English.¹⁴

The aftermath of American interest in Radisson is evident to anyone who has ever stayed in a Radisson hotel. The early twentieth-century entrepreneurs who founded what is now a chain quickly recognized the explorer’s value as a regional icon, for as Voyage IV testifies, he spent much of the winter of 1659–60 on the south shore of Lake Superior, and as Voyage III seems to suggest, he and his companion Groseilliers supposedly visited the source of the Mississippi. As a result, he is considered one of the founders of the state of Wisconsin. It is to the scholars of Wisconsin and Minnesota in the first half of this century that we owe much of what we know about Radisson – and, as well, too much of what we *think* we know. We are indebted to their otherwise admirable legacy for the picture of Radisson’s narratives – at least the first four – as

“exasperating” or “chaotic.”¹⁵ And to the dean of Radissonists, Grace Lee Nute, we owe the insistence that the Bodleian manuscript is a translation of a French original – and not a very good translation at that.¹⁶

Summarizing several decades of debate, Arthur T. Adams in 1961 wrote that scholarly controversy had “discredited, to a large degree, the work of Radisson. It ... cast a cloud upon his veracity and integrity, relegating his entire chronicle to the realm of doubt, and deprived the cause of history of a most valuable original source.”¹⁷ Adams did not agree with Nute that the text had been translated; the English of the first four narratives he termed “crude and grotesque,” but pointed out that any ordinary translator “would have turned out a better product,” as, for example, was clearly the case with the translation of Voyage V in the British Library.¹⁸ Adams nevertheless made his own contribution to the general confusion; assuming that Radisson's narratives, however interesting, did not make chronological sense, in his own edition he rearranged two passages in order to conform to the itinerary and time scheme which in his view Radisson was following.¹⁹ Rearranging the elements of a problematic text is a primal editorial sin, never to be indulged in without the most painstaking codicological and philological inquiry. Despite these limitations Adams' edition is the one from which historians most frequently quote today.

It is only in the past decade, as the result of an upsurge of Radisson scholarship in Canada and abroad, that these long-standing assumptions about Radisson and his text have been challenged. In 1986 the first of the four Bodleian narratives became available in a French translation by Daniel Vaillancourt; there is a complete translation by Berthe Fourchier-Axelsen of all four, along with the two French narratives (1999). Luca Codignola and a descendant of the family, Dr. Jean Radisson, have both found new documentary material on the explorer. M. William Wykoff has shown how much ecological information is revealed in the language of the texts, and Martin Fournier has drawn attention to the combined audacity and introspection of Radisson's literary voice.²⁰ My own interest stems from the fact that I am both a literary scholar specializing in the seventeenth century, and a textual critic; I am re-editing for publication the already twice-edited narratives of Radisson.

In this essay, I want to return to the problem of Radisson's manuscripts, which despite the recent upsurge of interest in the explorer has not been resolved, and is at the root of our uncertainty about both the trustworthiness of his narratives and Radisson's cultural status in general. In an earlier article, “Discovering Radisson: A Renaissance Adventurer Between Two Worlds,”²¹ I looked at the ways the explorer interacted with Native peoples, and suggested some reasons why an adventurous young man might have tried his hand at writing in English. But I merely touched on bibliographical and archival problems which I can address here in a more technical way, and in the light of further information which has recently come to light. If the textual evidence

suggests that the Bodleian manuscript is not a translation, what is suggested by the kind of material evidence with which archivists are engaged? For example, when was it copied out? What can be learned from other manuscripts of Radisson's writings which casts light not only on the production of the Bodleian manuscript, but on the explorer's degree of literacy and the extent of his cultural resources? What, indeed, can be learned in the archives about the early scholarly work on Radisson? And when all this is taken into account, how has our view of Radisson's *Voyages* changed?

The Bodleian manuscript is crucial for our initial understanding of the explorer, because his narratives of Voyages V and VI, those of the 1680s, exhibit a different Radisson, if one who is still recognizably the adventurer-entrepreneur of the 1650s and 60s. Though not devoid of his characteristic flair, the fifth, and to a degree the sixth, are relatively straightforward exculpatory accounts which attempt to explain what happened when he landed at Port Nelson in 1682 as the agent of a group operating out of New France organized by the Sieur de la Chesnaye,²² and what happened in 1684 when he returned as an agent of the English. In genre they are somewhat closer to the legal deposition or the petition than they are to the seventeenth-century exploration narrative. These later documents were occasioned by the tense relations between France and England during the 1680s over the right to trade on Hudson Bay, and it is no surprise that they should exist in several different scribal versions, since the documentation surrounding these very political incidents is rich, and Radisson is frequently at the centre of them. The most recent addition to our knowledge of this episode was made in 1996, when Dr. Jean Radisson discovered in the Royal Archives at Windsor a splendid hand-written copy of Radisson's two 1680s narratives, prefaced by a previously unknown dedicatory epistle by the explorer framed as a petition to the king in defence of his reputation. I shall return to the Windsor manuscripts later, but it should be pointed out here that if the two 1680s narratives were the only texts we had which could be identified as Radisson's, we would have a very different view of him: bold, entrepreneurial, self-justifying, yes, but not incoherent or disorganized, and not a linguistic primitive.

It is the final charge, which rests on the ambiguous status of the Bodleian manuscript, that needs to be addressed. As I argued in "Discovering Radisson," the text of this manuscript is certainly in English: a jaunty, colloquial, frequently ungrammatical English laden with Francophone terms.²³ Just as a sample, let us hear Radisson's account of the aftermath of a pitched battle with hostile Iroquois, as he and Groseilliers travelled west with a group of Saulteur and Odawa in 1659. Radisson relates that his companions "filled their bellies with the flesh of their ennemyes." He goes on,

we bourned our comrades, being their custome to reduce such into ashes being slained in battle. It is an honnour to give them such a burial. Att the brake of day we

cooked what could accomodate us, and flung the rest away. The greatest marke of our victory was that we had 10 heads & foure prisoners, whom we embarqued in hopes to bring them into our countrey, and there to burne them att our owne leasures for the more satisfaction of our wives. We left that place of masacre with horrid cryes.²⁴

Of the terrible famine explorers and Natives endured during the winter of 1659-60 he writes,

Every one cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eate the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding, you shall taste of the bitternesse, and too happy if you escape. Where is the time past? Where is the plentynesse that yee had in all times and countreys? Here comes a new family of these poore people dayly to us, halfe dead, for they have but the skin and boans. How shall we have strength to make a hold in the snowe to lay us downe?²⁵

And his magnificent description of the Feast of the Dead later the same winter presents that event as if it were one of the Renaissance court festivals to which he twice makes reference in *Voyage IV*.

Between 1885 and 1935 no one doubted that Radisson had written in English, least of all Grace Lee Nute, engaged in the preliminary research for her biography, who in 1932 referred confidently to "Radisson's quaint, seventeenth-century English, which is made a hundred times more difficult by its Gallicisms," and concluded:

The influence of the French language is felt on every page. In fact, a knowledge of that language is essential to the proper understanding of what the author is saying. Some of the curious mistakes of students of the manuscript are caused by inadequate or total lack of comprehension of what a Frenchman with an imperfect knowledge of English would have said in a given instance.²⁶

But her correspondence during the period she spent abroad on a Guggenheim scholarship in 1934-35 shows that she was to change her mind. In January 1935 Nute wrote to her sister, "I'm afraid it will shock Mr. Adams and Mr. Goodrich, who swear by the wording of Radisson's Narrative, to find that it is only a translation. I was able to give Mr. Mood the positive proof of that fact, which he had come to believe from his own researches."²⁷ Nute was referring not only to her collaborator on an earlier article, Albert C. Goodrich, but to the American historian, Fulmer Mood, who was working in London at the same time.²⁸ It is evident she had been discussing the English of Radisson's text with her new friend. Had he suggested to her that it was a translation? Whatever the case, she concluded that he was correct when she found an entry in

the Hudson's Bay Company account books which seemed to confirm their speculations.

The entry in question, found in the accounts of Sir James Hayes, who as secretary to Prince Rupert and later Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was the company's early administrative brains, shows that on 23 June, 1669, five pounds was "disbursed for translating a Booke of Radisons." Accordingly, in her 1943 biography Nute reversed her earlier position, and argued that this entry referred to the Bodleian manuscript,²⁹ and that the date on which Radisson had written his narrative had to be ca. 1668 or very early 1669. The date at which the first four voyages were composed is not at issue, but the date of the Bodleian manuscript itself poses a separate problem. Let us return to the account book entry. To recapitulate briefly what I have argued elsewhere,³⁰ the word "book" in seventeenth century usage sometimes meant a printed book in a library or offered for sale, but just as frequently it might signify a manuscript paper book, an account book (the very term used for in that document itself³¹), or occasionally even the draft of a legal document. Only sometimes did it mean a "title," or a "work" as it does for us today; indeed, it is probable that the term "treatise" – even more likely "travels" or "voyages" – would have been used if the writer of the account entry had meant what Nute thought he meant.

A further problem is raised by that five pounds; in a decade when seventeenth century sources suggest that subsistence income per head may have been about seven pounds per year, it seems high.³² Unhappily, no comprehensive study has yet been made of the costs of copying documents in the period, let alone translating them.³³ Third, and most crucially for my purposes here, there simply is no necessary connection between the entry itself and the narratives in question, no guarantee that the entry in fact refers specifically to the Bodleian manuscript, or even to some pre-existing manuscript from which the Bodleian manuscript might have been copied. Nute, in effect, had no smoking gun; indeed, in my view her judgement may have been influenced by a suggestion by Fulmer Mood, which she was hasty in corroborating. We need to return to the most basic techniques of manuscript research to learn from the Bodleian manuscript itself what material evidence it exhibits of its origin. This Nute attempted, but not exhaustively, and as I turn to what she did not follow up we will find that it tells us a great deal.³⁴

The Bodleian manuscript consists of a vellum-bound book of seventy-three folio leaves, paginated in an early (but not seventeenth century) hand, and with a page size approximately 36 cm. x 23.5 cm. The text is written without interruption throughout, but close analysis suggests that it is chiefly in two very similar but distinguishable hands. Hand A appears up to the end of page 116; it is a clear and rather pretty late seventeenth-century script with few italic forms and infrequent use of secretary *e* or *s* (**Figure One**). At page 117, which marks the beginning of a new gathering, a second hand (B) closely resembling

8

as we came in sight we heard nothing but our eyes, as from one side as from the other, being a quarter of a mile from the village the old woman and I in the middle where I saw women and men and children so that I was in array, w^{ch} put me in fear and I doubtly stripped me naked, my Keeper gave me a signe to be gone as fast as I could drive, I saye one while many of the village came about us, among w^{ch} a good old woman, and a boy wth a hatchet in his hand, came near once, the old woman covered me, and a young man took me by the hand and led me out of the company, the old woman made me stop a piece from those that were ready to strike at me, then she cut the two heads of my Comrades, and that so ^{ch} comforted me, so I escaped the blows, then they brought me into their village; there the old woman showed me, and next she gave me to eat, the great terror I had a little before took my stomach a way from me, I stayd an hour where a great company of people came to see me, here came a company of old men having pipes in their mouths sitt about me; after smoking they led me into another cabin, where they wear a company all smoking they made me sit down by the fire so ^{ch} made up to me they should eat me into a dog, but it proved other wise; for the old woman followed me, speaking aloud, to whom they answered wth a loud ho, then she took her girdle & about me she tryed it, so brought me to her house; and made me sit down in y^e same place I was before. Then she began to dance and sing a while, after singing come from her box a comb; gave it to a maid that was near me, who presently comes to my ears and combs my haire, and took a way the point of the comb struck to my face, then the old woman gets me some Indian Corn^d toasted in the fire, I took it to gether it out of the fire, after this she gave me a few peaslet, stalks and shoes and w^{ch} to make me drunk, she looked in my pockets, one of the found my pipe she would squeeze them betwixt her teeth, as if they had ben substantial made, I sayd to her son, who took me from that my first father, a god at last great acquaintance wth many, I did what I could to get familiarity wth them, y^e eat I suffered no wrong at their hands having all freedom w^{ch} the old woman indeed made to do; but still they altered my face where ever I went, and a need I had to take. I so danced, I took all the pleasure imaginable having a small piece at my command shooting Catrigo and Squirrel, playing most part of the day wth my companions. The old woman wished that I would make me self more familiar wth her two daughters so ^{ch} more tolerable among such people they were accustomed to grease and comb my haire in y^e dressing, I went wth them into the wilderness, there the women be talking w^{ch} I could not understand, they wanted no company but I was share to be of the number, I brought all my pipe, my gun, my knife, w^{ch} I gave

Figure One Hand A in Oxford: Bodleian ms. Rawlinson A. 329, page 8.

Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

but not identical with Hand A takes over (**Figure Two**); secretary *e* and *s* appear more frequently, and descenders are markedly more pointed than the looped descenders of Hand A. In the margin of page 116 the name “Beane” (Richard Beane, one of the company’s clerks) appears in a clumsy, rounded hand which does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.³⁵ The manuscript is completed in Hand B, except for the last folio (page 123, unpaginated) which contains a list of Native tribal names; this is in a third hand (C) devoid of any secretary characteristics, and in fact quite unlike the other two (**Figure Three**). On the same page Hand B has added some comments which are crowded in at the bottom. None of these hands can be traced in any of the early minutes and correspondence of the Hudson’s Bay Company, which I have so far inspected up to ca. 1690. Dr. Richard Lockett of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys’s Librarian, has seen a photocopy of several pages and suggests that Hand A bears some resemblance to one that appears in Samuel Pepys’s papers at Magdalene, but is not that of any of his known amanuenses.³⁶ The *mise-en-page* of the manuscript is consistent enough to suggest that the project was no helter-skelter compilation; many of the pages have ruled margins, for example. But it is also inconsistent enough to suggest that it was not written out by a professional; on pages without ruling the margins wobble somewhat, though not distractingly.

A collation³⁷ of the manuscript reveals that the volume is made of five gatherings, each consisting of between six and nine bifolia; folio 44 is a cancel and folios 61 and 62 are conjugate with two stubs following eight blank leaves at the end of the manuscript. Hand B therefore, taking over at folio 61, commences as I mentioned at the beginning of a gathering. The watermark throughout is consistently the familiar crowned lily of Strasbourg paper making in the mid-seventeenth century, resembling most closely Heawood 1785, which that author dates to about 1670; I have recently seen it in a Petworth account roll of 1661.³⁸ Beta-radiography and other specialized techniques of watermark analysis can distinguish minutely between different versions of such common watermarks, and may eventually tell us precisely what version of the Strasbourg lily we have here, but in the meanwhile something can be learned from the counter-mark which usually appears on the conjugate leaf of a bifolium; Strasbourg lilies have fairly diverse countermarks. In the paper of the Bodleian manuscript this is a cross with the letters *IHS* and frequently, but not always, the initials *LM*. The manuscript was written out before binding, rather than being entered in a pre-existing notebook, as is shown by the vertical folds down the centre of the folio pages which the gatherings display; these folds show that, as in the usual practice of the period, a gathering was folded vertically for storage between stints of copying. We can conclude with confidence that in material make-up this manuscript is uniform, having been written consistently, despite changes of scribes late in the process, as a single document on a single stock of paper. In my view, the Bodleian manuscript is a

which being done she finds a wood somewhat closer and a straight
 road that she must go, & for 5 days without going to the right nor to
 the left hand, where at last being arrived she finds a very great & clear
 fire, through which she must resolve to pass, that fire is kindled by the
 young men that by the pieces of beginning of it would to know whether
 those that come, have loads of Women or have been good hunters
 that she has not had any of these rare virtues she burns & boils
 the sole of her feet by going through the fire, but quite contrary if she
 has had them qualities she passes through without burning her soles in
 least and from that so hot place she finds grass & grain of all sorts of colour
 with which she darts & makes her dogs beautiful, to come to that place so
 much for, but she has not yet all done nor made an end of her voyage
 being so done she continues her course still towards the same place
 for the space of two days in a very clear wood & where there is very
 high & tall trees of which most are Oaks, which is the reason that there
 is great store of bears, all along that way they do nothing else but
 see their Enemies laid all along upon the ground, that being their fatal
 long for having been vanquished in this world, & also in of other, not
 daring to be so bold as to kill one of those Animals & feed only upon
 the down of those bears, being arrived (if I may say) at the doors of that
 imaginary paradise they find a company of their much loved long since
 deceased by whom they are received with a great deal of ceremony
 & are brought by 16 reindeer a company within half a days journey
 of the place of meeting & all along the way they discard of
 things of this world that are good, for you must know they travel
 half a day without speaking one word but keep a very deep silence
 for said they it is like of Godlings to converse one another in words
 as soon as they are arrived they must have a time to come to themselves
 to think well upon what they have to speak without any precipitation
 but with judgment so that they are come when all manner of company
 with drums & dogs bumper full of stoves & other such instruments
 the Dogs that have brought her there cover her with a very large white skin
 & colour her eggs with Vermilion and her feet with lard, and so she
 is received amongst the Predestinated, there is a deep silence made
 as soon as she is come in & then one of the Dogs makes a long
 speech to encourage the young people to go a hunting to kill some

Figure Two Hand B in Oxford: Bodleian ms. Rawlinson A. 329, page 117.

Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

<i>The names of the Nations that live in the South</i>	<i>The names of the Nations that live in the North</i>	
Aricronons	Chideck	Nasaouakouetons
Aristronons	Bersiamites	Soutsuakemick
Arentacheronons	Sagseggons -	Escoubeck
Sonontueronons	Atihamegus	Pauoethgous
Pyongironons	Ovaouekhairiny	Nadounako
Andastoueronons	or Atigongus	Tetascons -
Koukhaderichonons	Kischeripirini	Cristinos
Andouauechronons	Minsigons	Nadouceronons
Kionontateronons	Kotakoa vekeny	Ounipigouech
Owendack	Kioncheripirini	Tatanga
Khionontateronons	Matouchkarini	
Oherkouauechronons	Ountchatarounongha	
Akhondironons	Sagahigaririni	
Oghmarahronons	Saguita ovigama	<p>The two last are Sedentary & do resp. and all first are wandering People that live by their hunting and Fishing, & some few of Rice that they do labour for, and a great many of them have been destroyed by the Trokites.</p>
Akhrahuaeronons	Nipisiriniens	
Oueronons	Niviximi	
Eressaronons	Ourtimagami	
Attiouendarouh	Ouackegami	
Kriehronons	Mitschitamou	
Lontataratuhronons	Ourtubi	
Arotachronons	Ouatovarin	
Ocovarakronons	Atcheligenons	
Buakochronons	Annikouay	
Kinkichronons	Otauch	
Atitachronons	Ouncisagay	
Ontwakhronons	Ahaouktigoniens	
Otoecatsioueuhronons	Rogway	
Atiochngochronons	Nantouech	
Atioendarakhronons	Pillings	
Mashgonis	Naltonniers	
Socoguis	Asimipour	
Paboguis	Trinvoick	

*All these Nations are Sedentary and live upon
corn & other grain by hunting & fishing which is a
plentiful & by the fragments of rocks that were
many destroyed by the Trokites & if have been
most of those that are left.*

*Besides all the above named
Nations I have been right or near
most since my voyage.*

Figure Three Hand C in Oxford: Bodleian ms. Rawlinson A. 329, [123].
Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

careful copy by a capable but non-professional scribe of a pre-existing manuscript, a copy which he almost finished but which had to be completed by another. The occurrence of Hand C is still mysterious to me; it does not appear to be an example of Radisson's handwriting, of which more later.

Let us turn now to the material of the manuscript. At seventy-three folio leaves with a page size approximately 36 cm. x 23.5 cm. the volume is not very thick, and is tall in proportion to its width. In 1943 Nute suggested that both binding and watermark resembled those of the manuscripts of the period in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company.³⁹ I have inspected the bindings of all the seventeenth century documents in the Company's archives. These are more varied than one would think, but it is evident that the vellum binding of the Bodleian manuscript bears some resemblance to that of a specific category of Hudson's Bay Company documents, the so-called "fair" minute books of the 1680s (HBCA, PAM A.1/1-9). Though all of these bindings are roughly alike in style and size,⁴⁰ in those of 1671-84 the vellum cover is not blind-ruled (that is, with an un-inked line or decoration pressed into the material) around the fore-edges. However, in the case of A.1/8 and /9, covering the minutes of 1684-87, it is blind-ruled in a simple pattern not unlike that on the binding of the Bodleian manuscript. At the same time, the sewing of A.1/8 (of which more below) differs from that of the Bodleian manuscript; the gatherings are not sewn onto cords in the customary manner, but tied directly into the vellum spine with a vertical stitch. Nonetheless, the initial resemblance between the volumes supports Nute's suspicion that the Bodleian manuscript in some way originated among the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the same time (which Nute did not notice), it suggests that in date the manuscript may be some years later than had originally been thought.

We can, however, isolate the date of the volume in the Bodleian more closely. I have traced the watermarks through several decades of Hudson's Bay Company minute books, both the "foul minutes" and the fair copies. The Strasbourg lily, being so common at the time, makes sporadic appearances in various forms and with differing countermarks, but throughout all the paper of A.1/8, the minute book for 1684-85, we find a version of this watermark which to the naked eye is virtually identical with the one in the Bodleian manuscript and bears the same countermark – the cross/IHS – a combination I have not so far found in any other document among these papers. The Bodleian manuscript, I conclude, was written on paper drawn from stock used by the Hudson's Bay Company some time in 1685 or early 1686, and possibly bound up by the same vellum-binder. This seems to me good evidence for situating the actual copying of the Bodleian manuscript somewhere within the orbit of the Hudson's Bay Company ca. 1686. And if this is so, it is evident that even if Sir James Hayes's account-book entry refers to a translation of Radisson's narratives, it is certainly not a reference to this particular manuscript.

The re-dating of the Bodleian manuscript which I have proposed means that in considering the composition of Radisson's first four narratives, two possibilities exist, one that the immediate predecessor of the Bodleian manuscript could nevertheless have been a translation, the second that the explorer wrote or dictated his first four voyages in his own Francophone English. As I have already pointed out above, the linguistic features of Radisson's English narratives militate strongly against the theory that they are a translation. However, two problems remain unresolved: first, whether the early officers of the Hudson's Bay Company would have needed such a translation, and second, if they had, what would a translation made for their purposes have been like?

The existence of a translation of the later Voyage V suggests that in the midst of the French-English political conflict of the 1680s, some unknown person needed to read that particular narrative in English. However, for at least some of the early officers of the Hudson's Bay Company French does not seem to have posed a problem. As early as 1673 a letter in French from Count Frontenac was copied into the "Letters Outward" (A.6/1, f. 27) and during the 1680s, a number of ambassadorial exchanges were copied into the same volume, including material in French, on one occasion with careful English section-headings (11 November 1682; A.6/1, f. 36 ff). The extant evidence shows that the London Committee (the executive officers of the Company) always corresponded with Radisson in English, and that on 22 May 1685 they specifically required him to keep a careful and detailed journal of events at Port Nelson; unhappily we have only their responses to the reports he sent back, not the originals themselves, so we cannot tell if their request in English was fulfilled in French.⁴¹ But clearly the Committee did not regard Radisson as linguistically hampered, and the evidence of their papers shows that a report in French would not have presented insuperable difficulties.

A further difficulty with the theory that the first four voyages were translated is the idiosyncrasy (not to say incompetence) of the so-called "translation." Neither in the 1660s nor the 1680s would the London Committee have had difficulty obtaining the services of a competent translator among the notaries used by international traders of the period when engaged in large mercantile transactions; indeed from 1682 onwards the Company was housed in Scriveners' Hall in Noble Street,⁴² where its officers would have been regularly in contact with the scriveners' close colleagues the notaries. As the modern historians of the notaries point out, "a particular advantage of using a notary was their claim to linguistic skills which would enable them to make copies in languages other than English."⁴³ Presumably such a notary could also have made a competent translation from another language into English, but it would certainly have been into the sober English of commerce, not the pungent *mélange* of the Bodleian manuscript. The argument that the Bodleian manuscript represents a translation is not strengthened by any of these considerations.

In suggesting a new date for the Bodleian manuscript we have arrived at the 1680s when Radisson, following his sudden change of allegiance, found himself at the centre of the conflict between England and France over the right to trade on Hudson Bay, and wrote two further *Voyages* in his own defence. The doubtful case of Nute's account entry aside, no documented early references to the Bodleian manuscript can be found, and traces of its readership will have to be sought in a minute examination of the archival record of the English fur trade in Canada. In contrast, the political importance of the events of 1682-4 is evident in the extensive paper trail they left, including no fewer than three copies of Radisson's explanation of his actions; two copies of Voyage V in French and one in English translation, and three copies of Voyage VI in French (one of these being the recent discovery at Windsor Castle, to which I will turn in a moment). Circulation of the narratives was rapid; in France, Claude Bernou was already making reference to them in a letter of October 1685.⁴⁴

Like the Bodleian manuscript, the copies of Voyages V and VI in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives are regarded as scribal, but in hand and paper they differ greatly from it. As **Figure Four** shows, the script is quite unlike the familiar cursive with secretarial or occasionally italic letter-forms of English manuscripts of the period.⁴⁵ A regular late humanist cursive italic, it belongs to a quite different palaeographical tradition from the clerkly scripts of the Company's minutes and account books.⁴⁶ The manuscripts of these narratives in French are not drafts, but fair copies, possibly by two hands writing the same set script. In E.1/1 there are a few corrections in what, as evidence from the Clairambault document discussed below would suggest, is Radisson's own hand. The bindings are not contemporary, and may be as late as the early twentieth century. Though the watermark is again the Strasbourg lily, in Voyage V (HBCA, PAM E.1/1) this is a thin, elegant manufacture with an MCMD countermark. (The paper in Voyage VI [HBCA, PAM E.1/2] is similar in texture but with very mixed watermarks.) Despite their apparently French provenance, there are two pieces of evidence to connect these manuscripts with early papers of the Hudson's Bay Company; the first is a blank half-sheet of the same paper as in E.1/1 which at folio 49 is for some unknown reason bound into A.1/8, the "fair" minute book of 1684-5 mentioned earlier as revealing the presence throughout of the paper employed in the Bodleian manuscript. The second is that on September 16, 1685 a sub-committee ordered the secretary to deliver to Sir Edward Dering of the London Committee "the two Journalls of M^r Radisons two last Expeditions to Port Nelson & he is ordered to desire S^t James Hayes to deliver up to the Committee, the Originalls of these Journalls which are in French, that they may remaine in the Secretaries office."⁴⁷ This entry not only points to the two manuscripts still in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company (the "Originalls...in French"), but implies that there may have been others, already in English translation, which were sent to Sir Edward Dering. If so, it is probable that the translation

Sa Famille, Et je me retourne en France, —
 resolu de servir sur l'armée navale, J'y —
 ay passé les campagnes dont J'ay parlé —
 cy dessus, Jusqu'au naufrage de l'Isle d'au —
 duquet mestant heureusement sauvé. Je —
 reviens alicc le reste de l'année a Brest —
 au mois de Juillet — ayant perdu tout —
 mon équipage dans ce malheureux —
 naufrage /
 Mons.^r le viceadmiral Et mon.^s Intendant
 escrivirent en cour en ma faveur, Et sur
 Les bons temoignages quilz rendirent de
 ma conduite, on me fit donner de la part
 du Roy une gratification de 100 Louis Dor
 pour me remettre en équipage, Et ces
 m.^s m'assurèrent quilz esperoient dans
 peu, de me faire donner le commandement
 d'une fregate, Je ne creus pas que cela
 me deust estre arrivé, cest pourquoy
 Je me resolu de demander congé pour
 faire un voiage en ang.^{re} sous prétexte
 d'y venir chercher ma femme, pour
 l'emmener avec moy en France, Jeus
 mon congé de la cour la dessus, avec un
 autre gratification de 100 Louis Dor pour
 mon voiage, on me recommanda de faire
 diligence, sur tout d'amener ma femme,
 apres quoy, on m'assuroit positivement
 que saurez de l'employ /
 Je partis donc, Et arrivay a Londres Le 1.^r Juillet

Figure Four Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Provincial Archives of Manitoba), E1/1, f. 4d.

Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

of Voyage V in the British Library (Add. 11626) is one of these, or a copy of it.

In the spring of 1996, Dr. Jean Radisson discovered, in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, yet another manuscript of Voyages V and VI with a title page describing the volume as “fait a Londres, anno 1685.” Bound in a single volume, it is composed of paper with three different watermarks, in gatherings of varying sizes. The script (**Figure Five**) is a very formal one, with calligraphic features which definitely suggest that of an accomplished writing master or one of his pupils. The letters most closely resemble those of the example of “Romaine letter” in De Beau Chesne and Baildon's *A booke containing divers sorts of hands*.⁴⁸ There appear to be two versions of this script in the manuscript, one more polished than the other (perhaps a writing master's and his pupil's). Duplicated pages in E.1/1 are corrected, and the idiosyncratic spelling of the HBCA manuscripts has been regularized. It is possible that we will find the scribe of the Hudson's Bay Company manuscripts at least, and perhaps that of Windsor as well, among the Huguenot community in London, whose book-sellers in the Strand have already been described by Katherine Swift.⁴⁹

The prefatory epistle to the Windsor manuscripts provides us with the first new Radisson material in a long time. In addressing the king Radisson insists that his activities on the Bay, and his change of allegiance, have been reported very much to his disadvantage, and presents his two narratives to the king “comme mon premier homage de bon et fidele subject.”⁵⁰ The manuscript provides us with two important bibliographical facts: the first concerns Radisson's sense of genre; he thought of the narratives as two separate and distinct “voyages,” a point which helps to legitimize the division into separate voyages of the Bodleian manuscript. Second, the Windsor manuscript gives us a terminus *ad quem* for the writing of the narratives themselves: Radisson writes as if to the new king, so the manuscripts he presents must have originated early in the reign of James II, the Duke of York who was in every way the patron of the men who founded the Hudson's Bay Company. Radisson left Paris to return to English allegiance in May 1684, and departed within days for Port Nelson; he arrived back in London from Port Nelson in October 1684; James became king on 6 February 1685 and Radisson left London for the Bay late in May. It is possible that Radisson began composing Voyage V while in still in France; the letter in which Sir James Hayes refers to his “materialls for a very Romantique Nouvelle entertaining enough,” is dated 22 May 1684. Nevertheless, not only the completion but the copying of both narratives – both those now in the HBCA and the princely manuscript at Windsor – must have taken place between October 1684 and May 1685, a fairly short space of time.

The problem of copying apart, could Radisson have composed his two narratives that quickly? How literate was he, in so far as we can tell? Only one book he owned is known, and that is a portolan atlas, now in the Newberry Library.⁵¹ On one occasion Radisson makes reference to other material he has

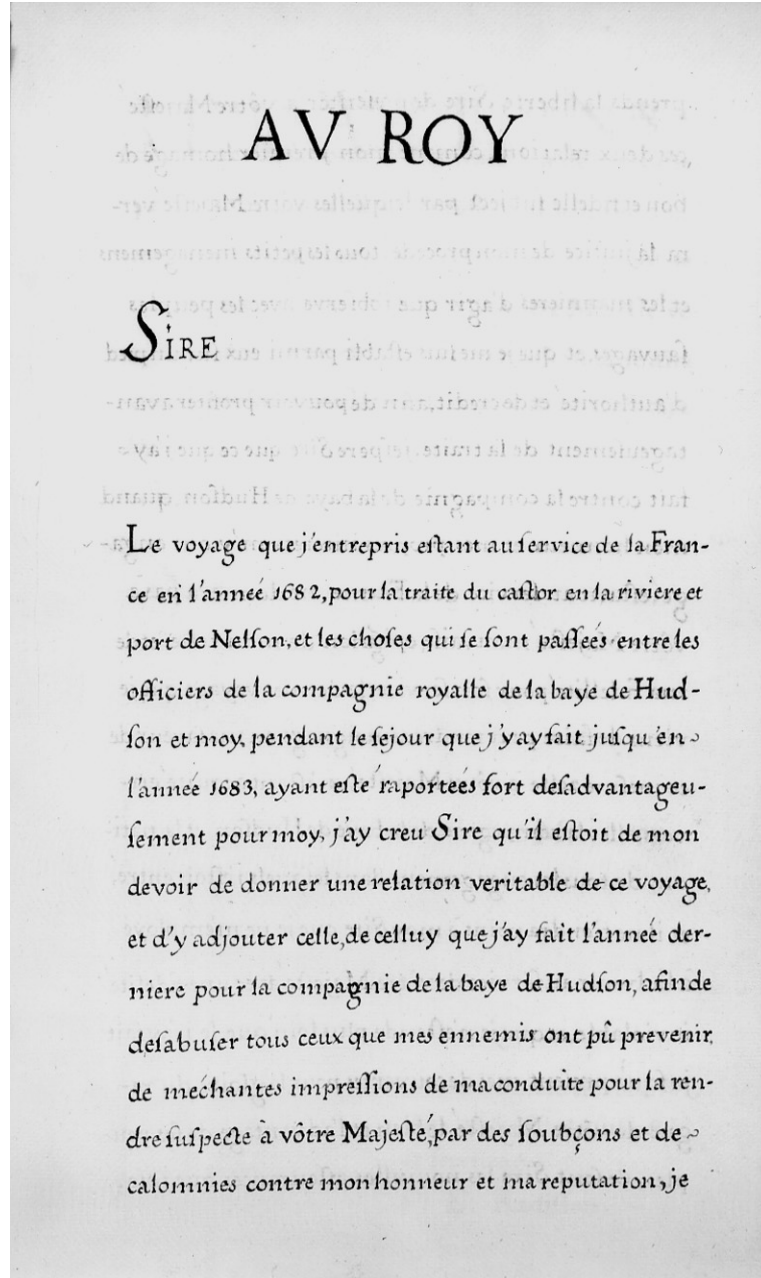


Figure Five The Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Ms. I. I. 6a., page [ii]. First page of dedicatory letter by Radisson to James II.

written: near the beginning of his 1682–83 narrative (Voyage V) he states that in his initial interview with the Sieur de la Chesnaye he had given him his “memoires,”⁵² but even if we knew what “memoires” precisely meant for him, we cannot be certain whether the statement refers to some version of Voyages I–IV, or to later accounts of his travels between 1669–1682. Our only sample of his handwriting – beyond a number of signatures, the sparse corrections in the HBCA manuscript, and the short passage recording his ownership of the atlas – is a letter of 1 January 1678 which Radisson wrote to Abbé Claude Bernou, reporting on Vice-Admiral d’Estrées’ expedition against the Dutch colonies in the West Indies, in which he participated (**Figure Six**). This letter, which occupies the recto and verso of two folios in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Clairambault 1016), was first identified and described as autograph by Grace Lee Nute.⁵³ Close examination of the manuscript leaves me in no doubt that she was correct, and that the signature and the body of the letter are in the same hand. First, the form of the capital *E* of “Esprit” is duplicated wherever there is a capital *E* in the text. As well, the ascender of the *d* is identical with the *d*’s of the letter, and the *ductus*, that characteristic directionality which a hand shows even when a sloped hand is disguised by writing upright, is the same in text and signature. Second there is the substance of the letter, and the situation in which it was written. There is no indication anywhere that Radisson did not write it himself. Indeed, at the end he requests Bernou to have a fair copy of the letter made so that it can be read to Bernou’s noble friends. This is the entirely practical suggestion of a man writing in perhaps difficult physical conditions in a distant place. Furthermore, it reflects the well-known function of such Renaissance and early modern “newsletters,” which were specifically intended for circulation among the friends of the recipient. Third, in the opening there is more than a suggestion of that familiar rhetorical device, the “artifice of affected humility”; here, as he would in his letter to James II, Radisson shows his awareness of differences of rank and what they imply in the way both of honourable service and valued connections.

Such issues draw us away from specifically technical and historical questions towards the cultural and interpretative issues raised by Radisson’s narratives. Up till now, a profound cultural suspicion has surrounded Radisson. Originally this stemmed from the French hostility caused by his nimble change of allegiance in 1683, though as Bernou’s derisive reference to “the two Iroquois” in a letter of 1684 reminds us,⁵⁴ it may have been difficult to situate Radisson and Groseilliers in the elaborate social hierarchy maintained by the French court and administration.⁵⁵ American scholars of the 1920s in their turn were restless because the narratives did not resemble the cooler scientific and descriptive accounts of eighteenth and nineteenth century explorers, a perspective exacerbated by Nute’s conviction that the Bodleian manuscript was a bad translation of a French original, and Adams’ and Kallsen’s attitude to Radisson’s “chaotic narrative.” The result has been such frustrated assess-

ments as that of the great scholar of New France, Marcel Trudel, "le texte de Radisson est... un document très difficile à interpréter: expliquer les voyages de Chouart et de Radisson, c'est (sauf sur certains rares points) passer son temps à construire des hypothèses."⁵⁶

Martin Fournier's recent short study has presented a much more interesting portrait of Radisson, one which alerts us to his rhetorical flair, psychological complexity, and when we read him attentively, his accuracy in matters of fact.⁵⁷ And as I have tried to show here, close study of the material bibliography of the documents lays a more solid foundation for a serious view of the explorer. As those few pages in Ms. Clairambault 1016 indicate, this is clearly not the hand of an imperfectly literate person. It is the hand of an accomplished and practised writer, steady and persistent in form throughout four long, closely written pages, the hand of a man who could not only complete *Voyages V* and *VI* at speed, but in good time for two elegant copies to be made of them. In its stance the letter is also that of a wilier courtier rather than the young enthusiast of the first four narratives.⁵⁸ The Clairambault manuscript, I would contend, insists not only that we bring to bear on Radisson's narratives the kind of physical analysis I have conducted here, but also that we consider them as cultural artifacts, signalling to us much that needs to be taken into consideration before we rush to assess Radisson's significance.

This conclusion is confirmed by the new materials at Windsor, especially the dedicatory epistle to the king. It is possible to argue that Radisson had someone write the epistle for him. Yet but for Nute's insistence that the Bodleian manuscript embodies a translation of a French original, would we have the same suspicion about the writing of another historical figure? It is unlikely. Arthur Adams did not agree with her view, and Martin Fournier shares with me the belief that the first four narratives were originally in English. Both Fournier and Arthur Adams have considered the possibility that they were dictated, and Fournier has particularly commented on their oral character.⁵⁹ Dictation, of course, is a possibility, as medieval and Renaissance administrators and *savants* often dictated at length to amanuenses. In Radisson's case not only is there no documentation to suggest that he dictated his first four narratives, there is no need for such a theory if we keep in mind three factors: Radisson's linguistic versatility, his documented ability to write fluently in French, and the noticeable oral characteristics of many early Canadian exploration narratives which were not dictated, yet in their styles show the influence of orality. Henry Kelsey's verse narrative of 1690 depends on a "story-telling" motif for its structure, Samuel Hearne's successive revisions of his account of the Coppermine massacre of 1771 may have taken shape in constant verbal retellings of this traumatic incident, and with the *Travels* of David Thompson (1840s), we are in the hands of a story-teller renowned among his contemporaries. In contrast, one of the distinguishing features of the *Sieur de La Véren-*

drye's courtly letters describing the continental interior in the 1730s is that they are decidedly lacking in oral characteristics.

Radisson's six "voyages," as well as the long letter to Bernou and the legal deposition, all share what I would prefer to term a "conversational" style. The history of English literature reminds us that in the period when Radisson was writing the narratives copied into the Bodleian manuscript, English prose was beginning a new evolution precisely on the lines embodied in his text. This was towards the brisk, vivid, personal, repertorial prose of Defoe and Fielding, and of contemporary journalism, which Radisson's engaging impudence and picaresque stance call so strongly to mind. It is indeed, as Adams observed, the kind of language you learn from consorting with sailors.⁶⁰ And it is this personal note, filtering into the language of English prose at every point in Radisson's century, which both marks the explorer's connection with his times and makes him one of the most readable of all those who traced the contours of the interior of North America.

It will be clear that from the evidence currently available to me, material, palaeographical, cultural, and literary, I have concluded that the Bodleian manuscript is not a translation. What then is it? My current hypothesis is that it is a copy, made circa 1686, of a pre-existing manuscript, one written out by Radisson in a vivid Francophone English in the late 1660s (though conceivably as late as 1682) but a text possibly unfinished or only partly drafted. The alternative interpretation, that the ur-manuscript itself was a translation, cannot be dismissed, but as we gain a more detailed knowledge of the conditions in which Radisson's manuscripts were produced, it begins to recede in probability. Furthermore, if a version in French should ever be found, I would be cautious about assuming it is the prior text; the French, who did not generally know English and whose geographers were obsessed with the existence of an inland sea, would have had good reason to translate what Radisson in Voyages I-IV had written in such enthusiastic detail about the interior of North America, which at that point he was one of the very few to have visited.

Notes

1 This paper was given in an earlier form as a lecture to the Hakluyt Society, London, on 23 November 1996, and I owe thanks to Glyndwr Williams who made the lecture possible. I am grateful to that audience and to members of the Toronto Bibliography Group who heard the paper on 31 January 1997 for their comments and suggestions. I owe a special debt of thanks to Dr. Jean Radisson, who shared his discovery of the Windsor manuscripts with me at an early stage. I also owe a debt of thanks to Joseph L. Black, Jennifer S. H. Brown, Michel Filion, Martin Fournier, Anne Morton, Alla Rekrut and Carla Zecher for assistance, and the three readers for *Archivaria*, as well as its editor, for their advice; none of them of course is responsible for my conclusions.

2 See William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," *Minnesota Historical Society* 5 (St. Paul, 1885), reprinted as *History of the Ojibway Nation* (Minneapolis, 1970), pp. 121–23. The historian, who was of Ojibwa origin, relates the

orally-transmitted narrative of “two white men in the last stages of starvation” (pp. 121–22) discovered on LaPointe Island in a hard winter calculated at about two hundred years ago (that is, two centuries before Warren’s narrative was written, ca. 1850). The two men, once rescued by the young men of the village, stayed among the Ojibwa trading furs. “The glowing accounts given by these traders on their return with their peltries to Quebec, their tales of large villages of peaceable and docile tribes, caused the eager Jesuit and Franciscan to accompany him back to the scene of his glowing accounts and to plant the cross amongst the ignorant and simple children of the forest” (p. 123).

- 3 See Appendices 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, in Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness: Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618–1710* (New York, 1943); Radisson’s Will is Appendix 15.
- 4 Henry Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudsons-Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California In the Years 1746 and 1747* (London, 1748); Joseph Robson, *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson’s Bay, From 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747* (London, 1752); for Oldmixon and La Potherie see J.B. Tyrrell, ed., *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson’s Bay* (Toronto, 1931).
- 5 J.B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America 1492–1806* (London, 1933), p. 229.
- 6 The citation for the translation of Voyage V is British Library (hereafter BL) Add. 11626, purchased from Thomas Rodd the younger in 1839; that for the manuscript of Voyage VI is BL Sloane 3527. On Sloane’s death in 1753 it went to the new British Museum, where his manuscripts provided one of the foundation collections.
- 7 Sir James Hayes to Viscount Preston, 22 May 1684; cited by Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, pp. 219–20.
- 8 See Gideon D. Scull, ed., *Genealogical Notes Relating to the Family of Scull* (London, 1876); *Memoir and Letters of . . . from North America, 1774–1776* (Oxford, 1879); *The Montresor Journals* (New York, 1882); *Dorothea Scott, otherwise Gotherson and Hogben, of Egerton House, Kent, 1611–1680* (Oxford, 1883), and a number of privately printed pamphlets he wrote on similar topics. A biographical sketch of Scull by William J. Potts and John Ward Dean appeared in the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* (October, 1891). Unhappily, Scull left no papers or correspondence other than a few financial records held by Haverford College.
- 9 W.D. Macray, ed., *Catalogi codicum manusciporum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus 1-5 ... Ricardi Rawlinson ... codicum classes [A-E] complectens* (Oxford, 1862–1900), p. 350.
- 10 Gideon Scull, ed., *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson* (Boston, 1885).
- 11 Lily A. Long, *Radisson the Voyageur, A Verse Drama in Four Acts* (New York, 1914).
- 12 Arthur T. Adams, ed., Loren Kallsen, modernizer, *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson* (Minneapolis, 1961). It is evident from the section on “The Manuscript” (pp. xiii–xvi, concerned exclusively with the Bodleian ms.) that though Adams chose to print a modernized text, he had a close acquaintance with at least a microfilm of the original.
- 13 Douglas Brymner, ed., “Relations des voyages de Pierre Esprit Radisson, dans les années 1682, 3, et 4,” *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886. This edition contains the records found in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter HBCA, PAM) Mss. E. 1/1 and E. 1/2 (Voyages V and VI) with facing English translation. Michel Filion of the National Archives of Canada reports (in a personal communication) that Brymner’s papers in NA (RG 37 and MG 29) contain no correspondence with Scull; I therefore conclude that he was working independently. Unhappily, the transcription is not an accurate one.
- 14 The remaining writings we have by Radisson are in French. A possible exception is the undated deposition, “Narrative of M^r Peter Espritt Radisson in Refferance to the Answar of the Comm^{rs} of France to the Right and Title of the Hudson Bay Company.” Though written in the third person, this narrative may well be by the explorer himself, or so a parallel example in the De L’Isle papers would suggest. Radisson’s deposition is reprinted by Nute as Appendix 12 of

- Caesars of the Wilderness*. For the parallel, see the notes—in his own hand but written in the third person – made by Algernon Sidney for his Chancery case of 1677–83 (Maidstone, Kent: Centre for Kentish Studies, De L'Isle Mss., U1485/L5).
- 15 See Albert M. Goodrich and Grace Lee Nute, "The Radisson Problem," *Minnesota History* 13 (1932), p. 249; the comments are Goodrich's. See also Loren Kallsen, "A Note on Modernization," in Adams, ed., *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, p. xix.
 - 16 Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, says inexplicably that it is "full of middle-class English expressions" (p. 30); see also p. 82 for her account of the limitations of one specific passage.
 - 17 Adams, ed., *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, p. ii.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, xv.
 - 19 For Adams' account of his re-organization of material in Voyages III and IV, see Adams, ed., *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, pp. ii–xiii. He moved the story of the massacre of Dollard St. Laurent and his companions at the Long Sault from Voyage IV to Voyage III, and within Voyage III moved the passage beginning and ending "We were four months ...like those of the wildmen" to a place in the text beginning at the start of the return journey. It should be pointed out that in any case Adams' chronology of Radisson's travels has not generally been accepted.
 - 20 See Daniel Vaillancourt, *Des récits de voyages de Pierre-Esprit Radisson* (Thèse de maîtrise, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986); see also his article, "Figures de Radisson: de la cour aux bois," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 17.3 (automne, 1987), pp. 23–30. For new documents see Luca Codignola, "Laurens Van Heemskerck's Pretended Expeditions to the Arctic, 1668–1672: A Note," *International History Review* 12, no. 3 (August, 1990) pp. 514–27. Dr. Jean Radisson's recent discovery consists of scribal presentation copies of the two narratives of the mid-1680s (V and VI) in the Royal Library, Windsor. The first is prefaced by a previously unknown dedicatory epistle by Radisson (see forthcoming notice by Jean Radisson and Germaine Warkentin, "'Serviteur du Roi': New Light on the Later Radisson"). For Radisson's ecological lexicon see M. William Wykoff, "The Land of the Eries in 1653: An Analysis of Radisson's Captivity Voyage," *Terrae Incognitae* 27 (1995), pp. 15–45; Martin Fournier has published *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: Coureur de Bois et Homme du Monde, 1652–1685* (Québec, 1996) and has recently defended his dissertation, "Les Quatre couleurs de Radisson," (Thèse de doctorat en histoire, Université Laval, 1998), publication forthcoming.
 - 21 See "Discovering Radisson: A Renaissance Adventurer Between Two Worlds," in Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (Peterborough, 1996), pp. 43–70.
 - 22 See Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, especially pp. 196–97.
 - 23 See Warkentin, "Discovering Radisson," especially pp. 53–56.
 - 24 Scull, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, p. 184.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.
 - 26 Goodrich and Nute, "The Radisson Problem," p. 256.
 - 27 University of Minnesota at Duluth, Archives and Special Collections: Grace Lee Nute Papers 785, Box 1, Grace Lee Nute to Mrs. Robert A. (Ginny) Beveridge, 15 January 1935. And see Fulmer Mood, "The London Background of the Radisson Problem," *Minnesota History* 16 (1935), pp. 391–413; p. 394.
 - 28 Articles by Fulmer Mood (1898–1981) on exploration history, early America, and other topics are described in the pamphlet, "A Bibliography of the Publications of Fulmer Mood, 1929–1942" (Berkeley, 1943). See especially his "The London Background of the Radisson Problem," already cited. Mood's papers have so far proved untraceable and thus we lack his account of his discussions with Nute. Goodrich was Nute's collaborator on "The Radisson Problem," already cited.
 - 29 HBCA, PAM, A.14/1, ff. 78v–79, in E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–74* (Toronto, 1942) p. 171. See Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 29. Nute never

changed her views on the manuscript, as is evident from a newspaper interview she gave late in life (Minnesota Historical Society: P791, Grace Lee Nute Papers, Clipping from *Midway Monitor*, 3, 11, May 1978).

- 30 See Warkentin, "Discovering Radisson," p. 53.
- 31 See Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1671–74*, p. xlviii, noting £20 paid to Richard Beane "for settling & stateing ye severall accompts in this booke."
- 32 See the discussion in Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* 10 (Berkeley, 1970–83), pp. 130–31.
- 33 A scholar pursuing this problem should be able to extract useful information from the kind of notarial account books described by C.W. Brooks, R.H. Helmholz, and P.G. Stein, *Notaries Public in England Since the Reformation* (London, 1991).
- 34 Gideon Scull gave us no account of the material evidence afforded by the Bodleian manuscript, and the first scholar to report on its physical characteristics in detail was Edward C. Gale, "The Radisson Manuscript," *Minnesota History* 7 (1926), pp. 340–42. See Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, pp. 99–100. See also Arthur Adams, *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, pp. xiii–xvi.
- 35 It was Beane who wrote out the accounts of 1669 in which Nute found what she believed to be the evidence that Radisson's narratives has been translated. See above.
- 36 Dr. Richard Luckett, personal communication, 14 August 1996. Clearly, a search for this hand in the extensive Pepys manuscripts in Cambridge will be necessary.
- 37 For the terminology of analytical bibliography used here (collation, gathering, cancel, conjugate, blind-ruling, fore-edge, and their related terms) see the standard authority, Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974); many of the terms Gaskell uses in describing printed books are used in manuscript description as well.
- 38 Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950, [i.e., 1957]) plate 241. Nute (*Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 100, note 13) examined this watermark but did not make a systematic attempt to date it in the context of the wide range of watermarks which appear in the Hudson's Bay Company papers of the period. The 1661 example is Petworth: Mss. of Lord Egremont, 5938 (Summary Accounts of Lancelott Thornton, year ending 8 February 1660 [i.e., 1661]).
- 39 Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 100, note 13.
- 40 The minute books vary in size from 20.5 cm. to 24 cm. in width and from 31.5 to 40.5 cm. in height; A.1/7 is 24 x 36.2; A.1/8 is 23.8 x 36.5; A.1/9 is 23.8 x 40.5.
- 41 HBCA, PAM A.6/1, f. 57v: "let a Journall be kept of you and your French mens whole proceedings a Coppy whereof we expect shall be sent us by every Returne."
- 42 Introduction by G.N. Clark to E.E. Rich, ed., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679–1684*, First Part, 1679–82 (Toronto, 1945) p. xvi.
- 43 Brooks, Helmholz, and Stein, *Notaries Public in England Since the Reformation*, p. 70 (citing Gerard Malynes, *Consuetudo vel lex mercatoria or The Ancient Law Merchant*, 3rd edition [London, 1636], pp. 90–92).
- 44 Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 256.
- 45 For examples of "secretary" and "cursive" see Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipiton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Manual* (New York, 1966); plate 24 (pp. 74–5) "represents the secretary almost at its best." For complete secretary alphabets see plates 2A and 2B (pp. 30–31). The scrawl of Sir Edward Hyde, later earl of Clarendon (plate 45, pp. 116–7) is closer to our modern "cursive" (that is, "running") hand-writing.
- 46 For a brief review of the complex history of the beautiful italic hand of the Renaissance, with alphabets, see Anthony G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London, 1977), pp. 18–20.
- 47 HBCA, PAM A./8 44v. The word "Originalls" here does not imply that the two manuscripts retrieved from Hayes were regarded by his contemporaries as being in Radisson's own hand.

- Like the Windsor manuscript, they were in all probability copied in a writing master's shop, in a different script but in two closely related hands. As noted above, however, E.1/1 has a few corrections in Radisson's hand.
- 48 London, 1602 (STC 6449), but there were a number of editions between 1570 and 1614; see STC 6445.5-6450.
- 49 See Katherine Swift, "'The French-Booksellers in the Strand': Huguenots in the London Book Trade 1685-1730," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 25, no. 2 (1990), pp. 123-39.
- 50 Windsor: Royal Library, I.I.B.6a, [p. ii].
- 51 Chicago: Newberry Library, Ayer collection. Portolan atlas of five charts, signed *Joan martinéz en messina. Año 1583*. On the verso of the last chart, among other indications of provenance, is the statement in Radisson's hand, "Ce livre Ma donné par Charles Bailly gouverneur de la Bay d'udson En 1673 [here a word is illegible] J'apartiene a pierre Esprit Radisson ser-viteur du Roy de la grande Bretagne a tous sont qui ces presente." Newberry Library, type-script *Checklist of Manuscript Maps in the Ayer Collection* (1927), pp. 10-11. See Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 133, note 7.
- 52 His words are, "j'allay chez le sieur de la Chesnaye...et après plusieurs questions sur l'estat des païs que j'avois frequentés, et lui avoir communiqué mes memoires, il me propose..." (HBCA, PAM E.1/1, f. 6^r).
- 53 Paris: Ms. BN Clairambault 1016, ff. 376^r-77^r; see Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 170, note 6 and Appendix 4 (pp. 303-14).
- 54 Claude Bernou to Esprit Cabart de Villermont, 11 April 1684, cited by Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 207.
- 55 For the rigid hierarchy of the French court in this period, as well as its administrative complexities, see Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (1969), trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1983).
- 56 Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, t. III: *La seigneurie des cents-associés*. Ptie. II: *La société* (Montréal, 1983), p. 235, note 76.
- 57 Fournier, *Pierre-Esprit Radisson*.
- 58 Radisson's European cultural setting, which placed a high value on honour, may account for his early boastfulness – and perhaps also his later persistence in seeking financial justice for himself and his family. See for example the argument of David Quint's, "Bragging Rights: Honor and Courtesy in Shakespeare and Spenser," in David Quint, Margaret W. Ferguson, G.W. Pigman III, and Wayne A. Rebhorn, eds., *Creative Imitation: New Essays on Renaissance Literature in Honor of Thomas M. Greene* (Binghamton, 1992), pp. 391-430. In "Discovering Radisson," pp. 65-68, I argued that Radisson's strong sense of honour proved to be useful in his contacts with Native nations who prized the same values.
- 59 For Fournier's discussion of the language and conditions under which the Bodleian manuscript was produced, see his *Pierre-Esprit Radisson*, pp. 22-24. For Adams' account, with his argument that the narratives were dictated, see his *The Explorations of Pierre-Esprit Radisson*, pp. xiii-xvi.
- 60 Adams, ed., *The Explorations of Pierre Esprit Radisson*, p. xiv.